



# THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

This thesis has been submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree (e.g. PhD, MPhil, DClinPsychol) at the University of Edinburgh. Please note the following terms and conditions of use:

- This work is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, which are retained by the thesis author, unless otherwise stated.
- A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.
- This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author.
- The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author.
- When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given.

REGIONAL HERITAGE AND ARCHITECTURE  
– a critical regionalist approach  
to a new architecture for Taiwan

Chao-Ching Fu

Ph.D.  
University of Edinburgh  
1990



## ABSTRACT

The development of modern architecture, which was first introduced to Taiwan by the Japanese when they occupied the island, has destroyed the identity and continuity of traditional Taiwanese architecture. Modern architecture, with its emphasis on materialistic and technological aspects, is fundamentally different from traditional architecture. The former depends on denying what is essential to the latter. However, modern technology is genuinely international and most people in Taiwan seem to want to enjoy its advantages, such as new methods of building construction, which have offered a better technical solution to many problems than traditional architecture could. However, architecture is not merely a technological product, it is also an embodiment of the worldview of the people of a region. The most important question in the contemporary architectural development of Taiwan is, therefore, to see how modern innovations could be embedded in the regional heritage so as to achieve a new architecture within the parameters of modern referents while maintaining a quality relying on nourishment from regional traditions.

The thesis is an inquiry into the prospect of developing such a new architecture for Taiwan, which, it is argued, can be achieved by a Critical Regionalist approach. Critical Regionalism is a concept as well as an approach that attempts to evoke a condition of authenticity in which a new architecture can be consciously originated out of the traditional architectural characteristics of a particular region in order to withstand the domination of Modernism. The contents of the thesis are centred on the following themes: differences between traditional and modern architecture; problems of the contemporary architectural development of Taiwan; the development of Post-Modernism, Alexander's Pattern Language, the Phenomenology of Architecture, and Regionalism in architecture; the dialectics of Critical Regionalism; characteristics of traditional Taiwanese architecture; and the discussion of the regional consciousness in contemporary Taiwanese architecture.

Today, society in Taiwan is no longer completely traditional although a number of traditions still survive. People live in a society codified according to two different sets of values and beliefs. The problem of how to preserve the valuable aspects of the regional heritage, including regional architecture, in a situation where tradition is in rapid decline is crucial. It is demonstrated in the thesis that Critical Regionalism presents a possibility that an authentic architecture can be developed out of contradictory elements and sources. In the past, most criticisms of modern architectural development were based on either the purely functional aspects or the style of the building which are only parts of architecture. The Critical Regionalist approach enables both architects and critics to emancipate themselves from such narrow interpretations. With the help of this approach, both architects and critics can now look at architecture from a much broader point of view. The thesis aims to show the way towards this new understanding of architecture.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of this thesis is indebted to many people, institutions, and organisations whose encouragement, assistance, and support at all stages of research and writing made this a reality.

First of all, I have to thank my supervisor, Professor C.B. Wilson, for his invaluable suggestions and criticisms all the way along the development of the thesis. I benefited greatly from discussions with him. His guidance and inspiration immensely enrich the contents of the thesis.

I also like to acknowledge the Overseas Research Student Award I received from the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals of the Universities of the United Kingdom (1986/87 1987/88 1988/89) and the research grant I received from the National Science Council of the Republic of China (1987/88 1988/89). I owe thanks to the National Cheng-Kung University for holding my teaching position and to my colleagues, especially Professor Chin-Shan Weng, Professor Wu Jang-Chih, Professor Hsu Maw-Hsiung, and Professor Hsu Min-Fu, in the Department of Architecture at the University for their continuous support and for sharing my teaching responsibility when I am on leave in Edinburgh.

At the University of Edinburgh, my research colleagues have been an eager, critical audience for my views about Regionalism. I also wish to take this opportunity to thank Professor Robert Small and Professor Norman Johnston at the University of Washington in Seattle and Professor He Chen-Tz'u at Tunghai University in Taichung, Taiwan, who had always encouraged me to pursue a Ph.D. research before I had the opportunity to do so. I owe debts of gratitude to the following individuals for their provision of materials related to my research or help in one way or another: Professor Cai Guan-Li, Eastsouthern University; Chiou Bor-Shuenn, University of Edinburgh; Do Yi-Luen, National Taiwan University; Huang Chang-Mai, former Chief Editor of *Chinese Architect*; Huang Han-Min, Fukien Institute of Design, Margaret Irwin, University of Edinburgh; Kuo Min-Chuan, Eastsouthern University; Liu Li, Ching-Hua University; Shen Shin, University of Illinois; Shih Jau-Yung, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Wang Jseng-Lung, National Taipei Institute of Technology; Wu Kuang-Ting, Chinese Culture University; Zhao Xue-Dong, Tong-Gi University; Zuo Chuan, Ching-Hua Univeristy.



I must thank L. June for her passionate help at the final stage of writing as well as Jack Ross and Charlene Bao who both read through the final draft of the thesis and offered many suggestions.

Finally, I owe my greatest gratitude to my parents for their endless love and encouragement from the beginning to the end of this research.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Table of Contents	iv
Introduction	1
Chapter One: Traditional Architecture and Modern Architecture Reconsidered – An Inquiry into Their Differences	7
- 1-1 Introduction	7
- 1-2 Background: The Criticism of Modern Architecture	8
- 1-3 Tradition and Modernity	13
- 1-4 Differences between Traditional and Modern Architecture	25
- 1-5 Conclusion: Understanding Tradition as the Premise for a Critical Reformation of Modern Architecture	48
Chapter Two: Trends and Problems in the Modern Architectural Development of Taiwan	51
- 2-1 Introduction	51
- 2-2 Taiwan in Modern Times	52
- 2-3 Trends in the Modern Architectural Development of Taiwan	57
- 2-4 Problems in the Modern Architectural Development of Taiwan	83
- 2-5 Conclusion	105
Chapter Three: Three Theoretical Approaches of Contemporary Architectural Development	108
- 3-1 Introduction	108
- 3-2 Post-Modernism	109
- 3-3 Alexander's Pattern Language	125
- 3-4 The Phenomenology of Architecture	142
- 3-5 Conclusion	161

Chapter Four: Regionalism in Architecture – An Approach Revitalised	164
– 4-1 Introduction	164
– 4-2 Region and Regionalism	165
– 4-3 Regionalism in Architecture	176
– 4-4 Conclusion	200
Chapter Five: Dialectics of Critical Regionalism in Architecture	202
– 5-1 Introduction	202
– 5-2 Conceptual Dialectics of Critical Regionalism	205
– 5-3 Tactical Dialectics of Critical Regionalism	233
– 5-4 Conclusion	258
Chapter Six: Learning from Regional Characteristics of Traditional Taiwanese Architecture	260
– 6-1 Introduction	260
– 6-2 The Meaning and Formation of Traditional Taiwanese Architecture	262
– 6-3 Characteristics of Traditional Taiwanese Architecture – A Review in Terms of the Worldview of the People	274
– 6-4 Conclusion	296
Chapter Seven: Regional Consciousness in Contemporary Taiwanese Architecture	298
– 7-1 Introduction	298
– 7-2 Regional Consciousness in the Late 1970s and 1980s	299
– 7-3 Regional Consciousness in the 1950s and 1960s	308
– 7-4 The Critical Regionalist Approach as an Alternative	312
– 7-5 Conclusion	320
Conclusion	323
Bibliography	327

# INTRODUCTION

For nearly a century, Taiwan has been undergoing continuous change, first under the Japanese Government (1895–1945), then the Chinese Nationalist Government. Accompanying this transformation are the inevitable problems of cultural conflict and cultural readjustment caused by rapid social change. Such problems as how to preserve the useful aspects of Taiwanese cultural heritage in a situation where tradition is rapidly on the decline; and how to bring about a more satisfactory adjustment in a situation where tradition has already lost its power over most aspects of society.

Today, a genuine traditional society no longer exists in Taiwan, though, a number of traditions still survive. Modernisation has brought material benefits for the people of Taiwan, but it also has destroyed the core of their traditions leaving only a residue behind. Consequently, people have to live in a society codified according to two different sets of values and beliefs. A single individual can live accordingly to the tenets of mechanic-scientific world yet still participates in religious activities such as ancestor worship and the festivals organised by the temples.

As an index of the culture and society in Taiwan, traditional Taiwanese architecture has also been collapsing. Modern architecture was introduced to Taiwan by the Japanese when they occupied the island. The development of modern architecture has destroyed the identity and continuity of a traditional society internally and externally. Modern architecture, with its emphasis on materialistic and technological aspects, is fundamentally different from traditional architecture which is closely integrated into the cultural life of a society. Modern architecture depends on denying what is essential to any traditional architecture. Thus conflicts will certainly persist if modern architecture and traditional architecture cannot reach a reconciliation.

However, modern technology is genuinely international and most people in Taiwan seem to be quite happy with its advantages in architecture such as structural and constructional technology, and environmental control systems which have offered a better technical solution to many problems than traditional architecture could. Even those who speak for tradition cannot totally reject inventions such as air conditioners and electric lights. Nor do they want

to give up the use of concrete, steel frame construction, etc. The most important question in the development of contemporary architecture in Taiwan is, therefore, not to reject all aspects of modern architecture, but to see how modern inventions could be embedded in regional heritage so as to achieve a new architecture within the parameters of modern referents while maintaining a quality relying on nourishment from regional traditions.

This thesis is an inquiry into the prospect of developing a new architecture for Taiwan, which, I argue, can be achieved by a Critical Regionalist approach. Critical Regionalism attempts to evoke a condition of authenticity in which a real Regionalist architecture can be consciously originated out of the characteristics of a particular region in order to withstand the domination of Modernism in architecture.

## **OBJECTIVES OF THE THESIS**

Taiwan is a unique country in terms of its socio-cultural background. Its special geographical and climatic features also make Taiwan in many aspects distinguishable from other areas on the Chinese Mainland where most of the Taiwanese people originated. In the past, architecture in Taiwan was one of the best illustrations of its culture. However, the uniqueness of Taiwanese architecture has been seriously damaged by the process of modernisation and urbanisation. In architecture, wholesale Westernisation and sentimental Chinese nostalgia have become two prevailing extremes. Various versions of the International Style buildings and northern Chinese Style buildings are juxtaposed in the cities, while regional characteristics of architecture are fading away at an extraordinary speed.

The crisis of the built-environment as a whole in Taiwan is the loss of its own regional characteristics. Many common people and architects do realise the problem. But no one so far has proposed any efficacious solution. Most of the architects are trapped into those two extremes. The most urgent thing for architects in Taiwan is neither to rush to absorb imported ideas or approaches which have already over-emphasized nor to rely on orthodox Chinese sources for inspiration because the latter is not totally identical with Taiwanese culture as many people have tended to argue in the past. Instead, architects should look back carefully at the real architectiural heritage of Taiwan, try to assess it, and then transform it into new architecture wherever suitable and applicable.

The main objective of this thesis is to project the possibility of developing a new architecture for Taiwan by the Critical Regionalist approach. It is hoped that the result of the research will help to establish the basic criteria and guidelines for further architectural development in Taiwan. The thesis will also become a methodological reference for architectural development in other regions.

## THE CRITICAL REGIONALIST APPROACH

The approach I propose for the development of architecture in Taiwan is Critical Regionalist. Two reasons support my proposal. The first is that in the past many people have misinterpreted Taiwanese culture as being the same as that of northern China. As a result, the orthodox Chinese sources are over-emphasized and the importance of the marginal character of Taiwan is ignored. Taiwanese culture is a mixture of orthodox Chinese, Minnan, and Hakka cultures which, again were influenced by Japanese, and Western cultures. Emphasis on any single one will certainly lead to the failure of the development. In order to produce a successful new architecture in Taiwan, the regional heritage of traditional Taiwanese architecture must be referred to.

The second reason is that the Critical Regionalist approach has better potential to offer architects practicable tactics for solving the existing problems in architecture. Among various approaches prevailing in Taiwan, Post-Modernism is the easiest one to follow. But it is too superficial and so far has become merely a fashion rather than a coherent approach. Although its threat to the character of the settlements is less than that of the International Style booming between the 1920s and 1960s, distorted historical motifs such as the broken pediment, exaggerated keystone, and abstract columns are merely the replacement of the glass box, horizontal window, and flat roof of the International Style. They offer little contribution to the identity and the continuity of the built-environment. \*

Alexander's Pattern Language is another approach advocated by many scholars in Taiwan. It provides architects with a clear view of what the quality of a natural architecture should be. Its way of analysing problems of the built-environment also becomes a very useful model for researchers. But the approach of Alexander's Pattern Language encounters difficulties in real practice, especially in an urbanised country like Taiwan. It demands a social change of a kind which is unlikely to occur. Manpower which is the main resource of the

projects designed in this approach is no longer easily available. Besides, the large amount of land needed to build low-rise buildings, which are favoured by scholars advocating this theory, is almost impossible to obtain in the urban areas. One must be sceptical about the realisation of the use of a Pattern Language in Taiwan.

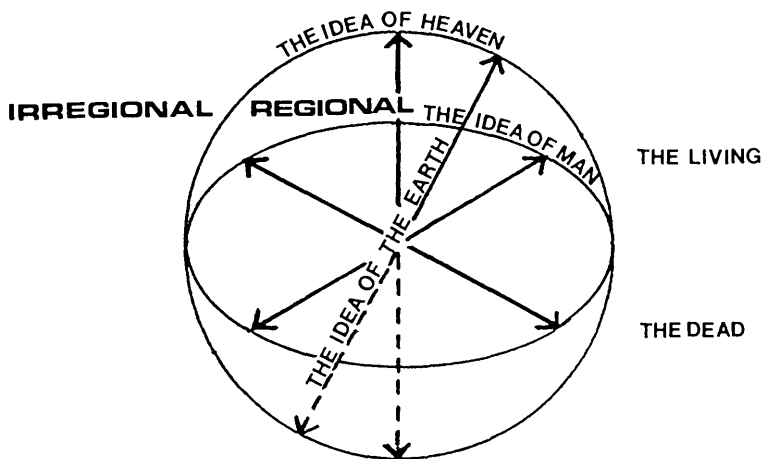
The Phenomenology of Architecture, of which Christian Norberg-Schulz is one of the protagonists, has also become popular among scholars in Taiwan in recent years. It provides an alternative for people to perceive and interpret the built-environment. Its concerns about the *genius loci* of the settlements also help people to understand that the crisis of the modern built-environment is largely due to the placelessness of the settlements. However, it still remains at this moment on a very theoretical level due to its lack of a concrete solution to the problems.

The Critical Regionalist approach, on the other hand, can provide architects with more concrete tactics. Moreover, its stress on the regional character will certainly lead architects to pay attention to the sense of the place, the quality of the settlements and the richness of the environment which are valuable points in other approaches. By saying this, I do not mean that the Critical Regionalist approach is the combination of other three approaches. What I stress is that the Critical Regionalist approach also has the potential to solve the problems other approaches intend, while its solution is more concrete and practicable.

## **WORLDVIEW AS THE BACKDROP**

Throughout the thesis, I consistently use three ideas, namely, the idea of Heaven, the idea of Man, and the idea of the Earth as the backdrop against which the discussion and critique are made. In fact these three ideas constitute the worldview of the Taiwanese people and they are embodied in the traditional built environment. The idea of Heaven enables people to orient themselves and achieve a foothold in the cosmological world. The idea of Man provides people with the basis of dealing with various human relationships inside and outside one's own house. And the idea of the Earth, i.e., the natural state of the world, which is strongly influenced by regional physical environment and thoughts cultivated in it, offers people the resources to modify the built form and spatial organisation derived from the other two ideas.

A single diagram will help us to understand the notion of these ideas. If architecture of a region is treated as a whole and represented by a sphere, the idea of Heaven is vertically oriented forces while the idea of Man is horizontally developed forces. The idea of the Earth is diagonally oriented forces which function like gravitation to keep any interaction of the other two ideas within the boundary of the sphere. Any building of a region is a result of interaction of these three ideas. The closer to the centre, the more archetypal a building is. The building within this sphere is regional while one outside it is irregional. A building above the horizontal line is for the living while below it is for the dead. (fig. I-1)



- fig. I-1: Worldview diagram

## THE STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

The main body of the thesis is divided into seven chapters. The central part of the first chapter is an inquiry into the differences between traditional and modern architecture from various points of view. The result helps us towards an understanding of what is traditional and what is modern architecture. Based on the discussion of the first chapter, the second chapter explores the problems of modern architecture with special reference to Taiwan. Emphasis is on the symptoms caused by socio-cultural and technological changes. After pinpointing the problems of modern architecture, the third chapter is a review of three approaches prevailing in contemporary architectural development in Taiwan. The aim of this chapter to see whether or not they can provide suitable answers to the problems. Post-Modernism, Alexander's Pattern Language, and the Phenomenology of Architecture are



chosen for discussion because of the profound influence they have already had on the development of new architecture in Taiwan.

After the review of these approaches and pinpointing their problems, the Critical Regionalist approach is chosen as the basic foundation of the theoretical structure for further development of architecture because of its potential to solve the existing problems in a more practicable way. A review of the development of Regionalism in architecture, especially Critical Regionalism, is the main theme in the fourth chapter. The fifth chapter is a further discussion on the conceptual foundation and practical strategy of Critical Regionalism. Besides exploration on the theoretical level, examples of buildings are reviewed to illustrate the potential of Critical Regionalism. The sixth chapter consists of a study of characteristics of traditional Taiwanese architecture in terms of the worldview of the people. Such a review enables us to see if any traditional models can be re-applied to modern architecture before we can ask for a critical reformation of modern architecture. The final chapter is a critique of two strands of regional consciousness which emerged respectively in the 1950s and 1960s and after the late 1970s. In the critique, I argue that all the Regionalist approaches so far developed in Taiwan have their emphases on the external representation of the building rather than an embodiment of the worldview of the people. Subsequently, the critique is followed by an inquiry into the possibility of adopting the Critical Regionalist approach as an alternative for developing a new architecture for Taiwan.

# CHAPTER ONE

## TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURE AND MODERN ARCHITECTURE RECONSIDERED: AN INQUIRY INTO THEIR DIFFERENCES

### 1-1 INTRODUCTION

The distinction between tradition and modernity was explored as early as 1934 by Ananda Coomaraswamy in his *The Transformation of Nature in Art* and in 1942 by René Guénon in his *The Crisis of the Modern World*. Both of them adopted a metaphysical approach to the subject. However, their statements did not receive full appreciation at that time when the atmosphere was full of the expectations of modernity. It was only after World War Two that the conflict between tradition and modernity came to receive wide attention. Since then, questions about the nature and impact of modernisation have come to the forefront of the social sciences. Although scholars such as Mircea Eliade, Frithjof Schuon and Titus Burckhardt have since the late 1950s strongly emphasized the religious aspects of tradition and traditional societies, most of the studies on the issue of tradition and modernity in the 1960s and the early 1970s were confined to the realms of sociology and anthropology.

Despite the vagueness of the definitions, many papers and books with titles incorporating the terms 'traditional', 'tradition', 'modern', and 'modernity' appeared between the late 1950s and early 1970s. *The Passing of Traditional Society* (Daniel Lerner and Lucille Pevsner, 1958), *The Golden Road to Modernity* (M. Nash, 1965), *Tradition and Modernity Reconsidered* (Reinhard Bendix, 1967), *The Modernity of Tradition* (S. and L. Rudolph, 1967), *When a Great Tradition Modernises* (Milton Singer, 1972), and *Tradition, Change, and Modernity* (S.N. Eisenstadt, 1973) are just a handful of examples among hundreds of books with similar titles. The titles themselves show clearly how multifarious the arguments are. Since the middle of the 1970s the issues have again been debated more historically, philosophically, and religiously. *Sacred Tradition and Present Need* (Jacob Needleman and Dennis Lewis, 1975), *Knowledge and the Sacred* (Seyyed Hossein Nasr, 1981), *Modernity – An Incomplete Project* (Jürgen Habermas, 1983), *Modernity as an Eternal Present* (Georg Simmel, 1985), and *Five Faces of Modernity* (Matei Calinescu, 1987) are examples of this tendency.

The rise of these debates on the tradition-modernity issue in the social sciences soon had repercussions in architectural circles. The widespread

frustration with modern architecture emerged in the 1960s. It has since then been declared to be in a crisis (M. MacEwen, 1974); been considered as having ended as a fiasco (Peter Blake, 1974) and to be a failure (Brent Brolin, 1976); or been pronounced dead (Charles Jencks, 1977). People vary in the degree to which they reject the body of social and aesthetic doctrines which characterises modern architecture, but the suggestion that prevailing models of modern architectural development have broken down has become generally recognised. Consequently, the potentiality of modernising traditional architecture or traditionalising modern architecture has received close attention. However, most of the discussions have ended fruitlessly and the issue is still in a state of perplexity. This is because the meanings of 'tradition' and 'modernity' remain confused among those who discuss them, leaving aside the nature of traditional architecture and modern architecture which themselves need to be studied very carefully.

In my view, the task of defining the fundamental differences which are represented by the idea of tradition and the concept of modernity as well as by traditional architecture and modern architecture is essential to deepening our understanding of the problems existing in modern architecture and a prerequisite to the projection of a new architecture. This chapter, therefore, is intended to explore two important and crucial issues: first, the schism between tradition and modernity; and second, the differences between traditional architecture and modern architecture.

## **1-2 BACKGROUND: THE CRITICISM OF MODERN ARCHITECTURE**

Generally speaking, the arrival of modern architecture has been a threat to the survival of traditional architecture. This is mainly because modern architecture has become, in the public eye, a symbol of progress and modernity. The replacement of traditional architecture by modern architecture is now a common phenomenon throughout the world in both developed and developing countries.

In traditional societies, architecture is an inseparable part of a complex socio-cultural manifestation. However, this situation has changed drastically since new building materials and building technology began to be employed in the production of architecture in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Modern Movement in architecture reached its zenith in the first half of the twentieth century. Except for a few architects such as Alvar Aalto and Hans

Scharoun, most people in architectural circles during that time were full of enthusiasm about creating a new technology-oriented architecture to represent the new industrialised era. The atmosphere of architectural developments at that time is epitomised in the following extracts from the manifestoes of the period.

The decorative must be abolished. The problem of Futurist architecture must be solved not by plagiarising China, Persia, or Japan with the aid of photographs, not by foolishly adhering to the rules of Vitruvius, but by strokes of genius and armed with scientific and technical experience. – Antonio Sant’Elia and Filippo Tommaso Marinetti: *Futurist Architecture*, 1914.<sup>1</sup>

A great epoch has begun. There exists a new spirit. Industry, overwhelming us like a flood which rolls on towards its destined ends, has furnished us with new tools adapted to this new epoch, animated by the new spirit... We must create the mass-production spirit. The spirit of constructing mass-production houses. The spirit of living in mass-production houses. The spirit of conceiving mass-production houses. – Le Corbusier: *Towards A New Architecture: Guiding Principles*, 1920.<sup>2</sup>

I see in industrialisation the central problem of building in our time. If we succeed in carrying out this industrialisation, the social, economic, technical and also artistic problems will be readily solved. – Ludwig Mies van der Rohe: *Industrialised Building*, 1924.<sup>3</sup>

It is urgently necessary for architecture, abandoning the outmoded conceptions connected with the class of craftsmen, henceforth to rely upon the present realities of industrial technology, even though such an attitude must perforce lead to products fundamentally different from those of past epoch. – CIAM: *La Sarraz Declaration*, 1928.<sup>4</sup>

It(a modern building) must be true to itself, logically transparent and virginal of lies or trivialities, as befits a direct affirmation of our contemporary world of mechanisation and rapid transit. – Walter Gropius: *The New Architecture and the Bauhaus*, 1935.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Ulrich Conrads (1970), p.36.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 61–62.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p.81.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p.110.

<sup>5</sup> Walter Gropius (1935), p. 82.

Although originating in the developed world, modern architecture is no less popular in the developing world where architectural activities are at their most intensive. Since the modernisation of architecture in most developing countries coincides with their nations' industrialisation, which brings along many material benefits, people there are inclined to interpret modern architecture as one of the symbols of the modern civilisation any industrialised country should have. A large number of people in the developing world are fascinated with and enchanted by this material modernity. They are eager to assimilate modern civilisation and ignore their own tradition, trying, in this way, to become more like the notion of the 'modern man'; they believe modernisation can only be achieved through the abandonment of traditional culture which they denounce as obsolete.

Modernist architects, influenced by the Utopian theorists of the nineteenth century, tended to deal ideologically with how people should live ideally, rather than how they actually live. Their social aims were explicit in their manifestoes. In the real situations, demolishing low-rise, high-density traditional settlements and replacing them with low-density, high-rise modern flats and super-block office compounds are typical solutions propounded by Modernist architects. What Modernist architects were planning was not only a built environment but also a social Utopia. However, such social aim of enhancing the situation of all human beings to an ideal condition failed to be fulfilled because they relied too much on merely constructing new buildings and ignored many of the crucial socio-cultural factors lying behind architecture.

From the middle of this century onwards, people, professionals as well as laymen, began to argue that many of the new building projects executed according to Modernist principles gave rise to serious social problems such as robbery, rape, alienation, and the vandalising of property. The conditions were usually so bad that they were absolutely opposite to the healthy and enjoyable living environment imagined by architects and developers at the design stage.

In 1961 Jane Jacobs launched her attack on modern cities in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. She argued that most American cities were sacked rather than re-built whenever Modernist planning principles were

applied.<sup>6</sup> In 1966 Robert Venturi in *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* challenged orthodox Modernist ideologies by advocating “a complex and contradictory architecture based on the richness and ambiguity of modern experience.”<sup>7</sup> In 1976 Brent Brolin in *The Failure of Modern Architecture* blamed Modernist architects for creating an artificial schism between the past and the present and refusing to recognise the value of tradition as a stabilising factor in human relations.<sup>8</sup> In 1977 Peter Blake exposed eleven ‘fantasies’ existing in the modern built environment in *Form Follows Fiasco*. He ironically blamed the malfunction of the modern built environment on the fact that most Modernist architects blindly follow the dogmas and principles set by their leaders. He concluded that “the environment we have built over the past century or so with supreme confidence is literally collapsing.”<sup>9</sup>

All of these books have been read widely and have been quoted extensively by architectural critics and historians. Certainly, one cannot question their inferences, but one doubts if their arguments pinpoint the real problems of modern architecture. The central difficulty lies in their partial understanding of both traditional architecture and modern architecture.

Most of the symptoms of modern architecture diagnosed by Jane Jacobs are social ills such as crime and alienation. Of course, such social problems are closely related to the built environment and are certainly no less important than architectural ones. But I do not think architects and planners can solve these problems solely by resorting to the construction of new architecture. Because she did not pinpoint the real etiological factors which can only come from an objective study of the data before jumping to the conclusion about the best way to re-build and plan modern cities, Jane Jacob’s arguments and tactics, based on random observation and personal interpretation, look persuasive at first but finally proved unproductive.

<sup>6</sup> Jane Jacobs (1965), p.14.

<sup>7</sup> Robert Venturi (1977), p.16.

<sup>8</sup> Brent Brolin (1976), p.60. The term ‘tradition’ used by Brolin simply refers something that was in the past, something that was customary, or that had a measure of historical continuity. A discussion of the meaning of ‘tradition’ will be taken in the next section.

<sup>9</sup> Peter Blake (1977), p.11.

Robert Venturi's argument is basically about the articulation of form and space in architecture. His pluralistic approach has indeed had a great influence on architects of the younger generation. However, despite his arguments for a diverse and sophisticated architecture, he seldom explores convincingly the meaning behind the complexity and contradiction advocated by him so strongly. His arguments are based more on his own 'likes' and 'dislikes' than on objective study. The criteria for the evaluation of the purity-complexity and straightforward-contradiction issues remain ambiguous.

Brent Brolin's arguments are the most culture-oriented of all. But he spends most of his time in linking what he calls "the cultural roots of modern architecture", namely, capitalism, Protestant ethics, the missionary attitude, romanticism and the theory of evolution, to the failure of modern architecture. In order to link these things together, Brolin inevitably has to omit factors which are important to architecture but irrelevant to his discussion.

In his well-illustrated exposure of the fantasy of the modern built environment, Peter Blake seems to have touched on all the negative facets of modern architecture. But he overemphasizes the cost and maintenance issues. I am not against the idea that such criteria should be taken into consideration, but I believe the failure or success of architecture goes far beyond these factors. Besides, his alternative proposal that there should be a moratorium on all architectural activity is clearly more satirical than realistic.

In spite of the reservations I have about whether or not these books have made much of a contribution to the development of architecture since the 1960s, their authors' unanimous attitude towards the past must not be ignored. Although they begin with different points of view, all of them have reached a similar conclusion, i.e., that something very important to architecture in the past is missing from modern architecture. For Jane Jacobs, these missing factors are the safety of the community, the diversity of the city (mixed primary uses and buildings of various ages), and the concentration of the city (small blocks and a sufficient density of people). For Robert Venturi, they are the richness, sophistication, juxtaposition, double-function, and inflection of architectural articulation in space and form. For Brent Brolin, they are the traditional visual and social values. And Peter Blake has suggested that they are the variety of building types and styles, as well as the vibrancy, excitement, irritation, and stimulation of streets.

In other words, all of these writers have come to the conclusion that the failure of modern architecture is largely due to its exclusion of factors and values present in traditional architecture. But why? None of them has provided a clear explanation or accurately identified the origins of this failure. In order to make this clear, we have to understand how modern architecture has been differentiated by Modernist architects from its historical predecessors. To help in this process, I shall later analyse the basic differences between traditional architecture and modern architecture. But before doing so, it is necessary for us to clarify the meaning of the terms 'tradition', 'modernity', 'traditional society', and 'modern society' which so far have been used without definition.

### **1-3 TRADITION AND MODERNITY**

#### **The Meaning of Tradition and Modernity**

##### **Tradition.**

Tradition is a term used rather indiscriminately. Throughout the history of the social sciences, there exist many different definitions of tradition. In its strict sense, the term 'tradition' has a neutral significance which denotes the 'transmission', usually oral or experiential, whereby modes of activity or taste or belief are handed down from one generation to the next, and thus perpetuated.<sup>10</sup> Seyyed Hossein Nasr shares this view but emphasizes its implications more forcibly. He has added that tradition "is related etymologically to transmission" and "contains within the scope of its meaning the idea of the transmission of knowledge, practice, techniques, laws, forms, and many other elements of both an oral and written nature."<sup>11</sup>

In a concrete sense, the term 'tradition' means the elements of culture so transmitted. This is put well by Edward Shils who has described tradition as that which is handed down – including material objects, beliefs about all sorts of things, images of persons and events, practices and institutions. In this

<sup>10</sup> Julius Gould and William L. Kolb (1964), p.723.

<sup>11</sup> Seyyed Hossein Nasr (1981), p.67.



sense, tradition includes buildings, monuments, landscapes, sculptures, paintings, books, tools, machines, i.e. "all that a society of a given time possesses and which already existed when its present possessors came upon it and which is not solely the product of physical processes in the external world or exclusively the result of ecological and physiological necessity."<sup>12</sup>

In both cases, the emphasis is on the notion of continuity and stability. But Seyyed Hossein Nasr has pointed out one important thing which Edward Shils played down: tradition has religious connotations. "Tradition is inextricably related to revelation and religion, to the sacred, to the notion of orthodoxy, to authority, to the continuity and regularity of transmission of the truth, to the exoteric and esoteric as well as to the spiritual life, science, and arts."<sup>13</sup>

### **Modernity.**

Like 'tradition', 'modernity' has been one of the central foci of discussion in various fields within the social sciences for several decades. Although there may be slight differences in defining it, most writers nevertheless accept that the term refers to the state of being modern: the state in which everything is cut off from a normative past; a state in which tradition has lost its legitimacy.<sup>14</sup>

In its strictest sense, then, modernity is in a position irreconcilably opposed to tradition. If tradition is centred upon religion, the concept of modernity asserts itself only in nonreligious matters such as philosophy, science, literature, building construction, and economic development. A society becomes modern only when it has totally rejected the socio-cultural and religious bonds present in a traditional society.

For the past ten years, the debate on modernity has been intensified by both its opponents and proponents. On the one hand, Post-Modernists such as Fredric Jameson denounce the culture of modernity in order to guarantee a

---

<sup>12</sup> Edward Shils (1981), p.12.

<sup>13</sup> Seyyed Hossein Nasr (1981), p.68.

<sup>14</sup> For more discussions of modernity, see: Marshall Berman (1982); Bill Bourne, Udi Eichler and David Herman (1987); Matel Calinescu (1987); and S.N. Eisenstadt (1973).

place for post-modernism and post-industrialism.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, scholars such as Daniel Bell argue that "modernity depends on the process of secularisation. ... What is good for secularised society, i.e., capitalist modernisation, is catastrophic for culture, since a culture rendered profane evokes subversive attitudes."<sup>16</sup> Jürgen Habermas, one of the leading figures of the Frankfurt School, on the other hand, defends the legitimacy of modernity dialectically by calling modernity "an incomplete project". He insists that "instead of giving up modernity and its project as a lost course, we should learn from the mistakes of those extravagant programmes which have tried to negate modernity."<sup>17</sup>

Tradition and modernity cannot co-exist in a society. Nor can they achieve a symbiosis in architecture. Tradition is the whole of a society; it is not dissectable. What can be dissected and extracted from tradition is just a strand of tradition. The life of tradition synchronizes with that of a society. But the strands of tradition may survive even when the society they belong to has declined or disappeared. Certainly, there are modernist tendencies in traditional societies which tend to be treated as aberrations, thus resisted. Even if some of them are accepted, the propensity towards change and innovation in a traditional society can still be treated as modernist tendencies but not as encompassing modernity itself. On the other hand, modern societies are pluralistic in nature; they allow traditions from the past to continue to exist. But such strands of tradition should not be mistaken as the continuity of the whole of tradition. To support this view, C.B. Wilson has pointed out that:

A society cannot be both modern and traditional at the same time. Modern society is remarkably tolerant of divergent views. It is not centred on anything in particular and certainly not on a belief in absolutes of any kind. People are free to attempt to follow traditional ways within it if they so wish, and if they prefer traditional crafts, foods, or buildings, they may have them – always providing them accept them as 'traditional style' and do not threaten the established order by demanding the real thing! But this established order – the order of modern institutions and of the world-view and manner of thinking they represent – is

<sup>15</sup> David Frisby (1985), p.122.

<sup>16</sup> Quoted in Jürgen Habermas (1985), p. 22.

<sup>17</sup> Jürgen Habermas (1985), p.12. For other arguments by Habermas also see: Richard J. Bernstein (1985).

itself precisely not traditional.<sup>18</sup>

### How Do Traditional Societies Become Modern?

After understanding the basic meaning of tradition and modernity, we may continue our inquiry into what traditional societies are and what are their modern counterparts. How do traditional societies become modern? The characteristics of traditional and modern societies have been extensively studied by social scientists for nearly a century. As early as in 1887, Ferdinand Toennies had distinguished the community (*Gemeinschaft*) from the association (*Gesellschaft*) to describe traditional and non-traditional societies. The 'Organic' solidarity and 'mechanical' solidarity in societies, is a similar distinction made by Emil Durkheim in 1893.<sup>19</sup> These two sets of distinctions have been followed by numerous dichotomous interpretations of traditional and modern societies in the twentieth century.

As a general rule, traditional societies have been depicted as being static with little differentiation or specialisation, as well as a low level of urbanisation and literacy, whereas modern societies have been viewed as those with high degrees of differentiation, specialisation, urbanisation, and literacy. Traditional societies are bounded by the cultural horizons set by their particular tradition, while modern societies are culturally dynamic and oriented towards change and innovation.<sup>20</sup>

Frithjof Schuon, on the other hand, emphasizes traditional societies' possession of the idea of Centre and the idea of Origin.

The whole existence of the peoples of antiquity and of traditional peoples in general, is dominated by two presiding ideas, the idea of Centre and the idea of Origin. In the spatial world we live in, every value is related back in one way or another to a sacred Centre, to the place where Heaven has touched the earth; in every human world there is a place where

---

<sup>18</sup> C.B. Wilson (1988b), from a paper read in the 3rd Asian Congress of Architects (Seoul, November, 1988).

<sup>19</sup> See: Ferdinand Toennies (1955), an English translation from *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* originally published in Auflage in 1887. Also see: Emil Durkheim (1933).

<sup>20</sup> S.N. Eisenstadt (1973), p. 108 & p. 261.

God has manifested Himself to spread His grace therein. To conform to tradition is to keep faith with the Origin and for that very reason it is also to be situated at the centre.<sup>21</sup>

Similarly, Mircea Eliade has pointed out that traditional societies are exclusively religious.

Ultimately, for the man of archaic society, the very fact of living in the world has a religious value. For he lives in a world which has been created by supernatural beings and where his village or house is an image of cosmos. The cosmology does not yet possess profane, protoscientific values and functions. The cosmology, that is, the cosmological images and symbols which inform the habitable world, is not only a system of religious ideas but also a pattern of religious behaviour.<sup>22</sup>

By contrast, modern societies are not centred upon anything in particular but lay the stress on the human and scientific order. In order to become modern, some changes have to take place within traditional societies. Among these changes, the industrialisation, urbanisation, rationalisation, secularisation, and conceptualisation are the most crucial and important.

### **Industrialisation.**

According to the suggestions of sociologists such as M. Levy, W. Rostow and C. Black, the core of modernisation appears to be rapid technological change in the shape of industrialisation.<sup>23</sup> It first took place in Britain at the end of the eighteenth century, then spread to the European Continent, the U.S.A. and finally almost everywhere in the world.

The impact of industrialisation on traditional societies is overwhelming. In

<sup>21</sup> Frithjof Schuon (1965), p. 7.

<sup>22</sup> Mircea Eliade (1976), p. 21. A similar view is also shared by C.B. Wilson, see: C.B. Wilson (1984), (1988a) and (1988b). Based on these sets of distinctions, scholars in different circles may add more characteristics to each type of society. For example, when econo-political factors are taken into consideration, traditional societies can be characterised by subsistence economies; face-to-face social structures in which the family predominates; cultural systems that emphasize heredity, devotion and mystery; and a highly personalised political system that is virtually an extension of the joint family. And modern societies can be characterised by industrialised economies; complex and impersonal social structures; a culture that emphasizes the values of science, knowledge and achievement; and a highly bureaucratised political system legitimised through rational processes, like elections. See: R. Macridis and B. Brown (1972), pp. 387-388.

<sup>23</sup> See: M. Levy (1966), W. Rostow (1971), and C. Black (1966).

an introductory book on industrialisation and culture, Christopher Harvie, Graham Martin and Aaron Scharf have described the impact of industrialisation as follows: "Physically, it (industrialisation) liberated man by overcoming the barrier of distance, by cheapening commodities, and by diversifying social experiences. Politically, it helped to release him from the encumbrance of prescriptive privilege and traditional inequality. Philosophically, it was accompanied by a change in man's way of thinking of himself, a change from the idea of man as a child of God to man as a child of nature, no less an object for scientific investigation than other natural phenomena."<sup>24</sup>

As regards industrialisation in Europe, the change in architecture was manifested most strongly in the decline of traditional craftsmanship in the middle of the nineteenth century. In traditional societies, craftsmanship is not conceived of merely as a means of productive activity, but as containing ritual elements, maintaining the stability and relational adequacy of a person's position in his culture. Since industrialisation took place, the progress of building technology, and its influence on the standardisation and prefabrication of building components, have become the dominant force behind the rapid expansion of industrialised building in this century. Gradually, every part of the building has been taken out of the hands of the craftsman and given to the machine.

### **Urbanisation.**

Following on industrialisation and economic development comes the rapid urbanisation of society. Like industrialisation, it was in the beginning a phenomenon confined to Western Europe and the U.S.A. in the nineteenth century, but soon extended to other parts of the world, especially Asia and Latin America where the flight of population from rural areas to urban areas is most evident.

Physically speaking, with the increase of population in urban areas, land becomes relatively scarce and the original amenities of the settlement are progressively destroyed. Overcrowding becomes very intense and burgeoning slums emerge everywhere due to the shortage of housing. In order to cope

---

<sup>24</sup> Christopher Harvie, Graham Martin and Aaron Scharf (1970), p. 11.

with the increasing population and booming economic development, the construction of housing and office blocks proceeds almost endlessly. In addition to sprawling outwards, urban buildings also sprout upwards as tall skyscrapers. The encroachment onto arable land by urbanisation together with the increasing mechanisation and intensification of farming also certainly damage the rural scene.

In addition to physical transformation, rapid urbanisation is also accompanied by an increasing tempo of socio-cultural change. Firstly, "contacts in the urban setting become secondary, segmental, and utilitarian, rather than primary, integral, and sentimental as in the traditional social order."<sup>25</sup> Psychological and neurotic tensions occur with greater frequency when more and more people are herded together in confined urban areas. Secondly, "cohesion in the urban social order becomes a function of interdependence engendered by increased specialisation and division of labour; it is no longer the product of the constraint of convention in a relatively homogeneous and closed traditional order."<sup>26</sup>

### **Secularisation.**

Despite the great influence of industrialisation and urbanisation, the most important process of modernisation, however, is secularisation. In the West, the Christian religion was the principle of unity in medieval society. But it began to decline when the process of secularisation started to take place during the Renaissance. The Catholic historian Christopher Dawson has described this phenomenon:

The Renaissance culture of Southern Europe ... represents a secularisation of life – a reaction from the cloister to the world – from the monastic ideal of religious contemplation to the active life of lay society. The supremacy of the Catholic tradition in the purely religious sphere was not challenged, but it no longer dominated the whole culture. Life was regarded not as a pilgrimage towards eternity, but as a fine art in which every opportunity for knowledge and enjoyment was to be cultivated.<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>25</sup> Philip M. Hauser (1966), p. 210.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Christopher Dawson (1945), p. 182.

With the rise of Humanism, man, rather than God, the human, rather than the Divine, became the focus of Renaissance thought. The religious and secular worlds became divided. When modernisation spreads to the non-Western world, people in favour of modernity are likely to see religion as an obstacle to the achievement of modernisation, and its decline as necessary in order to further that process. Religion has been pictured as a negative force, the opiate of the people, the barrier to creative and independent intellectual effort, and a handmaiden to ignorance.<sup>28</sup>

As the secular world intrudes on such religion-centred societies, activities unrelated to religion become increasingly important. Life becomes compartmentalised as the individual leads much of his existence in the secular world.<sup>29</sup> In secularising societies, men are likely to turn away from the eternal and absolute to the world of nature and human experience. They reject dependence on the supernatural, and judge their independence and supremacy according to the human and scientific order.<sup>30</sup>

As far as architecture is concerned, although religious buildings have increased in number, the role they play in society and the built environment has become relatively less important. Their dominance of the skylines of the built environment in the past has been superseded by buildings such as high-rise housing and office blocks. Even the meaning of religious buildings has changed a lot. In traditional societies, the construction and maintenance of a church or a temple is a matter for the whole community. Today, a religious

---

<sup>28</sup> Fred R. Von der Mehden (1986), pp. 17-19, B. Loomer (1951), p. 149, and K. Boulding (1966), p. 87. For other discussions of the dichotomous characteristics of religion and secularity in traditional and modern societies, see: J. Gusfield (1967), R. Bendix (1967) and L. and S. Rudolph (1967).

<sup>29</sup> On the subject of how religion becomes secularised, L. Shiner has clearly pointed out six religious concepts of secularisation: 1) The previously accepted symbols, doctrines and situations lose their prestige and influence; 2) The religious group or religiously informed society turns its attention from the supernatural and becomes more and more interested in "this world"; 3) Society separates itself from the religious understanding which has previously informed it in order to constitute itself an autonomous reality and consequently to limit religion to the sphere of private life; 4) Knowledge, patterns of behavior, and institutional arrangements which were once understood as being grounded in divine power are transformed into phenomena of purely human creation and responsibility; 5) The world is gradually deprived of its sacral character as man and nature become the object of rational causal explanation and manipulation; and 6) The culmination of secularisation would be a society in which all decisions are based on rational and utilitarian considerations and there is a complete acceptance of change. L. Shiner (1967), pp. 207-220. For the theory of secularisation, also see: David Martin (1969) and (1978).

<sup>30</sup> Christopher Dawson (1931), pp. 15-17.

building has become but a place for performing religious practices rather than a religious symbol in itself.

Otto von Simson has described this difference. He writes that "this attitude (of the Middle Ages) toward sacred architecture differs widely from our own. ... The simplest way of defining this difference is to recall the changed meaning and function of the symbol. For us the symbol is an image that invests physical reality with poetic meaning. For medieval man, the physical world as we understand it has no reality except as a symbol."<sup>31</sup> A religious building as a symbol, is more than a code for feelings and ideas that can readily be put into words; in such buildings, no linguistic mediation is required to know God and truth. Similarly, the religious symbols which are abundant in nonreligious buildings in traditional societies have been fading away with unprecedented speed.

### **Rationalisation.**

The period of the Renaissance also witnessed the start of the emergence of modern science. By the seventeenth century, "all the aspects of reality which could not be reduced to mathematical terms and regarded as resulting from the blind operation of material forces were treated as mere subjective impressions of the human mind, and in so far as man himself was viewed as a by-product of this vast mechanical order."<sup>32</sup> Rationalist thought has penetrated the whole of society since then.

People in a rationalist society tend to believe in science, pragmatic reasoning, and utilitarianism rather than depending on the legitimacy of scriptural teachings and traditional norms. The sociologist Daniel Lerner has explained the reasons for rationalisation in modern societies. He writes:

A (modern) mobile society has to encourage rationality, for the calculus of choice shapes individual behaviour and conditions its rewards. People come to see the social future as manipulable rather than ordained and their personal prospects in terms of achievement rather than heritage. Rationality is purposive: ways of thinking and acting are instruments of intention (not article of

<sup>31</sup> Otto von Simson (1962), pp. xix-xx.

<sup>32</sup> Christopher Dawson (1937), pp. 218-219.



faith); men succeed or fail by the test of what they accomplish (not what they worship). So whereas traditional man tended to reject innovation by saying "It has never been thus," the contemporary Westerner is more likely to ask "Does it work?" and try the new way without further ado.<sup>33</sup>

As rationalist thought became applied to architecture during and following the Renaissance, the major concern of architects shifted from spiritual commitment to the efficiency of the building production and the function of the building. Questions related to why one builds and whether such activity is justified in the existential context are avoided in modern societies.<sup>34</sup> The built form and spatial organisation in architecture are increasingly determined by mathematical calculation; the meaning of the building is decided by its function; and the production of the building is judged by the cost and time involved.

### **Conceptualisation.**

Conceptualisation is the process which is discussed least and is least visible externally. However, this should not be taken to imply that it is the least important. Rather, it is a crucial process taking place internally in almost every kind of modern production including architecture. C.B. Wilson, borrowing the notion from Jacob Needleman, has characterised traditional and modern societies respectively in terms of 'ideas' and 'concepts'. He points out that when societies become modernised, "living ideas tend to be tamed into concepts – if not killed and stuffed. This seems to be the result of an attempt to gain control of the flora and fauna of our inner worlds in somewhat

<sup>33</sup> Daniel Lerner and Lucille Pevsner (1958), pp. 48-49.

<sup>34</sup> Albert Pérez-Gómez (1983), p. 4.

analogous way to our dominance and exploitation of nature.”<sup>35</sup>

Conceptualisation has greatly affected the design and construction of architecture. In traditional societies, “architecture is an architecture of ideas – of archetypal forms, primordial acts or mythical prototypes.”<sup>36</sup> In the past, architecture was closely related to questions concerning God, immortality, morality and human identity. When a society is moving away from its traditional form, more and more human concerns, including personal emotion and taste as well as technological considerations, are subsumed under the heading of architecture. Architecture becomes determined by concepts, or ‘mental mechanisms’ to use Jacobs Needleman’s term. The emphasis of architecture has shifted from its inner quality to its outer appearance. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the rise of design methodology saw architecture as the result of an abstract problem-solving process in which architectural design was characterised by a series of phrases like ‘analysis’, ‘synthesis’, ‘evaluation’ and so on.<sup>37</sup>

### **Modernisation in the Western and Non-Western Worlds**

Although modernisation is a world-wide phenomenon, its motivation and times of occurrence were different in Western and Non-Western societies. In the West, secularisation began to take place in the Renaissance which was followed by the rise of rationalism and modern science in the seventeenth century and the Industrial Revolution in the late eighteenth century. Only after all of these had taken place did the rise of modernism occur in the early

---

<sup>35</sup> C.B. Wilson (1988a), p. 46. He distinguishes ideas from concepts and points out that while we learn concepts, we are absorbed by ideas; we grasp a concept but are moved by an idea; conceptual frameworks can be constructed while ideas seem to have a birth and life of their own. He also adds ‘conventional ideas’ as something between ideas and concepts. This is derived from the expression ‘conceptualised ideas’ used by Jacob Needleman. When comparing concepts with ideas, Jacob Needleman says: Concepts are, so to speak, problem-solving devices, the internal equivalent of technologies; they are the technologies of the mind-machine. ... Concepts are no more nor less than tools by which man combines or analyses that which he already knows through perceptions. If man’s perceptions are limited mainly to the external senses, concepts can do no more than organise the material collected by the senses. Concepts can never reach beyond the level of perception or awareness at which man lives. Ideas, on the other hand, evoke, support, and require a high level of awareness itself. See: Jacob Needleman (1982), pp. 46-47.

<sup>36</sup> C.B. Wilson (1988a), p. 46.

<sup>37</sup> For discussions of design methodology and problem-solving, see: Tom Heath (1984), Nigel Cross (1984), and Peter G. Rowe (1987).

twentieth century, when the urbanisation of the settlement accelerated and conceptualisation began to hold sway over most forms of production. In other words, there was a long transitional period before traditional societies become modernised in the West.

In the non-Western countries, modernisation had a totally different story and timetable. By and large, modernisation was an indigenous development in the West, whereas its spread to Asian, African, and Latin American countries was the result of external forces impinging on traditional societies. And in most cases, modernisation in these countries took place when they were colonised by the West. Anisuzzaman and Anouar Abdel-Malek have clearly defined this phenomenon.

The case of the Third World was different, in that modernity was imposed on the colonies by the West. Although confrontations between civilisations had taken place in the past, nothing was comparable to the impact of the West on the rest of the world from the sixteenth century onwards, for here was a situation for the first time which presented not merely a confrontation of civilisations, but the problem of the appropriations of the rest of the world by one civilisation – as if a totalitarian logic was at work that denied the existence of any partner in a dialogue.<sup>38</sup>

This statement is certainly not an exaggeration. In the non-Western world, modernisation generally meant a progressively speeded-up assimilation of Western science, technology, and institutions. Modernisation was felt to be the only way to withstand the thrust and threat created by Western economic, political, and military forces. Science, technology, and institutions were imported wholesale from the West and added to the existing social order without careful scrutiny; with time, a modern society will emerge that was quite different from any Western modern society.

During the past two centuries, many traditional societies in the non-Western world have undergone widespread and profound transformations of this sort, in technological development, material life and religious practices. For the authorities and many people in these traditional societies, these changes were looked upon as a necessity that would facilitate the

---

<sup>38</sup> Anisuzzaman and Anouar Abdel-Malek (1983), pp. 7-8.

transformation from a traditional culture into a modern one. The fact that many of these changes would lead to the destruction and disappearance of tradition rather than modernisation and transformation was ignored.

Among the many problems of modernisation in non-Western countries, the biggest is that too often a traditional society suddenly becomes a modern one, a phenomenon which causes an immediate conflict/symbiosis dilemma between tradition and modernity because people are anxious to welcome the arrival of modernity on the one hand and cannot totally give up tradition right away on the other. Societies in the non-Western world generally have little patience with the historic pace of Western development; what happened in the West over centuries people in the non-Western world try to accomplish in years.

#### 1-4 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TRADITIONAL AND MODERN ARCHITECTURE

After equipping ourselves with a clearer idea of tradition and modernity as well as of traditional and modern societies, we can now return to a more detailed discussion of the issue of architecture. In traditional societies, architecture is an inseparable part of society. The way of constructing buildings and the values associated with it are in a condition of unbroken continuity. But this does not mean that traditional societies are inert in terms of social and technological change. Changes certainly occur within traditional societies. However, the traditional context ensures that any further change will be restricted within the framework provided by tradition. As a result, anyone who is not sensitive enough will not be able to detect these changes. Externally, traditional societies look stable to the outsiders. But, "stability is not the result of stagnation but of a belief in the value of the tradition and of the consequent distrust of arbitrary innovation. In particular, in the arts and crafts, including architecture, there are canons codifying traditional norms", as C.B. Wilson points out.<sup>39</sup>

In modern societies, architecture is associated with material modernity and asserts itself historically in the irreconcilable opposition between a 'rationality and technology'-oriented architecture and a 'life and experience'-oriented architecture. When Sant'Elia advocated in *Futurist Manifesto* in 1914 that

---

<sup>39</sup> C.B. Wilson (1986b), pp. 13-14.

architecture should “break free from tradition” and “begin again from the beginning”<sup>40</sup>, a schism was formed between tradition and modernity in architecture. The schism was re-enforced in 1920 by Le Corbusier’s *Towards A New Architecture* in which he proclaimed that a totally new epoch had begun.

The following analysis describes six dichotomous characteristics of modern architecture and traditional architecture. However, it must be borne in mind that it is only for temporary convenience in this discussion that we treat these characteristics as separate discourses.

### Epistemological Discourse

#### Fact.

There exists a basic difference in the cognition of architecture between people in traditional and modern societies. People in traditional societies believe in the existence of an omnipotent power. In such religious societies, the morphology of a settlement grows endogenously which not only creates a strong sense of cultural centering but also carries the implication that the supreme goal of architecture can only be fulfilled on a transcendental level. Architecture is a whole in a traditional society; it is meaningful on both material and spiritual levels. A building is a physical shelter as well as a mediate edifice where man can place himself between Heaven and Earth.

The accumulated knowledge of modern science and technology has changed the way people cognise architecture. For modern man, architecture is a product of technology, a result of rationality. Thousands of buildings can be mass-produced in a very short time by means of mechanically efficient equipment. Modernist architects with their emphasis on technological liberation, seek to differentiate man from nature and the past; they tend to ignore how architecture in the past conformed to supernatural patterns; they tend to justify their approach with the belief that everyone in a scientific world should have the same physical and social needs. Modernists pay their ultimate homage to science and technology instead of to human beings and God.

---

<sup>40</sup> Antonio Sant’Elia (1914), p.35.

## Discussion.

The most prominent change in people's cognition of architecture in modern societies is that the estrangement of architecture from its spiritual commitments is taken for granted. Rationality has become the highest guideline for human actions. Technology is idealised and exalted in modern societies for its role in the production of architecture. Manifestoes by the leaders of modern architecture in the first half of this century bear witness to this tendency.<sup>41</sup>

However, if we carefully examine these manifestoes, we will find that most of them contain both physical and metaphysical connotations. For example, in spite of his acclamation of the development of modern architecture as a "breach with the past" which "enables us to envisage a new aspect of architecture corresponding to the technical civilisation of the age we live in".<sup>42</sup>, Walter Gropius also appeals for a harmonious relationship between man and nature and protests at the destructive approach of some of his contemporaries and followers. According to him, "man has evolved a mutual relationship with nature on earth, but his power to change its surface has grown so tremendously that this may become a curse instead of a blessing." He thinks that only "until we love and respect the land almost religiously, its fatal deterioration will go on."<sup>43</sup>

Frank Lloyd Wright, another case in point, was never really fascinated by the idea of a universal and industrialised architecture advocated by his European counterparts. To him, "any building for human purposes should be an elemental, sympathetic feature of the ground, complementary to its nature-environment, belonging by kinship to the terrain." The overwhelming domination of the machine is, in his eye, a worrisome phenomenon. So he

---

<sup>41</sup> The abundance of leaders and manifestoes is a significant phenomenon in the development of modern architecture. In the following discussion we will use the term 'the leaders' and 'the followers' of modern architecture instead of the commonly used 'the first generation' and 'the second generation' of Modernist architects which can be confusing, because of the impossibility of drawing a sharp line between generations.

<sup>42</sup> Walter Gropius (1956), p.69. The quotation is from an article entitled 'The Formal and Technical Problems of Modern Architecture and Planning' published in the *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, May 19, 1934.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 169.

reminds the public that "human houses should not be like boxes, blazing in the sun, nor should we outrage the machine by trying to make dwelling-places too complementary to machinery."<sup>44</sup>

Mies van der Rohe also believed that the ultimate function of architecture lies in spiritual fulfilment. He wrote that "in its simplest form architecture is rooted in entirely functional consideration; but it can reach up through all degrees of values to the highest sphere of spiritual existence."<sup>45</sup> Even Le Corbusier, when he coined his famous "A house is a machine for living in" maxim, did not mean that a house should be dehumanised. The mechanical quality is only one of the two characters Le Corbusier proposed for a house. What he wrote was that "a house has to fulfil two purposes. First it is a machine for living in ... that is, a machine to provide us with efficient help for speed and accuracy in our work, a diligent and helpful machine which should satisfy all our physical needs: comfort. But it should also be a place conducive to meditation, and lastly, a beautiful place, bring much-needed tranquillity to the mind."<sup>46</sup>

The leaders of modern architecture do acknowledge the importance of spiritual factors in the built environment although many of what they emphasize are, strictly speaking, something to do with emotion and feelings. In other words, most of what they stress are not religious but spiritual aspects. It is their followers who tended to make architecture a purely material establishment whose form is purposely transparent in order to highlight its utilitarian aspects, whose idea is to control nature, and whose goal is to change the world rather than to represent it. For these followers, all elements of architecture have to be reduced to mere materials; dehistoricised in order to become mere constructional components; all historical referents have to give place to plain facade and ornamentless volume in order to sing the praise of universality.

---

<sup>44</sup> Frank Lloyd Wright (1931), p. 61. By bringing Frank Lloyd Wright into the context of this discussion, we do not mean to imply that he is also a leader of modern architecture. However, his role in the development of modern architecture is too important to neglect.

<sup>45</sup> The quotation is from the inaugural address as the director of architecture at Armour Institute of Technology made by Mies van der Rohe in 1938. Quoted in Philip Johnson (1947), p. 33.

<sup>46</sup> Le Corbusier (1924), p. 133.

In the course of their searching for a homogeneous and universal architecture to represent a scientific world, the followers of modern architecture consciously excluded the idea of any omnipotent power; they preferred a Cartesian or Rationalist architectural expression which treats human visual, spatial and other sensory experiences indifferently. Architecture becomes imperceptible and indistinguishable because buildings are materialised and de-spiritualised into abstract objects. Modern man has lost his consciousness of "the idea of Centre and the idea of Origin" and their association with the built environment which are so profound in traditional societies.

Up to now, hardly any architectural writer has explored the failure of modern architecture from the epistemological point of view. The argument of the theoretical physicist Fritjof Capra, based on a holistic approach, can give us a clue to the potentially chaotic situation if architects over-indulge themselves in these scientific ideals. He criticises the current condition as entailing "an overwhelming emphasis on reductionist science." And he argues that such a condition will inevitably bring us to develop a fragmented mechanistic worldview which will lead us to a profound cultural imbalance and generate numerous symptoms of ill health.<sup>47</sup>

Similarly that the harmony between man and nature has been destroyed due to man's over-emphasis of science and technology has been accepted by most people. But very few have realised that "this disequilibrium is due to the destruction of the harmony between man and God. ... The suffocating material environment created by industrialisation and mechanisation which is felt by all who live in large urban centres of today, is a consequence of the purely material and quantitative nature of the sciences whose applications have made industrialisation possible."<sup>48</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Fritjof Capra (1982), pp. 248-249.

<sup>48</sup> Seyyed Hossein Nasr (1976), pp. 20-23. He points out that "the world view of modern science, especially as propagated through its vulgarisation, itself contributes to this secularisation of nature and of natural substances." He thinks this can be described as the loss of cosmology. And "the disappearance of a real cosmology in the West is due in general to the neglect of metaphysics, and more particularly to a failure to remember the hierarchies of being and knowledge."



## **Formal Discourse**

### **Fact.**

In traditional societies nearly every, if not every architectural form is designed to serve physical and metaphysical purposes simultaneously. On the one hand, architectural forms are the result of different structural and constructional systems. On the other, they are the embodiment of people's socio-cultural beliefs and aspirations. Together they represent the efforts of the people who, through the generations, express themselves in such a way that every detail of the architectural form is part of a mirror reflecting the society. In traditional societies, architectural forms are not invented, though they are modified by the craftsmen. They are executed by the craftsmen according to an inherited rule which regulates the use of size, motif, and colour in terms of the social order.

The revolution of building technology in this century has made almost any form in architecture possible. Since the early years of this century, architects have seized upon new materials and technology in order as to create new architectural forms for a modern era. In contrast to traditional architectural forms, which imply a collective value shared by all people in the society, the form of modern architecture is always the brain-child of a single architect or a particular design team, and in most cases, is created on the drafting board without taking socio-cultural patterns specifically into consideration. In order to break with tradition and search for new forms, Modernist architects idealise the elements of architecture at the expense of the diverse and sophisticated expression of architectural forms in traditional societies.

### **Discussion.**

The exploration of new forms by means of new building materials and technology has been the focus of activity for many Modernist architects for nearly a century. For them, any architectural form should follow function – that is, express the environmental or structural functions of the material or emerge out of a construction system.

The dialogues on modern architectural forms always circle around spatial, functional, material, and structural issues. It goes without saying that these aspects are important to architectural form. At least that is how Modernist

architects tend to see things. But their views are often expressed through manifestoes rather than through real buildings. In fact, a large percentage of architectural forms are not determined by the function that a building should perform; nor are they determined by the materials of which a building is constructed, a phenomenon criticised by Reyner Banham as the “periodical embarrassment” of architectural practitioners.<sup>49</sup>

Nowadays, architectural forms are likely to be determined by the intelligence of architects alone, which although it increases the variety of the formal expression, decreases the levels of meaning in architectural forms. Alan Colquhoun points out that the reason why formal expression became a major concern of Modernist architects in this century is because they did recognise that a simple antihistorical functionalism, based on materials and utility, is insufficient to generate expressive architecture.<sup>50</sup> Unfortunately, many valuable symbolic meanings rooted in traditional architectural forms started to decline in the Renaissance and finally became completely erased when Modernist architects tried to simplify their formal expression in order to match the spirit of a universal civilisation. Certainly, the change is not an instant process. Since the Renaissance, there has been a new approach – the deliberate introduction of formal conventions – which allows the past to be rejected or used and thus enables Modernist formal expression to emerge.

Traditional architectural forms are not only the result of physical forces, as made apparent by the laws of gravity, resistance, and cohesion, but also an accumulation of spiritual forces as significant in their way as the performance of religious ceremonies and rituals. Generation after generation, responses to these forces gradually become a rule. In societies characterised as traditional, architectural forms lie inside the realm of this inherited rule dominated by such principles and their applications.

The leaders of modern architecture, in fact, regarded this rule as essential. According to Walter Gropius, the evolution of architectural forms, “is dependent not only upon an immense expenditure of technical and material resources, but

---

<sup>49</sup> Reyner Banham (1962), p.30.

<sup>50</sup> Alan Colquhoun (1981), pp. 43–50.

also upon the emergence of new philosophical concepts deriving from a series of intuitive perceptions.”<sup>51</sup> He also pointed out that “the desire to repeat a good standard form seems to be a function of society, and that was true long before the impact of industrialisation. ... Men did not hesitate to accept widely repeated standard forms in pre-machine periods of civilisation.”<sup>52</sup> Obviously, what Walter Gropius call a ‘standard form’ has nothing to do with the means of producing it – the hand tool or the machine; it is in fact part of tradition.<sup>53</sup> On this subject, Yi-Fu Tuan remarks further that “religion, since it is concerned with stable truths, contributes to the conservatism of architectural form. The same shaped houses and city are made again and again as though they come out of mold of some unthinking process of mass production; yet each is probably built with a sense of solemnity.”<sup>54</sup> And of course, no two are exactly identical. It is the archetype which is repeated, not the concrete and material form.

“Form Follows Function” is an aphorism which many Modernist architects used as a foundation to defend the purely functional forms of modern architecture. But when Louis Sullivan first used this aphorism, what he intended to mean went far beyond the ways in which it is usually interpreted. Although he tries to tell us that the form of good architecture must clearly correspond with its function, Louis Sullivan also attempts to convince us that “behind every form we see there is a vital something or other which we do not see, yet which makes itself visible to us in that every form.” He believes this invisible force is “a manifestation of the infinite creation”, i.e. God.<sup>55</sup>

The belief that architectural forms are determined by spiritual and physical forces together began to be consciously ignored and disdained by architects when they started to rely on scientific design methods to solve architectural

<sup>51</sup> Walter Gropius (1931), p. 119.

<sup>52</sup> Walter Gropius (1956), pp. 83-84.

<sup>53</sup> The same view is shared by C.B. Wilson. He specifies that “the source of traditional architectural forms are always indefinitely distant – ‘once upon a time’, or ‘from the ancestors’. They come as wholes, with form and function unified in their seed from the beginning.” See: C.B. Wilson (1988a), p.47.

<sup>54</sup> Yi-Fu Tuan (1977), p. 104.

<sup>55</sup> Louis Sullivan (1947), p. 116.

problems. Since the Renaissance period, mathematical calculability has become one of the most important criteria for the new form. As a result, the richness of architectural forms in the past has been reduced to abstract building masses. The situation was at its most serious between the 1920s and the 1960s. Of course, not every architect agrees with abstract modern architectural forms and their associated inhumanity. "Our cities are stacked up in layers which bear testimony to the skills of the surveyor and the engineer in manipulating precise Cartesian coordinates", Charles Moore and Kent Bloomer have proclaimed, "they exhibit no connection with the body-centred, value-charged sense of space we started with."<sup>56</sup>

But, Cartesian forms certainly cannot be blamed entirely for the failure of modern architecture. Neither can we deny that in the past architectural forms were full of geometric masses which were also mathematically analysable. And there is no doubt that scientific methods can help designers to analyse complicated problems efficiently. What is being argued is that architectural forms are now being determined by scientific methods alone. Cultural sensitivity in architectural forms will be destroyed if architectural forms are created solely out of the imagination and rationality of architects instead of the life of the people. "Preconceived ideas of form, whether the outcome of personal whims, or fashionable styles, tend to force the stream of life in a building into rigid channels, and to hamper the natural activities of the people therein," Walter Gropius warned us in the early 1950s.<sup>57</sup>

Furthermore, if we expand our scope of concern we would agree with Peter Smith that the character of a built environment is largely decided by the continuity of its architectural forms which weave "an elaborated lattice of symbolic meanings charged with emotional energy."<sup>58</sup> Demolishing an existing building or erecting a contextless building will certainly "break the circuit and earth the emotional current."<sup>59</sup> This chaotic situation is likely to occur if architectural forms are determined by each architect's personal intellectual

---

<sup>56</sup> Kent C. Bloomer and Charles Moore (1977), p. 1.

<sup>57</sup> Walter Gropius (1956), p. 96.

<sup>58</sup> Peter F. Smith (1987), p.9.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

capacity rather than by the aspiration and the continuity of the whole place.<sup>60</sup>

### Functional Discourse

#### Fact.

The relationship between function and architecture figures prominently in the Modernists' manifestoes and, of course, has been hotly debated in the literature on architecture. Function has never been emphasized as a focus for the production of architecture in traditional societies. But this should not mislead us into concluding that function in architecture is not important in traditional societies. "In bygone days all the people needed shelter for various purposes, and they produced shelter for these purposes – but nobody wrote books about the shelter having the function of shelter"<sup>61</sup>, Eliel Saarinen's statement elucidates the situation in traditional societies where the function of architecture is its positive expression of the variety and complexity of a total programme for life.

In modern societies, the requirement of efficiency in economy and industry has encouraged the view of life as a set of separable, precisely specified functions. People no longer live in the world; they work, study, entertain, eat, sleep ... and so on in different places. Suddenly, the question of function is debated with vigour and exaltation, as if it had never existed before. Consequently, people are perceived as needing various kinds of space or different types of building to accommodate different functional activities. The issue of function in modern architecture is thus both emphasized and isolated. Sometimes Modernist architects tend to attribute the entire failure of modern architecture to an ignorance of the functional issue, an interpretation well complemented by Le Corbusier's assertion that "the world's miseries are due to the fact that functions are nowhere defined or respected."<sup>62</sup> The problem of architecture becomes the problem of function. The question of function in architecture is exaggerated and its power is idolised by the Modernists.

---

<sup>60</sup> For a detailed discussion, see: Peter Smith (1987) and Vassilios Ganiatsas (1987).

<sup>61</sup> Eliel Saarinen (1948), p.217.

<sup>62</sup> Originally written by Le Corbusier in 1930 in an article entitled *Aircraft* Quoted in Brent Brolin (1976), p. 33.

## Discussion.

Contemporary debates about the issue of function in modern architecture are centred upon two foci. On the one hand, some have argued that the appearance of a building should communicate its function: a house should look like a house, a school like a school, and a factory like a factory and so on. On the other hand, some have argued that every part of a building should be functional, i.e., no element or aspect which is not determined by its function should be allowed.

The biggest problem of functionalism in modern architecture lies in its being extracted from a total architectural programme. In a traditional society, buildings originate in accord with strictly functional considerations which are inseparable from other issues. The reason why the functional aspect in architecture suddenly burst into modern societies is mainly because of the development of science and the machine in which efficiency and economy are such important criteria. When these criteria are applied to architecture, they immediately become the foundation for Modernist architects to advocate that "any elaboration of design, any unnecessary use of special made parts, and any applied decoration would add to the cost of the building"<sup>63</sup>, and should be avoided. The notion of 'function' has been reduced to a synonym for 'utility'.

But the point is that function in architecture is far more than merely the fulfilment of utilitarian requirements. Function does not equal utility. 'Function as utility' is an exaggeration of the functionalists. It is also – perhaps more significantly – a limitation or reduction because it ignores the factors which are not utilitarian at a material level. If we accept these statements, we certainly will arrive at the conclusion that buildings must respond to duties other than utility in order to be called architecture.<sup>64</sup> Even Walter Gropius disagrees with the abuse of 'function' as a panacea. He thinks that to catch a phrase like

<sup>63</sup> Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson (1966), p. 35.

<sup>64</sup> These statements also unavoidably lead us to the old architecture/building discourse. Is there any difference between buildings and architecture? Can we call a building architecture? There are a lot of arguments. The following are a few examples. For Philip Johnson, the term 'building' already denotes its utilitarian meaning, which is aesthetically neutral, but 'architecture' is seldom so. See: Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson (1966), p. 80. W.R. Lethaby described 'architecture' as 'building' touched with emotion. See: W.R. Lethaby (1955), p. 4. And W.A. Eden believed that 'architecture' has a theoretical quality which is absent the 'building.' See: W.A. Eden (1942), p. 9.

'functionalism' will have the effect of deflecting appreciation of the new architecture into merely external channels or making it purely one-sided.<sup>65</sup>

So, then, it seems permissible to ask what the term 'function' should really mean in architecture? Louis Sullivan believes it is the reason for each building, a purpose. For Otto Frederick Bollnow, it is an existential fulfilment, i.e., to give man the space, "an area protected and hidden, an area in which he can withdraw in order to return to himself."<sup>66</sup> And Mies van der Rohe believed it to be spiritual fulfilment as well as having to meet certain physical requirements.<sup>67</sup>

Another issue which should be discussed in the context of functional discourse is the relationship between functionalism and the machine aesthetic. Since ideal functionalism is associated with the efficient machine, it is considered by Modernist architects and critics to provide the best basis for modern architecture. 'Good design', either in art or architecture, becomes synonymous with the machine aesthetic.<sup>68</sup> According to this new criterion of the machine, ornaments immediately lose their place in architecture because they are considered anti-functional. Although they had already been equated with 'crime' by Adolf Loos in 1908, ornaments were not totally rejected by architects until the 1920s when what was later to be called the International Style became the most fashionable in modern architecture.<sup>69</sup>

However, the assumption that ornamentation is equal to decoration is misleading. In addition to their purely decorative function, ornaments also have the power to kindle the imagination and stimulate the emotions of people if they are appropriately applied. "Ornament was an essential part of a building", as Brolin has argued, "it was impossible to think of a building costing more because it had ornament; without it the building would not have been a

<sup>65</sup> Walter Gropius (1935), p. 23.

<sup>66</sup> Otto Frederick Bollnow (1967), p. 181.

<sup>67</sup> Philip Johnson (1947), p.33.

<sup>68</sup> The term 'machine aesthetic' as used in our discussion, is more metaphorical than literal in its meaning.

<sup>69</sup> The avoidance of applied decoration is the third principle proclaimed by the International Stylists. See: Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson (1966), pp. 69-77.

building.”<sup>70</sup> The function of ornaments in architecture is not subsumed by their shape alone, it also includes some intangible essence that radiates from them.

## Spatial Discourse

### Fact.

“Space”, writes Bruno Zevi, is “the protagonist of architecture ... to grasp space, to know how to see it, is the key to the understanding of the building.”<sup>71</sup> In traditional societies, space in architecture signifies two distinct features. First, space is a social indicator. “Society is spatially meaningful and space is meaningful society.”<sup>72</sup> Second, space is an aesthetic force which evokes feelings and attracts the movement of bodies and eyes.<sup>73</sup>

Of course, most Modernist architects realise the importance of the spatial aspect of architecture and many of them have expressed their views in manifestoes. For example, according to H.P. Berlage, “the aim of our creations is the art of space, the essence of architecture.”<sup>74</sup> For Mies van der Rohe, “architecture is the will of the age conceived in spatial terms.”<sup>75</sup> And Louis Kahn tells us that “architecture is the thoughtful making of spaces. The continual renewal of architecture comes from changing concepts of space.”<sup>76</sup> Modernist architects are fascinated by the spatial possibilities inherent in steel and concrete construction, which facilitates the realisation of two of the most significant characteristics of modern architectural space: ‘open plan’ and

---

<sup>70</sup> Brent Brolin (1976), p. 34.

<sup>71</sup> Bruno Zevi (1957), pp. 22–23.

<sup>72</sup> Jeong-Keun Lee (1982), p. 65. For socio-spatial relationship, see also: Edward T. Hall (1969), (1976) and Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson (1984).

<sup>73</sup> The meaning of the term ‘space’ is sometimes ambiguous, and the nature of ‘space’ has been the focus of discussions by philosophers, social scientists, architects, and others. It would be beyond our scope if we become involved in the debates and discussions of the term, yet it is important for us to recognise the existence of different kinds of space. According to E. Relph’s categorisation, there are ‘pragmatic or primitive space’, ‘perceptual space’, ‘existential space’, ‘architectural and planning space’, ‘cognitive space’, and ‘abstract space.’ Some of them might be mutually inclusive in some contexts. See: E. Relph (1976), especially Chapter Two.

<sup>74</sup> Quoted in Cronelis van der Ven (1980), p. xi.

<sup>75</sup> Ludwig Mies van der Rohe (1924), p. 74.

<sup>76</sup> Louis Kahn (1957), pp. 2–3.



'flowing space'. By adopting an 'open plan', architects can achieve unprecedented flexibility in spatial organisation. And the use of 'flowing space' enables architects to lift the barrier between spaces, thus increasing the penetrative quality of the building.

### Discussion.

In their book *The Social Logic of Space*, Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson argue that "spatial order is one of the most striking means by which we recognise the existence of the cultural differences between one social formation and another."<sup>77</sup> This argument pinpoints the fact that spatial order is part of a culture. Every culture has its own interpretation and characteristic manipulation of space. However, Modernist architects, preoccupied with the concepts of 'open plan' and 'flowing space', tend to ignore the spatial language of different peoples. In a building where 'open plan' and 'flowing space' dominate, the result may be enjoyable for one people but existentially uncomfortable for others.

Problems of space in modern architecture can be easily argued on the physical level. For example, Peter Blake argues that the 'open plan' concept is questionable because it is in fact more expensive to make a big space and then divide it into several smaller sub-spaces, than to have several small spaces in the first place.<sup>78</sup> From the user's point of view, Robert Venturi also argues that the penetrative quality between indoor and outdoor achieved by Modernist architects is always embarrassing because it implies the condition of being outside when inside, and inside when outside, rather than both at the same time.<sup>79</sup>

If we look at architecture in traditional societies, we will find that its spatial ideas are totally opposite to the concepts of modern architecture. From the basic shelters in Neolithic times to the courtyard houses in many traditional societies, the inside-outside distinction is always clear. This is important because only under these conditions, can people be certain of whether or not

---

<sup>77</sup> Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson (1984), p.27.

<sup>78</sup> Peter Blake (1977), pp. 31-36.

<sup>79</sup> Robert Venturi (1966), p.25.

they are in their own territory. E. Relph has the same view. He points out that the difference between inside and outside is "the difference between safety and danger, cosmos and chaos, enclosure and exposure, or simply here and there. From the outside you look upon a place as a traveller might look upon a town from a distance; from the inside you experience a place, are surrounded by it and part of it."<sup>80</sup>

The relationship between inside and outside in traditional architecture is achieved in a very delicate way, usually as a threshold. Mircea Eliade has summarised the importance of the threshold as it symbolises not only the boundary between inside and outside but also the possibility of passage from one to the other.<sup>81</sup> For example, in traditional Chinese architecture, windows and doors are not necessarily square or oblong; some are shaped like the full moon or like the silhouettes of vases or folding fans. Like the large fans ornamented with painted landscapes and hung on the wall to suggest windows of this shape opening onto a view in the distance, in order to exemplify the Taoist adage "in is out and out is in", windows of the fan shape or vase shape can also reveal real vistas cut into the wall to resemble pictures.

The large windows and glass walls of modern architecture also eliminate the significant role light plays in traditional architecture. The sacred nature and beauty of interior space are emphasized in traditional architecture with the help of thoughtfully contrived illumination, usually employing a contrast between lightness and darkness. The Oculus of Hadrian's Pantheon and the rose windows of the Medieval cathedrals are the best illustrations of this. However, most Modernist architects indulge themselves in the purity and simplicity of large windows and glass walls which are applied at the expense of the sacred character of traditional architectural space.

By pointing out these inside-outside and lightness-darkness distinctions, we have already made it clear that quality of architectural space cannot be regarded merely on the physical level. In fact, the concretisation of architectural space has to be considered on both the physical level and a level

---

<sup>80</sup> E. Relph (1976), p. 49.

<sup>81</sup> Mircea Eliade (1959), p. 18 and p. 25.

beyond. The quality of architectural space is not limited to its role as a physical container; it is also a kind of existential space. If we agree with Mircea Eliade that once contact with the transcendent is lost, existence in the world will cease to be possible, then we can say that to organise a space is to consecrate that space and to seek for "an existential foothold", to use Norberg-Schulz' term, and in Mircea Eliade's words, to repeat the paradigmatic work of the gods, the cosmogony.<sup>82</sup>

And this is exactly what exists in traditional societies in which architectural space possesses both physical and existential characters. To provide a cosmogonically meaningful foothold, space in architecture must be deliberately oriented (perhaps to the cardinal directions), well-bounded, and anthropocentric. Traditional societies, in spite of their many divergent aspects, have commonly recognised the importance of properly oriented space through which the cosmological thinking of a people can grow. The well-bounded character will help people to escape from unknown and foreign space, i.e., chaos.<sup>83</sup> And anthropocentrism, in its traditional connotation, on the other hand, provides people with a connection between Heaven and Earth by means of a vertical axis passing through the centre of the world where man dwells.

Space in traditional societies is far from homogeneous; some parts of space are qualitatively different from others. This is because there are sacred centres which create a strong and significant space. As Mircea Eliade has pointed out, for religious man in traditional societies, this spatial nonhomogeneity is very important because it "finds expression in the experience of an opposition between space that is sacred – the only real and really existing space – and all other spaces, the formless expanse surrounding it." He also emphasizes that "the religious experience of nonhomogeneity of space is a primordial experience, comparable to the founding of the world. For it is the break

<sup>82</sup> Mircea Eliade (1959), pp. 32–34 and (1976), p. 27. In this regard, Mircea Eliade clearly explains that "to settle in a territory is ... equivalent to consecrating it. When settlement is not temporary, as among nomads, but permanent, as among sedentary peoples, it implies a vital decision that involves the existence of the entire community. Establishment in a particular place, organising it, inhabiting it, are acts that presuppose an existential choice – the choice of the universe that one is prepared to assume by "creating" it. Now, this universe is always the replica of the paradigmatic universe created and inhabited by the gods; hence it shares in the sanctity of the gods' work."

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., pp. 29–32.

effected in space that allows the world to be constituted, because it reveals the fixed point, the central axis for all future orientation.”<sup>84</sup>

Architectural space in modern societies may or may not be designed so as to draw one’s attention to the social order of modern man, but either way this order has little religious significance. Spatial organisation in modern architecture does not exemplify a total worldview nor was it ever intended to. What Modernist architects sought to attain in modern architecture is a boundless and indefinite character. The result looks negligible on the surface but might be irreparable in reality. Without the presence of a centre, man will lose his close affiliation with the cosmological world and fall into a chaotic world where space is directionless; all points of reference and orientation are absent; the lack of attraction and repulsion are common; and the undefined distance dominates.<sup>85</sup>

Finally, I would like to return to the relationship between space and society. In traditional societies, the spatial organisation in the built environment is a mirror reflecting the hierarchy of a society. Within a house, it reflects the ethical order of the family. The best illustration is the traditional Chinese courtyard house in which the relationship of the family members is manifested clearly in the spatial arrangement of their living quarters and the centralised ancestor hall.<sup>86</sup> In modern societies, the collapse of traditional family values and ethical orders have made it almost impossible for architects to follow the patterns of the spatial organisation in traditional architecture. As a result, Modernist architects can only lay stress on individual space, which is abstract and socially meaningless.

<sup>84</sup> Mircea Eliade (1976), pp. 21–22.

<sup>85</sup> The importance of space in architecture has also been pointed out by many other writers. For example, Heinz Werner argues that “the idea of space, for primitive man, ... exhibits egocentric or anthropomorphic characteristics, and is physiognomic-dynamic, rooted in the concrete and substantial.” See: Heinz Werner (1948), p. 117. Young Chul Kim, on the other hand, uses the ‘Place-Type’ concept to illustrate the importance of the concentration of the human being in space. See: Young Chul Kim (1984), pp. 7–20.

<sup>86</sup> I shall discuss this issue with special reference to traditional Taiwanese architecture in Chapter Six with more details. There are also many discussions of this subject. For further descriptions, see: Francis L.K. Hsu (1949), Margery Wolf (1968), and Simon Chang (1986).

### Fact.

In traditional societies, building construction is not only a process of production but also the process of the consecration of an edifice. From the first choice of a site, the orientation of the building, the laying of the foundation stone, to the celebration of the dedication, the various rituals involved at different stages of the construction make the final product, be it an ordinary house or a religious building, a sacred establishment. The construction process is a much more comprehensive process in a traditional society than in a modern one. It is not just a utilitarian activity aimed at a materially practical end, but one that contributes to its social, religious and symbolic aspects.

The avalanche of scientific advances in building technology has made traditional building craftsmanship look obsolete to Modernist architects who are in favour of modern technology, trying to mechanise, standardise, prefabricate, and mass-produce buildings. In modern societies, both architects and their clients are willing to accept industrialised buildings. The making of most building components has been transferred from the craftsmen to the factories for many decades. Architectural design has become more or less a process of product-selection; and construction a matter of assemblage.

### Discussion.

When building construction becomes more complicated as the range of possibilities supplied by new materials and technology widens, what happens to traditional craftsmanship? One significant phenomenon is that fewer and fewer craftsmen are able to use their own imagination and skill in order to 'construct' buildings. As a result, the 'human touch' of traditional craftsmanship in building construction is lost. In recent decades, the unprecedented developments in computer technology have widened even further the schism between traditional and modern building construction.

A realisation that the wholesale modernisation of building technology can lead to the disappearance of traditional building craftsmanship and its vital social relationships emerged clearly in the nineteenth century. In his book *The Stones of Venice*, John Ruskin urgently advocated a return to medieval craftsmanship in order to withstand the flood of industrialisation. Although his

protest was strongly motivated by religious considerations, John Ruskin did point out almost one and half centuries ago the important fact that machine-made products are dehumanised.

According to him, building construction is not merely a practical process; it is also "the manifestation of an admirable human intelligence." His belief is that "in no art is there closer connection between our delight in the work, and our admiration of the workman's mind, than in architecture."<sup>87</sup> Although his comment was made in the middle of the nineteenth century, Ruskin's views are still pertinent today. And in fact, his religion-based argument is in no way biased. The construction of a building in traditional societies is a solemn human act that calls for ceremonial rites and perhaps sacrifices. Yi-Fu Tuan has pointed out that "to build is a religious act, the establishment of a world in the midst of primeval disorder." However, these sacred rituals of building construction, "which used to be thought of as the creation of a world, have greatly declined so that even in the erection of a large public edifice there remain only the rather wan gestures of laying the foundation stone and topping."<sup>88</sup>

In fact, architecture at the turn of the century was still full of expressions of craftsmanship. Art Nouveau architecture on the European Continent is a case in point. Even buildings designed in the early twentieth century by Modernist leaders, in spite of their adopting new values and new concepts, usually needed skilful craftsmen to finish them. It is the functionalists who blindly emphasized the scientific and technological aspects of building construction and devalued the importance of craftsmanship.

If we accept the notion that architecture should include craftsmanship as part of its total manifestation, we may say that situation today is at its worst because much of the fascination with craftsmanship has been lost in architecture due to the fact that almost all constructional tasks have fallen to the machine.

---

<sup>87</sup> John Ruskin (1984), pp. 31-32. The quotation is from a reprint of the 1960 edition edited by J.G. Links. The book was originally published in 1853.

<sup>88</sup> Yi-Fu Tuan (1977), p. 116.

Seyyed Hossein Nasr has pondered this phenomenon and warned us that "rather than deciding the value of science and technology, these creations of man have become the criteria of man's worth and value."<sup>89</sup> Unfortunately, only very few people fully appreciate the gravity of this warning, and realise what has been lost as modern technology has threatened the human sense of craftsmanship. Many Modernist architects, despite their concern about the overwhelming influence of modern technology, cannot resist the lure of its advantages.

To help us to understand the difference between traditional craftsmanship and modern technology, we can look at them also from another angle. Building craftsmanship in traditional societies is a matter of technique and skill rather than technology, in the modern sense. Martin Heidegger's etymological interpretation represents this view. According to him, "*technikon* means that which belongs to *techne* ... From earliest times until Plato the word *techne* is linked with the word *episteme* ... They mean to be entirely at home in something, to understand and to be expert in it."<sup>90</sup> "*Techne* thus conceived has been concealed in the technics of architecture since ancient times ... The nature of the erecting of buildings cannot be understood adequately in terms either of architecture or engineering construction, nor in terms of a mere combination of the two."<sup>91</sup>

Based on Martin Heidegger's argument, we can say that modern technology is not the same as traditional technique – it is mechanised, systematised, and universalised technique. Jacques Ellul has a similar view. He argues that technique has existed in all civilisations as tradition and is achieved by the transmission of inherited processes which slowly ripen, and are even more slowly modified.<sup>92</sup> Modern building technology is a totally new idea based on

<sup>89</sup> Seyyed Hossein Nasr (1976), p. 19.

<sup>90</sup> Martin Heidegger (1977), pp. 12–13.

<sup>91</sup> Martin Heidegger (1971), p. 151.

<sup>92</sup> Jacques Ellul (1965), p. 14. In his book, Jacques Ellul makes a clear distinction between technology and technique, between how and why. Alberto Perez-Gomez also points out that "technology has become a dominating force in the last two centuries, one that has radically determined both thought and action. Its purpose is to subjugate external reality to interests of efficiency, thereby postponing indefinitely the human need for reconciliation. Traditional knowledge and technique, in contrast, have always ultimately been concerned with the most fundamental existential problems. See: Alberto Perez-Gomez (1983), p. 327.

the machine revolution; it implies simply the replacement of human skill and intelligence by the machine, rather than something evolved from traditional craftsmanship. Modern building technology follows its own rules and no longer rests on tradition; also, its growth is too rapid to be integrated into tradition.

### **Professional Discourse**

#### **Fact.**

In traditional societies, building design is never an independent profession. The distinction between design and construction is not clear; the two tend to include each other. The master craftsman serves as the architect and the builder at the same time in traditional societies. Buildings are put up by craftsmen who simply follow the written or oral rules of construction inherited from previous generations. While craftsmen may achieve great feats of construction, they are restricted in their scope as creative designers. The role of the craftsmen in these societies, as C.B. Wilson points out, "is one of supporting the life of the people within the tradition using the established building forms, the rules of spatial organisation, and the methods of construction they inherit from their teachers."<sup>93</sup>

The specialisation of modern professions has drastically changed the role which craftsmen used to play in society. In modern societies, buildings are designed by 'architects' and constructed by 'builders'. The separation of architects from the life of the people for whom the building is constructed is significant. This gap has become even wider during the last three decades when many questions about the structure and the environmental control systems of buildings have been taken over by engineers and technical consultants. Consequently, architects are left to design only the shrouds.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>93</sup> C.B. Wilson (1988b), from a paper read in the third Asian Congress of Architects (Seoul, November, 1988). For other discussion of the profession 'architect', also see: Martin S. Briggs (1974) and Spiro Kostof (1977).

<sup>94</sup> Michael J. Crosbie (1987), p.103.



## Discussion.

In modern societies the completion of a building involves more than one so-called specialist. Most architectural professions, including architects themselves, seem to be satisfied with the decentralised power and responsibility of the architect. In its annual convention in 1949, the American Institute of Architects even added the paragraph "An architect may not engage directly or indirectly in building contracting" to its mandatory rules.<sup>95</sup>

'Collaboration' hence becomes the key process for the completion of a building. However, the lack of common values and experiences among architects, builders, and other specialists make perfect collaboration impossible. Instead, it becomes a process of negotiation between these specialists who usually pay attention to their own interests rather than the benefits of the people concerned. In a specialised society, an architect thus only forms part of a subsystem of a large bureaucratic system; he is a cog within a machine within a machine.<sup>96</sup>

Walter Gropius is one of the few Modernist architects who really worried about the declining role of architects. He warned in the early 1950s, when most people were happily accepted the specialisation of society, that the "complete separation of design and execution of buildings, as it is in force today, seems to be altogether artificial if we compare it with the process of building in the great periods of the past. We have withdrawn much too far from that original and natural approach, when conception and realisation of a building were one indivisible process and when architect and builder were one and the same person."<sup>97</sup>

Those supporting the specialisation of the profession may use the argument that the job is performed more efficiently that way. But this seems to ignore the fact that the task of the craftsman in traditional societies is more than merely the erector of the building. The craftsman, "far from feeling that he is doing routine work, is obliged by the ceremony to see himself as participating

---

<sup>95</sup> Walter Gropius (1956), p. 85.

<sup>96</sup> Malcolm MacEwen (1974), p. 40.

<sup>97</sup> Walter Gropius (1956), p. 85.

in a momentous and primordial act.”<sup>98</sup>

Not only the craftsmen, but the whole community as well, are involved in building construction in traditional societies. For example, when Chartres Cathedral was being built, more than one thousand men and women, including both nobles and commoners dedicated their physical labour and spiritual strength to the task of transporting materials for the building.<sup>99</sup> In traditional societies, erecting an edifice is an act of worship in which the feelings and senses of a people are deeply engaged. The architect in modern societies is confined to the role of a building-producer, or, in a more strict sense, the producer of the body of the building. The soul of the building is conceived by many Modernist architects as being none of their business.

The attitude of designers toward buildings has also changed. In traditional societies, buildings are conceived by craftsmen as receptacles for the flow of life which they have to serve. They do not have to worry about where one should build, with what materials, and in what form. The answers derive naturally from ingrained customs, following the procedure of unchanging tradition.

In modern societies, buildings are too often conceived by architects as a means to express their ego and to create a monument to their own genius. Architects have to produce on paper a number of schemes at the beginning, but only one design will be chosen at the end. The task of a traditional craftsman is always an enjoyable one, but a modern architect’s consciousness has to be painfully stretched in order to accommodate all the possible solutions that occur to him.

This schism is further reinforced by the development of modern architectural education. In traditional societies, a craftsman learns his skill from the master craftsman by serving him as an apprentice. Such apprenticeship is very important because it is “not merely a process of the acquisition of technical skills. But more significantly it is the transmission of a culture, a way

---

<sup>98</sup> Yi-Fu Tuan (1977), p. 104.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106.

of understanding and respecting quality.”<sup>100</sup> Today, architects are trained in schools. Most architectural education begins at the drafting board, isolated from real people and real buildings.

#### **1-5 CONCLUSION: UNDERSTANDING TRADITION AS THE PREMISE FOR A CRITICAL REFORMATION OF MODERN ARCHITECTURE**

One crucial issue which concerns many people about the relation between tradition and modernity is whether or not it is necessary to jettison old traditions in order to get onto the road leading towards modernity. In the first half of this century, intellectuals and ordinary people alike devoted much of their time to the attempt to grasp that which is ‘new’ in a ‘modern’ society. Suppressing old traditions and acclaiming modernity were extremely popular among people during that period. According to this view, the less traditional a society is, the more modern it will be. Tradition and modernity were destined never to be reconciled. In the architectural realm, this phenomenon happened at the same time as the thriving period of Modernism between the 1920s and the 1960s. Modernist architects, in the fight against their predecessors, have more than once declared a lack of interest in the valid traditions of the past.

This atmosphere did not change until social scientists began to consider the possibility of a reconciliation between tradition and modernity in the 1960s, after they began to suspect that the destruction of tradition actually led nowhere except to a chaotic situation within society. An idealised version of society has never been realised. In order to envisage the possibility of bridging tradition and modernity, which are still separated by a huge gap, many writers have started to argue that modernity and tradition are not ‘dichotomous’ as they have been interpreted; they are dialectically concomitant. One exemplary argument is that put forward by the sociologists Lloyd I. Rudolph and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph who have carried out extensive study on traditional Indian societies. They say:

If tradition and modernity are seen as continuous rather than separated by an abyss, if they are dialectically rather than dichotomously related, and if internal variations are attended to and taken seriously, then those sectors of traditional society that contain or express potentialities for change from dominant norms

---

<sup>100</sup> Mike Cooley (1987), pp. 64-65.

and structures become critical for the understanding and process of modernisation.<sup>101</sup>

A similar interpretation is proposed by Georgette Wang, a professor of intercultural communication in Taiwan, and Wimal Dissanayake, a Sri Lankan communication theorist. They argue:

In essence, culture is seen as sided with tradition which is diametrically opposed to modernity. With proper role of culture taken into consideration, tradition and modernity are seen as two aspects of one entity – culture. Through interaction of elements within culture, changes are brought forth while maintaining a certain degree of continuity. ... The old bifurcations of culture and technology, tradition and modernity, and traditionalism and technology should give way to a meaningful synthesis of these elements.<sup>102</sup>

In architectural circles, the interpretation of the relationship between tradition and modernity has undergone a similar change in recent years. Architectural modernisation for its own sake is being viewed with increasing scepticism by people throughout the world. More and more architects and writers have realised that in traditional architecture there are vital, permanent guiding principles and aspects without which an authentic new architecture will never be integrated into a cultural complex. The Finnish architect Juhani Pallasmaa has argued that modernity is continuous and is “based on a view of the dialectics of evolution which is more explanatory and hopeful than the popular thought of a bankruptcy of modernity.” He sees modernity as “a dialectic view of culture that perpetually challenges and resurrects the past.”<sup>103</sup>

These arguments look convincing on the surface. Yet hidden behind them are indications that this prospect gives an over-simplified view of tradition and modernity. This over-simplification results partly from the confusions over the relationship between tradition, traditional strands, modernity, and modern tendencies which we have already discussed, and partly from the confusions over the levels of considerations. Since a dialectical synthesis of two things

<sup>101</sup> Lloyd I. and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph (1967), p.10.

<sup>102</sup> Georgette Wang and Wimal Dissanayake (1984), pp. 17-18.

<sup>103</sup> Juhani Pallasmaa (1988), p.33.

must be carried out on the same level, tradition can only be dialectically combined with modernity if it denies its metaphysical aspects from the transcendent level which form its core. If we accept that tradition is centred upon religion, then we certainly cannot resurrect a traditional society while simultaneously excluding religion and other essential aspects from it.

Today we cannot totally ignore the existence of modern architecture. Nor can we say that all modern buildings are 'wrong'. Some elements of a particular modern building may be good or may possess positive features. Moreover, we cannot have any objection to the desire of people in traditional societies to pursue modernisation. Similarly, we cannot re-create traditional architecture. Nor can we say that every aspect of traditional architecture is suitable for modern societies. And a further dilemma is signalled by the fact that even if we try to, we still cannot produce a building which is traditional and modern at the same time, just as we cannot have a society which possesses the two characters simultaneously.

But this should not lead us to the conclusion that we can only choose one architecture and have to reject the other completely. Certainly we cannot bracket out the religious aspects of traditional architecture and pretend that there are certain kinds of traditional architecture (without the existence of the religious aspects) which can be dialectically synthesized with modern architecture. But I think that some lessons, especially those related to the psycho-spiritual aspects of the questions can be learnt from tradition, and that suitable traditional strands can be applied to new architecture.

However, there is no short cut for the achievement of this goal. Superficial imitations of traditional architecture will never produce an authentic new architecture. We should first examine carefully the problems of modern architecture and review current approaches which aim to remedy problems in modern architecture to see if they are efficacious. We also have to reappraise tradition, to see if any traditional strands can be re-applied to modern architecture. Then we can ask for a critical reformation of modern architecture in which the new is incorporated into the traditional layers of a culture with the help of a deep understanding of tradition. In the following chapters, these tasks will be undertaken in sequence.

# CHAPTER TWO

## TRENDS AND PROBLEMS

### IN

## THE CONTEMPORARY ARCHITECTURAL DEVELOPMENT

## OF TAIWAN

### 2-1 INTRODUCTION

After reviewing the differences between traditional architecture and modern architecture and discussing in general terms the modernisation of traditional societies, I am now in a position to examine a particular case - Taiwan. Taiwan is an island situated about 130 km off the southeast corner of the Chinese mainland. The unique historical and geographical background of Taiwan makes her one of the best examples for studying the problems associated with rapid architectural transformation, since the backdrop for the architectural development of Taiwan has changed from a traditional setting to a modern one within a century.

Although the majority of her population is Chinese, the society of Taiwan is not identical with that on the Chinese mainland. In contrast to mainland Chinese society which is indigenous in character, Taiwanese society, formed mainly by the Minnan and the Hakka people migrating from the southern provinces of the Chinese mainland, present the aspects of an immigrant society. On the one hand, Taiwan preserves the rich cultural heritage of immigrants' mother society; on the other hand, she has developed her own identity as a result of long separation.<sup>1</sup> While the smallness of area and the brevity of her history prevent Taiwan from being taken as a representative of the whole of China, these are also factors which enable an easier comprehension of the configuration of the Chinese people and their society.

For nearly a century, Taiwan has been undergoing continuous change, first under the Japanese Government (1895-1945), then the Chinese Nationalist

<sup>1</sup> The Minnan and the Hakka are Chinese ethnic groups living in southern provinces of China. The beginning of their migration to Taiwan, and how they developed their cultures in Taiwan will be discussed later in Chapter Six. In the history of China, Taiwan and the Chinese mainland have only united for two periods: between 1683 and 1895, and between 1945 and 1949.



Government (1945-).<sup>2</sup> 'Change' is perhaps too weak a term – rather, a vast transformation that overwhelms any defenses erected against it, and overflows all channels intended to give it direction. Accompanying this transformation are the inevitable problems of cultural conflict and cultural readjustment caused by rapid social change. Such problems as how to preserve the useful aspects of Taiwanese cultural heritage in a situation where tradition is rapidly on the decline; and how to bring about a more satisfactory adjustment of a situation where tradition has already lost its power over most aspects of society.

Today a genuine traditional society no longer exists in Taiwan, although, a number of traditions still survive in both urban and rural areas. Modernisation has brought material benefits to the people of Taiwan even in remote villages, but it has also destroyed the core of their traditions leaving only a residue behind. Consequently, people have to live in a society codified according to two different sets of values and beliefs. A single individual can live according to the tenets of the mechanic-scientific world yet still participate in religious activities such as ancestor worship and the festivals organised by temples.

As an index to the culture and society in Taiwan, Taiwanese traditional architecture has also been collapsing. The replacement of traditional architecture by modern architecture is an inseparable part of the pace of change in Taiwan. Many problems have emerged as a result of this transformation in architecture and society. The aim of this chapter is to review the trends in architectural development which accompany this rapid social change, and the problems caused by them.

## **2-2 BACKGROUND: TAIWAN IN MODERN TIMES**

Before going directly into the issue of architecture, it will be helpful if the context in which Taiwan became modernised can be understood first. Although Mainland China was stimulated to move towards modernisation slowly, and in some sense reluctantly, by the economic, political, and military forces of Western countries between 1683 and 1895 when Taiwan was still part of the territories controlled by the Ch'ing government, the development of Taiwan was

---

<sup>2</sup> The term 'Nationalist Government' refers the government formed by the *Kuomingtung* (The Nationalist Party) which has ruled Taiwan since 1949.

quite different from that on the Chinese mainland. Compared with the situation of the Chinese mainland where the very duration of its history has functioned as a restraint, Taiwan's three-and-half century history has bequeathed to her a framework of society always ready for change.

On the Chinese mainland, the long task of integrating new foreign cultures into Chinese tradition started as early as the time of Matteo Ricci at the very beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>3</sup> However, the governing class moved rather slowly. They first saw the need for modern weapons in the first half of the nineteenth century after Chinese conventional troops were defeated by new Western arms. Then they elaborated an approach called *t'i-yung* (substance and function) from the key words of Chang Chih-tung's famous maxim "*chung-hsueh wei-t'i; si-hsueh wei-yung*" (Chinese learning for the substance; foreign learning for the function.)<sup>4</sup> This approach implies that the teaching of Confucian learning and traditional literature should remain as the basis of education before adding a knowledge of Western technology and science.

Although the *t'i-yung* approach includes the intention of reconciling traditional Chinese learning and Western knowledge, it also reflects a mainstream sinocentric ideology which eventually led to its failure, as the historian C.P. Fitzgerald has observed:

This system was comparable to what European education would have become if all children and students studied Greek and Roman Classics as their main discipline, but, even if they were to be engineers, physicists or doctors, only studied the sciences as additional, secondary subjects. It was an inadequate intellectual response to an increasingly critical situation.<sup>5</sup>

Only in the second half of the nineteenth century did the Chinese really recognise that Western learning extended far beyond the narrow confines of

<sup>3</sup> Matteo Ricci (Chinese name, Li Ma-tou; 1552-1610), sent to China by the Society of Jesus, was the greatest of Jesuit pioneers in China. Ricci was an Italian with impressive personal qualities. Instead of preaching, Ricci and his colleagues held conversations with Chinese scholars, arousing their curiosity with demonstrations of prisms and clocks, and the geographical knowledge which they possessed. See: John K. Fairbank and Edwin O. Reischauer (1979), pp. 245-247.

<sup>4</sup> Chang Chih-tung (1837-1909), one of the reformers in the nineteenth century, was Governor-General of Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces in 1884.

<sup>5</sup> C.P. Fitzgerald (1973), p. 20.



military equipment and technology. Consequently, the Ch'ing government established Western language schools as well as technical schools in order to educate selected students in the fundamental and technological aspects of Western knowledge. The number of Chinese students sent abroad to study also increased. When these students returned home, they were dissatisfied with the stagnation of their society and initiated various "enlightenment" movements, among which were the Chinese Renaissance (also called New Culture Movement), scientific education reform, and social reform.<sup>6</sup> Even so, the speed of these developments was still very slow, due to the continuous political turmoils on the Chinese mainland.<sup>7</sup>

In Taiwan the situation has been different. Throughout Chinese history, Taiwan has always been treated as a marginal area by Chinese governments. The fact that the Ch'ing government in 1895 ceded Taiwan to Japan under the terms of the Treaty of Shimonoseki in order to end the Sino-Japanese War, clearly showed that Taiwan was treated by the Ch'ing government as the least valuable and the most troublesome part of the Chinese territories.<sup>8</sup>

Due to her marginal character, central policy and cultural orthodoxy have rarely been a restraint on the people of Taiwan. Thus, the Taiwanese people have been freer in their acceptance of imported ideas and objects. When Taiwan became a colony of Japan in 1895, the development of Taiwan was already impressive compared with most parts of the Chinese mainland. The majority of the developments carried out by Taiwan's first Governor-General Liu Min-Ch'uan after the enhancement of the status of Taiwan from a *foo*

<sup>6</sup> The term "Renaissance" was the name given by a group of Peking University student to a new monthly magazine which they published in 1918. See: Shih Hu (1934).

<sup>7</sup> Between the 1850s and the 1870s, the Chinese mainland was afflicted by a number of rebellions. The Taiping rebellion was the most menacing of these uprisings, which was followed by a series of wars between China and foreign countries. Shortly after the 1911 revolution led by Dr. Sun Yet-Sen which established the Republic of China, the Chinese mainland was under the control of various warlords who fought among themselves continually. Between 1937 and 1945, China was at war with Japan, while at the same time troops of the Communist Party and the Nationalist Party were fighting each other in the civil war which led to the separation of the Chinese mainland and Taiwan in 1949.

<sup>8</sup> This was demonstrated by the fact that during the process of negotiation on the cession of Taiwan to Japan, the Ch'ing government continuously implied that Taiwan was an island full of pestiferous insects and animals, uncivilised aboriginals, and bandits, in order to terrify the Japanese into giving up their intention of taking over the island. Hsien-Chin Kuo (1979), p. 192.

(prefecture) to a *sheng* (province) in 1885<sup>9</sup> were, however, in the areas of material construction and innovation in administrative systems: an arsenal, the Bureau of Telephone and Telegraph, the Bureau of Mining, a navy base, the electric street lighting system in the cities, hospitals, the railway system; a land-tax reform based on an island-wide land survey, the population registration system, and the postal system.<sup>10</sup> Substantial changes in society and culture were, however, not achieved.

The extensive developments which shook the basic structure of Taiwanese society took place eventually after 1895. Between 1895 and 1945, while modernisation on the Chinese mainland was still being debated fiercely by reactionaries and reformers, it was compulsorily imposed in Taiwan on a large scale by the Japanese. During this period, Taiwan was cut off from the Chinese mainland, and many people acquired the education, customs and other cultural traits imposed by the Japanese, which the Japanese themselves had learnt from the West shortly before. Just as Japanese society was modernising, so was Taiwan. As a result, when Taiwan was returned to the Chinese government in 1945, her people had already experienced an early phase of modernisation along a course different from that of the Chinese mainland.<sup>11</sup>

In 1949, only three years after Taiwan was returned to China, Taiwan and the Chinese mainland were once again separated. Since then, Taiwan and the Chinese mainland have been developing under two different systems: capitalism and communism. While Mainland China closed its door to the outside world from 1949 to the late 1970s, Taiwan's open policy attracted foreign investment as well as cultural invasion. Today, exactly four decades after Chiang Kai-Shek left the Chinese mainland and established the Nationalist Government on the island in 1949, Taiwan has achieved unprecedented economic development which many economists have referred to as "a miracle." The technological and economic advances have brought new wealth and affluence, making Taiwan

<sup>9</sup> Liu Ming-Ch'uan (1836-1896), was called "the master planner of Taiwan" for his time. For his career as the first Governor-General of Taiwan, see: W.G. Goddard (1963).

<sup>10</sup> Hsien-Chin Kuo (1979), pp. 86-90.

<sup>11</sup> The difference in the degree of modernisation between Taiwan and the Chinese mainland can also be explained in another way. The Chinese mainland could never have achieved modernisation as rapidly as Taiwan did because mainland Chinese societies were so massive in size and so firm in organization that they could not easily be shifted to Western models.

one of best economies in East Asia in terms of standard of living and industrial production.

As evidence, we can take a cursory look at some statistics of the economic growth in Taiwan. In 1952 annual GNP (Gross National Product) figure per capita was only \$48; today (early 1989) it is more than \$7,500. For every 1000 people then there was only one motor car and one telephone; now the numbers have jumped to more than 400 telephones and 80 cars. At that time, few families possessed their own TV sets or refrigerators; today more than 90 percent of families possess both appliances. In 1988, the growth rate of the savings in banks was 40.31 percent, the highest in the world. In the same year foreign-exchange reserves exceeded \$ 76 billion – the largest in the world after Japan.<sup>12</sup>

However, rapid industrial growth and the consequential wealth of the people have also increasingly drawn Taiwanese culture into the orbit of foreign models, due to growing contacts with the developed countries. Below a dense skyline resembling cities in the developed countries are congested streets where enormous petrol-gulping imported cars wade like whales through a sea of domestic-made sardine-sized cars and motorcycles. Inside the retail shops are showcases and shelves filled with famous brands from all over the world. Instead of eating traditional food, wearing traditional gowns and enjoying traditional cultural activities, many people now have continental breakfast at home, lunch at Macdonalds or other fast food restaurants, listen to Western symphonies and pop songs and watch Western films; they also wear jeans, Western suits and dresses. Modern science and technology, media of communication, and material enjoyment, in spite of their Western origin, are accepted, welcomed, and adopted by the people of Taiwan, because they are seen as parts of a modern world civilisation rather than as the prerogative of Western developed nations alone.

More than three and half centuries have passed since Taiwan's development began in the early decades of the seventeenth century. Western missionaries

<sup>12</sup> These statistics have been extracted from various sources in *The Economist*, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, *The Commonwealth Monthly*, *Free China Review*, *Central Daily News*, *Asia Year Book* and *Taiwan Statistical Data Book*

in the second half of the nineteenth century did bring many new ideas and much new knowledge to Taiwan, but their contribution to its modernisation was less important than that of the Japanese who, after fifty years' occupation of the island, had placed their mark on almost all aspects of the early modernisation of Taiwan. Nevertheless, the spread and direction of these developments were under the strict control of the colonial authorities. And it is only after the 1950s that modernisation became so powerful an island-wide force that controlling it became to be difficult, if not an impossible, task.

In the course of the development of Taiwanese society from a traditional to a modern form, several trends emerged in the development of architecture. Not all of these movements are contemporaneous. Some can be traced back to the nineteenth century, while others became influential only in the 1950s. Some emerged and declined in a short time while others persisted. The following section describes four of the most significant and persistent trends since the end of the nineteenth century, when the archetype of traditional architecture began to be shaken by the external forces associated with social change.

## **2-3 TRENDS IN THE MODERN ARCHITECTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF TAIWAN**

### **The Decline of Religious Commitment**

#### **Fact.**

In the last chapter, it has been repeatedly emphasized that traditional societies are centred upon religion, and secularisation has been pinpointed as the dominating process in the modernisation of traditional societies. In Taiwan, religion has been continuously changing during the last three and half centuries or so that the island has been developing. The history of the development of religious buildings in Taiwan provides us with a material record of the religion of the Taiwanese people.

In traditional Taiwanese societies, the folk-religion temple in the settlement and the ancestral hall inside the house were at the centre of people's social,

psychological and spiritual life.<sup>13</sup> Traditional Taiwanese people felt themselves to be part of a folk-religious system combining the doctrines and rituals of Taoism and Buddhism as well as the beliefs and cults of ancestor worship. The behaviour and activities of the people of Taiwan hinged almost entirely around the religious rituals and festivals.<sup>14</sup>

The more or less homogeneous configuration of religious beliefs of the Taiwanese people started to change, though only slightly, in the second half of the nineteenth century when Western Protestant missionaries began their preaching in Taiwan.<sup>15</sup> Protestantism was introduced into the southern part of Taiwan in 1865 by Dr. James Maxwell of the English Presbyterian Mission and to the northern part by Dr. George Mackay of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission in 1872. The arrival of the Japanese in 1895 not only marked the beginning of an epoch politically; it was also a decisive point in the religious development of Taiwan. The introduction of new forms of Buddhism by the Japanese was, at least to some extent, a novelty to the Taiwanese people, because it presented several striking new features to them. For example, the consumption of animal meats, and the co-habitation of nuns and monks in the same monastery, even the marriage of monks, which are all strictly prohibited in Chinese Buddhism, are allowed by some Japanese Buddhist sects such as Neo-Pure land.<sup>16</sup> Gradually, more and more Buddhists in Taiwan adopted the customs imported from Japan.

There is no doubt that the importation of Western religions and Japanese Buddhism combined to complicate greatly the picture of religious beliefs in Taiwan. It also led to great changes in the kinds of temples which emerged,

<sup>13</sup> The term 'temple' here applies generally to any religious establishment belonging to any sect. In reality, of course, different names are employed by different religious sects.

<sup>14</sup> All these rituals and festivals follow the lunar calendar and are recorded in *Tung Shih* (The Chinese Almanac) which is published and revised annually.

<sup>15</sup> By saying this, I do not mean to ignore the fact that there had been a number of Western missionaries in Taiwan when the Dutch and the Spanish had their fortifications on the island. Christianity was first introduced into the southern part of Taiwan in 1627 by a Dutch missionary, Geogius Candidius, and in the following year Spanish friars, headed by Father Francisco Mola, brought the same faith to the northern part of the island. But the scope of their influence was small. And when the Dutch were expelled from the island by Cheng Chen-Kung (known as Koxinga in the West) in 1662, the proselytisation of the Western missionaries was interrupted. Only after the first Opium War when China was forced to re-open her door to the West, did Western missionaries resume their activities.

<sup>16</sup> Fu-Ch'uan Hsieh (1980), p. 5.

particularly in the cities, and resulted in the juxtaposition of different kinds of deities than those which prevailed before. In spite of the diversity of beliefs, the majority of the Taiwanese people did belong to different religious sects and participate in various rituals. It was only after the 1950s, when the success of the new economic policy imposed by the Nationalist Government, which enabled people to lead a more prosperous life materially, receive more education, and share more political power, that the secularisation of Taiwanese societies became significant. The major concern of the people shifted from the religious to the nonreligious aspects of life. The pluralisation of Taiwanese society has led to the decline of religion into only one part of the multifarious life of people today. The religious meaning of traditional settlements and dwellings have been largely stripped away. New buildings without any religious basis are ubiquitous, and now taken for granted.

### **Discussion.**

The development of religion in Taiwan in modern times may puzzle outsiders due to its uniqueness and complexity, as pointed out by the anthropologist Donald R. Deglopper, who says that "religion seems the most mutable, labile, and differentiated aspect of modern Taiwanese culture."<sup>17</sup> In traditional Taiwanese societies, the socio-cultural and economic frame of many religious activities was agriculture which has gradually lost its ground to non-agricultural development since the 1950s. As a consequence, the nature of Taiwanese folk-religion and its temples have undergone rapid change. "To the same degree that industrialisation reduced the relative importance of agriculture, the religious rites and festivals which were strongly related to the cycle of the farming seasons lost their significance for the society as a whole," as Hubert Seiwert puts it.<sup>18</sup>

Urbanisation, an inevitable concomitant of industrialisation, also has had a great impact on the decline of religious commitment in society and architecture. As more and more people move to the fast-growing cities, the

<sup>17</sup> Donald R. Deglopper (1974), p. 45. What Deglopper says is confined to folk-religion. Since this is the main religion which the majority of the Taiwanese people adhere to, I shall concentrate on this particular religion in the following discussion.

<sup>18</sup> Hubert Seiwert (1981), p. 45.

intimate social contacts of rural villagers fade away. While in rural areas, the residential boundary and the religious boundary of a settlement were nearly identical – and symbolised in the temples of the settlement – in the urban areas new social relationships are formed, which normally do not coincide with the residential neighbourhood. As a result, the traditional religious life which made an integrated whole of the rural community loses its social base and is irreparably weakened.

Furthermore, the rationalist and materialist colouration of modern science and technology induces many well-educated people to regard traditional forms of religion as superstitious. This is reinforced by the critical attitude of the Nationalist Government towards folk-religion. Many activities associated with folk-religion have been criticised by governmental officers as being unnecessarily wasteful – and thus needing to be discouraged, if not banned.<sup>19</sup>

Several significant phenomena in terms of architectural development have emerged as the religious commitment of the people declines. The first of these is the loss of the importance of the temple as the dominant force in the settlement both spiritually and physically. Nowadays, its role has been replaced by buildings ranging from shopping centres to the city hall. Many traditional temples are either demolished in order to construct a new one (fig. 2-1), or surrounded by modern buildings of various types (fig. 2-2). The second is the fading of the religious significance of houses and other non-religious buildings. Inside the main hall, in which the ancestral altar is located and is the most sacred part of a traditional house, there are now always modern inventions such as TV sets and video recorders situated side by side with ancestral tablets and portraits of the deities (fig. 2-3). In new flats, the ancestral altar is located in a less important position than it used to be, if it is not completely absent. Other types of buildings such as the city gate, which originally had cosmological connotations as well as a practical function, have been demolished or sandwiched between modern buildings. The old North Gate of Taipei is a good example, being overshadowed by a modern highway intersection (fig. 2-4). The third phenomenon is the disappearance of many of the religious rituals associated with the building process. As mentioned in the

---

<sup>19</sup> For religious development under different regimes in Taiwan, see: Stephan Feuchtwang (1974b) pp. 263–301.

- fig. 2-1: Demolition of a traditional folk-religion temple. (Miao-Shou Temple, Anping, Tainan, 1985) [author]
- fig. 2-2: Juxtaposition of the traditional folk-religion temple and modern building. [author]



2-1



2-2

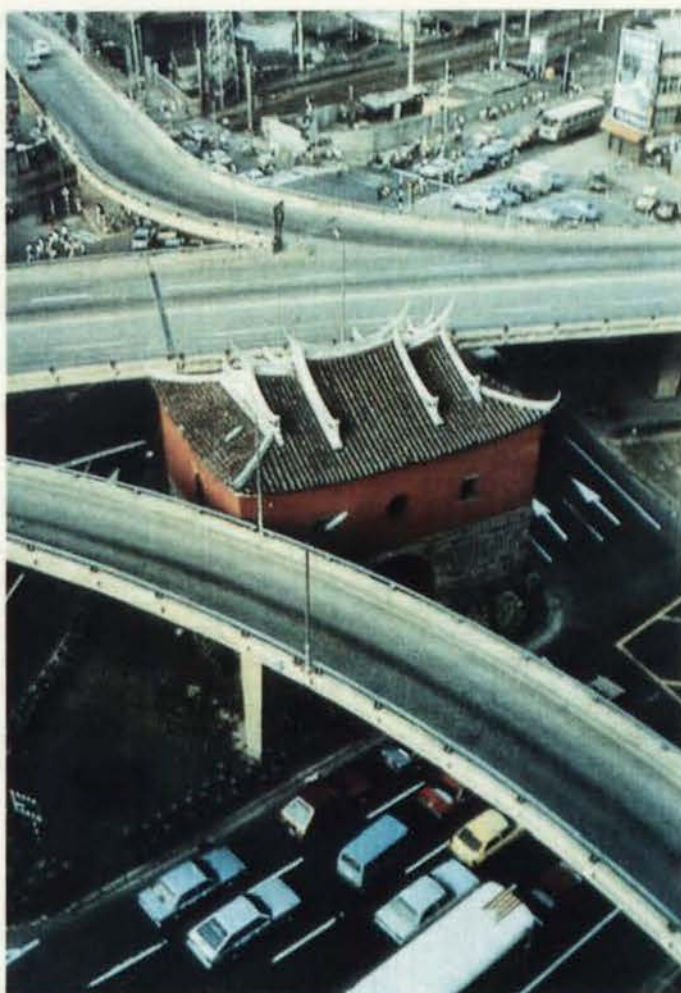


- fig. 2-3: Traditional main hall in modern Taiwan. [Hou-Sheng Chan (1987), p. 43]

- fig. 2-4: North Gate of Taipei, 1879, is sandwiched between two elevated highways. [Chien-Lang Lee (1983), p. 151]



2-3



2-4

last chapter, there existed in traditional building processes various rituals, including those related to geomancy, or *feng-shui*, which were performed during different stages of construction in order to ensure the health and prosperity of the buildings' occupants or users. Today, the majority of the people live in dwellings where such rituals have not been performed.

In such a rapidly secularising society, the relationship between religion and architectural development tends to deviate in new directions. There are tendencies towards the aimless erection of new temples, the blind and vulgar expansion of old temples, and the profanation of religious festivals and activities organised by temples. According to the first survey of religious buildings carried out by the Japanese in 1940, there were 3,945 temples of various religions, including Western ones, in Taiwan. The number became 3895 in 1960 and 9,000 in 1977, and jumped to 11,921 in 1984, i.e., one temple for every 1480 persons, or one temple to every three square kilometers of area, which are much higher than the figures in Thailand, the so-called Kingdom of the Temple.<sup>20</sup> The increase is not merely numerical, the establishment of religious buildings, especially those belonging to folk-religion, is under continuous expansion on an ever-increasing scale.

The Sheng-Mu Temple, or the temple of the Holy Mother (1977-, Hsieh Tzu-Nan) at Luermen, Tainan, is one of the best examples.<sup>21</sup> After several years' expansion it has grown from a ruin to the present huge compound rising from the rice paddies. The temple, with its impressively massive scale and grandly ambitious structure which has already cost millions of dollars, is far from finished (figure 2-5). The similar situation happen in hundreds of folk-religion temple all over the country. But these phenomena should not mislead us into thinking that society in Taiwan has become more sacred and their people more devoted. This is merely an illusion – one, however, which requires a detailed explanation. To address in full the reason why it has been so easy to establish

<sup>20</sup> Yih-Yuan Li (1977), pp. 44-45. The figures in Thailand are one temple for every 2370 persons, and one to every 27 square kilometers of area. The actual religious buildings in Taiwan are much more numerous than the figure 11,921 would suggest because it includes only registered temples. (Buddhism 1,710, Taoism, 6,955, Catholicism, 848, Protestantism, 240, and Islam, 5. See: Dixon P.S. Sung and Lawrence C. Ho (1986), p. 59.) There are thousands of private shrines which are not registered in the governmental list but are open to the public.

<sup>21</sup> The term 'Sheng-Mu' (the Holy Mother) is another name which people in Taiwan have for *Matzu* (the Queen of Heaven).

a new temple and to expand the old one, we must look at the nature of Taiwanese folk-religion temples, which are quite different from Taoist temples and Buddhist monasteries on the Chinese mainland in terms of both management system and financial sources.

On the Chinese mainland, most temples are managed directly by monks or priests. But in modern Taiwan, most temples are run by a *kuan-li wei-yuan-huei* (the governing committee) which is composed of members of various professions.<sup>22</sup> The conflicts between factions in the committee always have a tendency to lead to the establishment of a new temple worshipping the same deity, a phenomenon which is followed by competition between two temples. The belief in animism of the Taiwanese people is another influential force contributing to the establishment of new temples. The epiphany of any dead person may result in his or her deification and consequently the establishment of a new temple. The same thing may happen to a tree, a piece of stone, or an animal. This explains why in Taiwan there are so many temples dedicated to objects such as a tree or a stone. And finally, a new temple may be built as a votive offering to the deity by his or her follower.

As for financial resources, on the Chinese mainland most temples and monasteries had their own *hsiang-huo-ti* (the land belonging to the worship territory).<sup>23</sup> And their economic base was the harvest from the land. Money received from participation in the ritual services requested by lay people was only secondary. In many cases, religious establishments were entirely self-sufficient and self-contained. In modern Taiwan, except for a very few examples, folk-religion temples have no *hsiang-huo-ti*. The daily expenditure of the temple has to depend on the donations of pilgrims and tourists as well as payments made by lay people for the ritual services performed by monks or

<sup>22</sup> For a detailed discussion of the governing committee of folk-religion temples in Taiwan, see: P. Steven Sangren (1987), especially Chapter Two. In fact, the committee of folk-religion temples in Taiwan is the basic unit in the political structure in Taiwan, as has been pointed out by Donald R. Deglopper (1974) and Stephan Feuchtwang (1974a).

<sup>23</sup> Similar to the parish in the West, the followers of monasteries and temples in China are usually geographically confined to a certain territory. Within the pantheon, there are centralised deities and regional deities. Each regional deity has power only within a particular territory.

priests.<sup>24</sup> As a result, temples and their associated activities have to be commercially and touristically oriented.<sup>25</sup>

In order to attract more pilgrims and tourists, folk-religion temples tend to spend more money on accommodation and catering in addition to religious facilities. The provision of one or several *Hsiang-Ke-Ta-Luo* (the pilgrim hotel) within the temple precincts is very common in Taiwan.<sup>26</sup> To attract more tourists, temples also tend to build special features to serve as unique landmarks. Gigantic statues of deities and recreational facilities are the most common ones. Fo-Kwang Shan in Kaoshiung and Pa-Kua Shan in Changhua represent such examples. Fo-Kwang Shan, better known as Light of Buddha Mountain, is a buddhist monastery consisting of a number of enormous shrines surrounded by colonnades, pavilions and pagodas. Near the entrance is the tallest Buddha statue on the island – 32 meters high – surrounded by 480 life-size images of disciples. Together they serve as the landmark of the establishment (fig. 2-6). Similarly, Pa-Kua Shan, which literally means Eight-Trigram Mountain, has a buddha image of 30 meters high. Behind the statue is an amusement park containing various recreational facilities. Not only is the expansion of these temples out of proportion both physically and functionally, but also the decorations and colours are extremely vulgarised.

Religious festivals, which used to be considered solemn and sacred, have

<sup>24</sup> Four kinds of rituals can be distinguished in the tradition of folk-religion in Taiwan according to their functions: 1) the *K'uan* rituals relating to the bringing of children into adult life; 2) the *Hun* rituals relating to the bride and her introduction into her new family; 3) the *Sang* rituals performed for the proper burial of the dead and family's passing through a period of mourning, and also the rituals relating to the communication with the dead; and 4) the *Chi* rituals relating to the annual cycle of festivals, which have the function of integrating man with seasonal changes in nature. Rituals can also be divided according to their goals into *Ch'i* (rites of petition), *Pao* (rites that seek to preserve the social and natural order), and *Pi* (rites of exorcism that attempt to cast out devils or prevent calamity or evil). See: Michael Saso (1982), p. 584.

<sup>25</sup> The amount of donations made by pilgrims and tourists to the folk-religion temples in Taiwan is beyond belief, especially in some popular temples. For example, the average daily donation during the Chinese New Year Festival in Ch'ao-Tien Kung at Peikang is about \$35,000. The average annual income through donation in Cheng-Lan Kung at Tachia is about \$2,500,000 in cash and \$28,000 in gold. See: Hua Yi-Chun (1982), pp. 65-66.

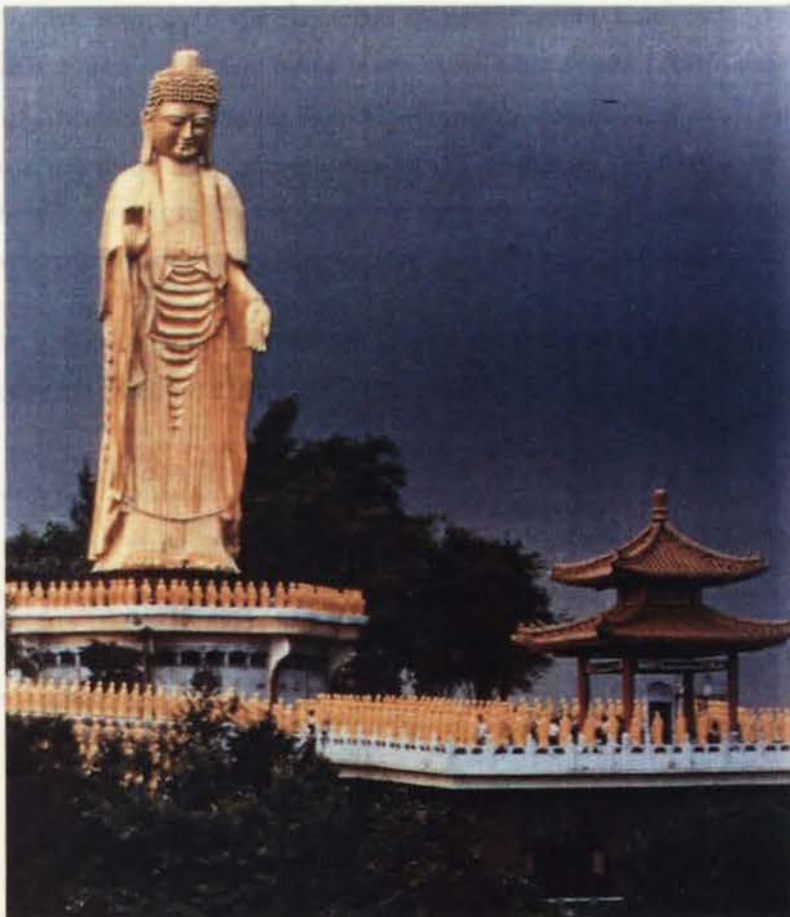
<sup>26</sup> For example, Chi-Nan Kung at Mucha, Taipei; Kuan-Tu Kung at Kuantu, Taipei; Dai-Tien Fu at Madou, Tainan; Pao-Kwang-Shen Tang at Yuchin, Tainan; and Fo-kwang Shan in Kaoshiung all have such kind of the hotel with hundreds of beds to accommodate pilgrims and tourists. Such hotels are also popular among non-pilgrimage visitors because their prices are much cheaper than the ordinary hotels. Since the income of the registered temples in Taiwan can be exempted from taxation, temples are likely, and willing, to put more money on these facilities and then make big profits from them. Kwang-Yu Sung (1986), pp. 382-383.



- fig. 2-5: Sheng-Mu Temple, Luermen, Tainan, 1977-. Architect: Hsieh Tzu-Nan. [Daniel P. Reid (1984), p. 73]
- fig. 2-6: Gigantic Statue of Buddha, Fo-Kwang Shan, Kaoshiung. The scale of the statue can be revealed by the visitors who are dwarfed by the statues of disciples surrounding the main statue. [Daniel p. Reid (1984), p. 188]



2-5



2-6

become carnivalesque and many of their features have been vulgarised. For example, the deity's sedan, which used to be carried by a team of selected followers in the festival procession is moved electrically nowadays. The chanting of the sutra by monks and nuns inside the temple, once considered to be essential to salvation, has been replaced in many temples by so called "electrical monks and nuns", i.e., effigies with tape-recorders continuously playing sutra-chants. In the past, banquets associated with the festivals and rituals were an inseparable part of religious practice. Today they are merely social events like any other party. Many temples in Taiwan have become utilitarian institutions rather than sacred establishments. Only through the expansion of the original buildings and the inclusion of more facilities can temples attract more pilgrims and tourists, who will in turn bring more money which will be used in the expansion of the temple.<sup>27</sup> Such vicious circles dominate the management of many temples in modern Taiwan.

Certainly, the erection of new temples and the expansion of the old motivated solely by such extra-religious factors will never produce a truly sacred establishment<sup>h</sup>. In a condition where the arbitrariness and freedom in changing the worshipped deity are allowed, the temple of a low hierarchy but popular deity might be much bigger than the temple of a high hierarchy but less popular deity. The hierarchy of deities in the celestial world is completely lost in such a phenomenon. And when temples become multi-storied, different deities have to be allocated on different floors. People can walk freely on the floor above the space where a deity sits. The traditional taboo that the space on the top of the deity should not be stepped on is broken. For this, the historian Shih Wan-Shou has severely blamed architects for lacking knowledge of even the basic elements of religion. He argues that the sacredness of deities is profaned and the path linking the deities and Heaven is blocked.<sup>28</sup>

In addition to this abnormal development in religious establishments, there is another extreme: the exclusion of any religious considerations in new city

<sup>27</sup> The prospects of any temple are highly dependent on the power of its deity. Any deity, once he or she is said to be religiously powerful, will immediately attract hundreds of followers. Consequently, the income through donations of the people increase. The expansion of the temple becomes possible. On the other hand, if the deity is said to be powerless, the temple will soon lose the support of the people and remain humble or continue deteriorate.

<sup>28</sup> Wan-Shou Shih (1980), p. 29.

planning and the design of non-religious buildings. There are hundreds of codes and acts which regulate the layout of the city, the width of the road, the height of the building, the number of public facilities, the size of the opening on the wall, the lighting requirements etc. The built form and the spatial organisation of buildings are now largely decided by the efficiency of their function and the cost of their construction rather than their meanings. The religious consideration in the built environment in Taiwan from the level of a city down to the level of a dwelling no longer plays any significant role. The city becomes the network of a functional grid and the dwelling is nothing but a machine to live in albeit heavily styled in many cases.

### **The Influx of Foreign Influence**

#### **Fact.**

Before becoming an official part of the Chinese territories in 1683, Taiwan had been controlled by the Spanish and the Dutch. Their influence on the development of new architecture in Taiwan was not profound although they did build a number of fortifications and churches in Western styles.<sup>29</sup> Between the 1680s and the 1850s, there were some foreigners in Taiwan despite the fact that their presence was discouraged by the Ch'ing government. In 1860, as provided by the terms of the Treaty of Peking, which China signed with the British and the French governments to end the war between Chinese troops and Anglo-French allied troops, the ports of Fuwei (today Tamsui), Keelung, Anping, and Taguo (today Kuohsiung) were opened to Western traders and missionaries. During the ensuing decades, foreign trading and missionary activities, most of them involving British and American companies and churches, grew by leaps and bounds. Consequently, more and more buildings built in Western styles or decorated with Western ornamental motifs appeared in Taiwan.

<sup>29</sup> All these fortifications and churches were built in the 1620s and the 1630s. Fortifications include Fort Zeelandia, Fort Provintia, Fort Utrecht, and Fort Baxemboy built by the Dutch as well as Fort San Salvador, Fort Eltenburg, Fort San Domingo, Fort Santissimo Trinidad, Fort St Antonio, Fort St Augustijn, and Fort St Milan built by the Spanish. Churches include Todos Los Santos, San Luis Beltran, Nuestra Senora de Rosario, Santo Domingo built by the Spanish and several churches built by the Dutch. Most of these buildings, however, have been destroyed in various wars. Chien-Lang Lee (1979), pp. 68-81.

After being ceded to Japan in 1895, Taiwan was treated by Japanese architects as a paradise for architectural development. On the one hand, the Japanese built houses and Shinto shrines in various traditional Japanese styles, not only as an attempt partly to create a culture which was dominantly Japanese but also to provide for the psychological relief of nostalgia. On the other hand, Taiwan was treated by Japanese architects as an experimental frontier of Western-style architecture which only became popular in Japan after the Meiji Restoration took place in 1868. And as soon as the International Style architecture started to gain its popularity in the 1930s in the West, it was transplanted to Taiwan by Japanese architects. So, when the Japanese left the island in 1945, Taiwan had not only Japanese-style and Western-style buildings but also some examples of the most pioneering modern architecture in Asia.<sup>30</sup>

After Taiwan was restored to the Chinese government in 1945, her steady economic growth guaranteed the continuation of rapid modernisation in architecture. Everywhere people had been expectantly waiting for the arrival of Western modern architecture to breathe a spirit of modernity. In 1972, the Taipei Hilton was one of the tallest buildings in the city, looking like a lighthouse over a sea of low-rise dwellings. Today, the Taipei Hilton is barely discernible in the forest of new high-rise buildings that has sprouted in the building boom since the 1970s. Except for a very few cases, most new buildings strongly resemble foreign models rather than traditional regional buildings.

### **Discussion.**

As I have mentioned, throughout the history of modern architectural development of Taiwan, there are three major categories of foreign influence, namely, Western missionary, colonial Japanese, and Modernism.<sup>31</sup> The influence brought by Western missionaries was the most subtle one, due to the nature of their tasks and objectives. What Western missionaries wanted to achieve was

<sup>30</sup> Kuo Chung-Tuan (1982), p. 4 and Lee Chien-Lang (1980), p. 116.

<sup>31</sup> The spread of Post-Modernism since the 1980s indeed has brought to Taiwan another wave of foreign influence. Post-Modernism certainly push the development of architecture back to to a state in which the ornament is no longer rejected, but it has not contributed to the resurgence of regional characters. Rather, it only creates another kind of architecture coated with foreign colours. I shall discuss this issue in next chapter.



to preach their beliefs rather than to change the culture of traditional Taiwanese society. The approach they adopted was gentle and mild. They rarely imposed totally new concepts in the beginning. Rather, they tried to integrate regional culture and Western elements although the result was always superficial.

Instead of constructing buildings completely in Western styles, though this did occur on some occasions, Westernising regional Taiwanese buildings and regionalising Western buildings were two common approaches adopted by the missionaries. The result of the former approach is best illustrated in the drawings made by the Dutch when they occupied the island. In a drawing depicting a Matzu Temple, we can clearly see that the interior of the temple is exactly like a church (fig. 2-7). Because all temples built during the Dutch occupation period were destroyed, whether such buildings were real or just a fiction remains questionable.<sup>32</sup> In contrast, Protestant priests in the nineteenth century used to regionalise churches in order to attract more local people. Hsintien Church (1874) near Taipei and Maxwell Memorial Church (1902) in Tainan are two examples. Hsintien Church was basically designed in the style of a small Western church, but the central tower and spire on top were built in some degree to resemble a five-story pagoda, and the pinnacles on top of the buttress were all pagoda-shaped (fig. 2-8). On the other hand, Maxwell Memorial Church adopted the form of a traditional Taiwanese house. But the wall of it was pierced by doors and windows in the shape of Western pointed arches (fig. 2-9). These are two examples showing attempts to regionalise churches so that local people would feel more comfortable when attending them.

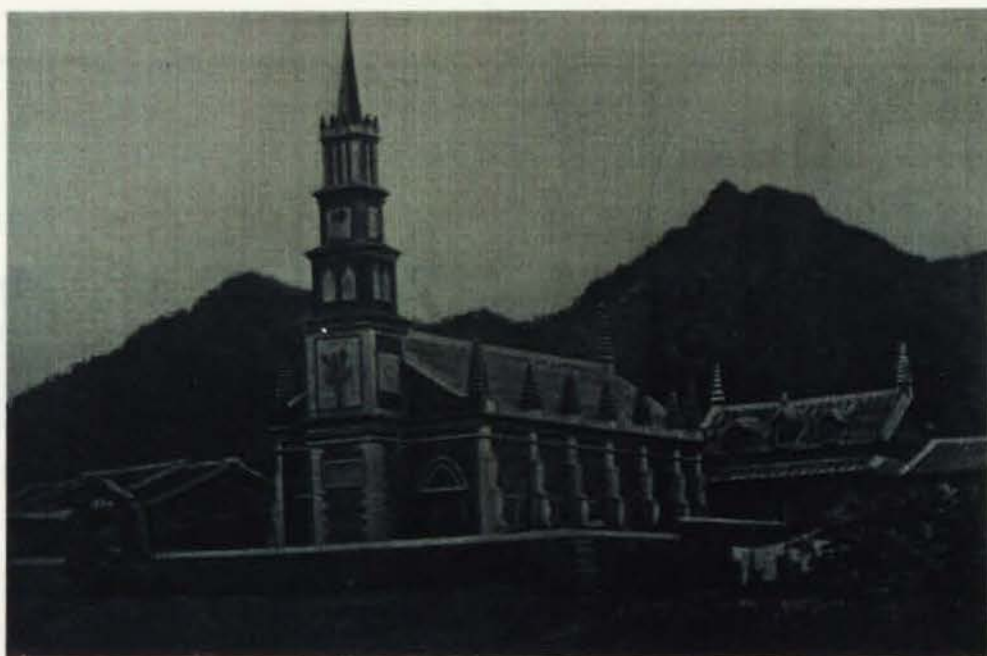
This trend was followed by many architects and lasted until the 1960s. New Hsinchu Carmel Convent (1957, Yu Yueh-Cheng) and Tainan Parish Church (1964) are two of such examples. In the first case, traditional style roofs dominate both the campanile and the cloister which was planned to resemble a traditional courtyard house (fig. 2-10). In the second case, both the interior and exterior were designed to recall a typical Chinese temple (figs. 2-11, 2-12).

<sup>32</sup> There always been misconceptions in Western accounts of Taiwan. George Psalmanaassar's *An Historical and Geographical Description of Formosa* (London: Robert Holden & Co. Ltd, 1926) is one example in which he projects a picture of Taiwan that is totally wrong in all aspects. It is a fictional rather than a descriptive account of Taiwan.

- fig. 2-7: Drawing of a Matzu temple, c. late 17th century. [*Chinese Architect*, October 1980, p. 28]
- fig. 2-8: Hsintien Church, Hsintien, 1874. [George L. Mackay (1896), p. 191]



2-7

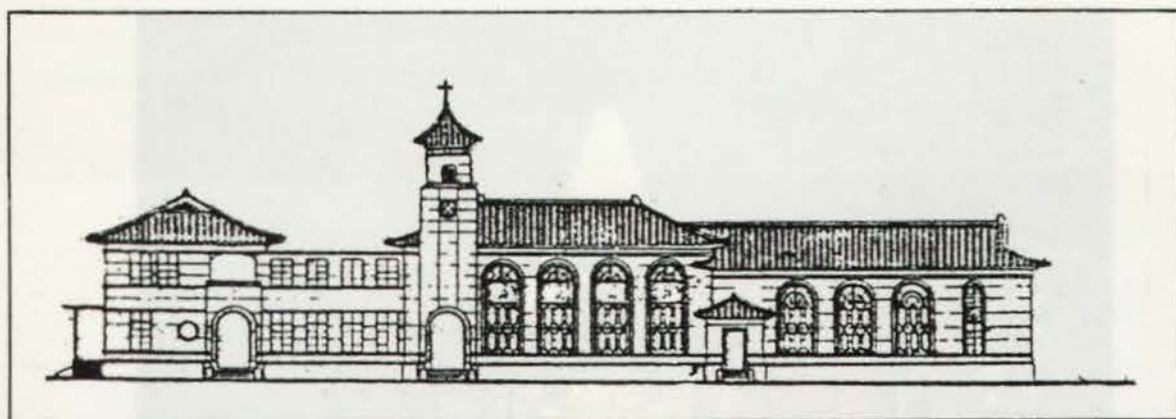


2-8

- fig. 2-9: Maxwell Memorial Church, Tainan, 1902. [Maxwell Memorial Church]
- fig. 2-10: New Hsinchu Carmel Convent, Hsinchu, 1957. Architect: Yu Yueh-Cheng. Elevation of the main facade. [*Chien-Chu* No. 4, 1962, p. 25]



2-9



2-10



- fig. 2-11: Tainan Parish Church, Tainan, 1964. Exterior view. [author]

- fig. 2-12: Tainan Parish Church, Tainan, 1964. Interior view. [author]



2-11



2-12

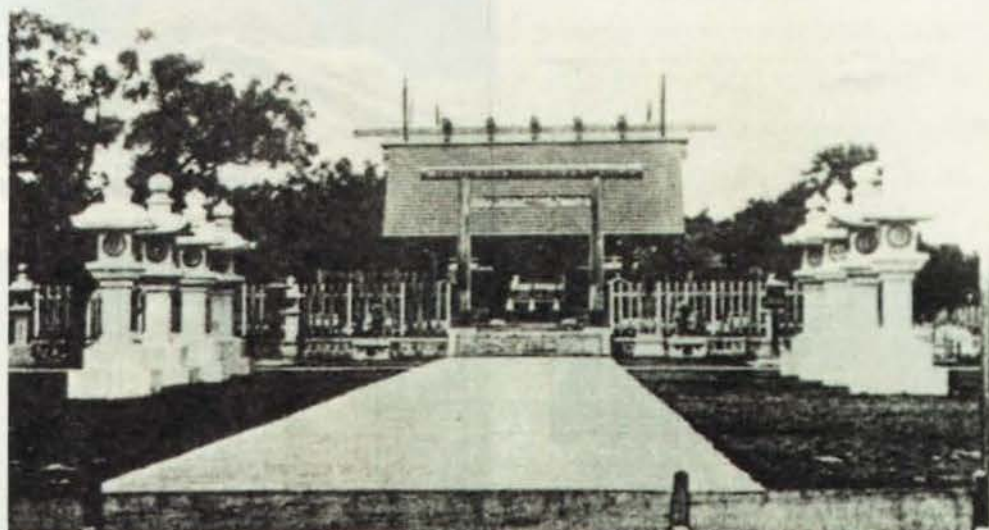
Although the influence brought by the Western missionaries started to appear in architecture as early as the 1870s, such influence is, however, limited to churches and other missionary-related buildings.

During the period of Japanese occupation, changes in Taiwan were imposed compulsorily by the colonial authorities. Among the hundreds of new public buildings built by the Japanese were shrines designed in the traditional Shinto style and also Buddhist temples designed in other traditional styles. Tainan Shrine (c. early 19th C) is an example of the former while the East Hongan Monastery (1933) in Taipei is an example of the latter (figs. 2-13, 2-14). Like Western churches, the number of such buildings was limited to the ritual and religious establishments of the Japanese and exercised no noticeable influence on buildings in other sectors.

More important and influential than the buildings of various traditional Japanese styles are the Western-style buildings, including public and governmental buildings as well as commercial and domestic buildings, where were built by Japanese architects.<sup>33</sup> Taiwan Museum (today Taiwan Provincial Museum, 1915, Nobura Izilo and Araki Elizi) and the University Hospital of the Imperial Taipei University (today National University, 1916, Kondo Julo) are two of the best of the governmental buildings. The former was designed in the Renaissance Revival style with a Doric porch on both the southern and northern fronts of the building while a large dome dominates the main facade. Inside the building, the Corinthian order was used widely (fig. 2-15). On the other hand, a more eclectic approach was applied to the University Hospital of the Imperial Taipei University in which various motifs and elements from Western architecture were adopted (fig. 2-16).

<sup>33</sup> After the Meiji Restoration, the Japanese government invited Western architects to participate in the new era of construction. Among them were the English architect T. Waters, the French architect C. de Boinville, the Italian architect G.V. Capelletti, and the German architects H. Emde and W. Bockmann. But the most influential figure was the Englishman Josiah Conder who arrived in Japan in 1877 and received his professorship in the Department of Architecture, Tokyo University where he taught for 44 years. Many first generation Japanese architects learnt Western architecture from him. Chien-Lang Lee(1980), pp. 39-40.

- fig. 2-13: Tainan Shrine, Tainan, c. early 20th century. [Chien-Lang Lee (1979), p. 300]
- fig. 2-14: East Hongan Monastery, Taipei, 1933. [Chien-Lang Lee (1979), p. 289]



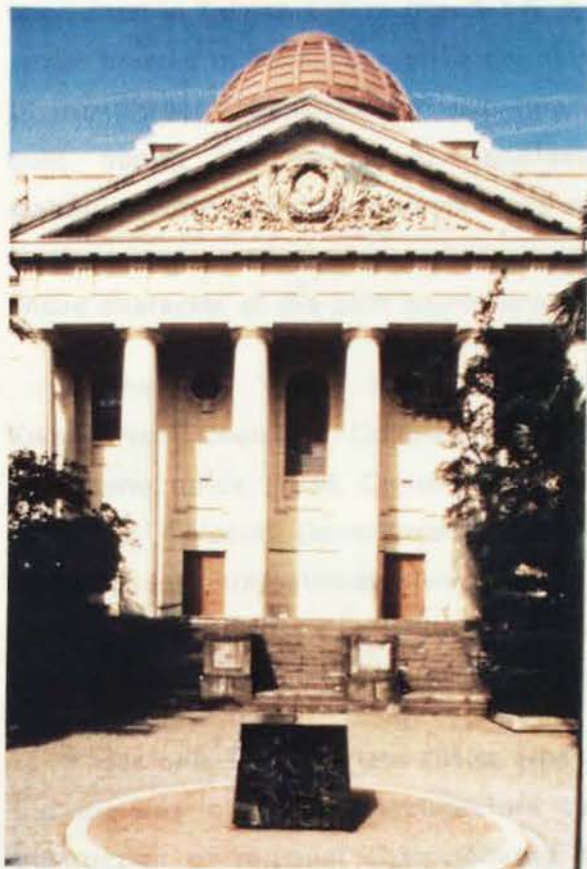
2-13



2-14



- fig. 2-15: Taiwan Museum, Taipei, 1915. Architect: Nobura Izilo and Araki Elizi. [author]
- fig. 2-16: University Hospital, Imperial Taipei University, Taipei, 1916. Architect: Kondo Julo. [author]
- fig. 2-17: Street house, Di-Hua Street, Taipei, c. 1900. [author]



2-15



2-17



2-16

As for commercial and domestic buildings, they often dominate the whole length of a street or a quarter of a district. The street houses at Di-Hua Street, Taipei (c. 1900), and at Ho-Ping Road and Chung-Shan Road, Tachi (1918–1919) epitomise this. Most street houses at Di-Hua Street were dressed with extraordinary rich decorations of Baroque and Rococo styles which had rarely been seen in Taiwan before (fig. 2-17). A similar approach was employed in the street houses in Tachi, though decorations there were less extravagant than at Di-Hua Street.<sup>34</sup> Despite their adoption of foreign ornaments, most buildings built during the period of Japanese occupation still preserved many distinguishable regional characteristics and used regional materials in addition to their incorporation of imported elements; they never posed a threat to the entire character of the built environment in Taiwan.

In the late 1930s, modern architecture began to appear in Taiwan, Kwang-Nan Chemical Company in Tainan (1935) (fig. 2-18) and Taipei Telephone office (1938, Construction Department, Ministry of Communication, Japanese Colonial Government) (fig. 2-19) were two pioneering examples adopting the International Style and its associated white aesthetic. However, before such modern architecture had a chance to spread, the influence of the second World War extended to Taiwan and the development stopped.

It was only after the late 1950s, when island-wide construction according to the dictates of modern architecture became intensified, that the wholesale destruction of regional characteristics became noticeable. As the traditional heritage of Taiwan became no longer the sole repository of social and cultural values, people turned more and more to foreign ways of life and foreign types of architecture, which remain popular especially among the middle and the upper classes in the cities. Every modern style which appeared in the course of world architectural development was soon duplicated in Taiwan. One does not have any difficulty in finding all over Taiwan Miesian buildings such as the No. 3 Student Reflectory at the National Cheng-Kung University (1958, He Chen-T'zu) (fig. 2-20), Le Corbusierian buildings such as the Laboratory Building at Taipei Medicial College (1962, Wu M.H.) (fig. 2-21), formalist buildings such as the Shuang-Lien Building at Taipei (1972, Lin Ching-Feng) (fig. 2-22),

<sup>34</sup> For a detailed study of the facade of the street houses at Tachi, see: Huei-Chen Lin (1989b).



- fig. 2-18: Kwang-Nan Chemical Company, Tainan, 1935. [author]
- fig. 2-19: Taipei Telephone office, Taipei, 1938. Architect: Construction Department, Ministry of Communication, Japanese Colonial Government. [Li-Fu Wang, Chien-Lang Lee, and Chao-Lee Kuo (1985), p. 103]

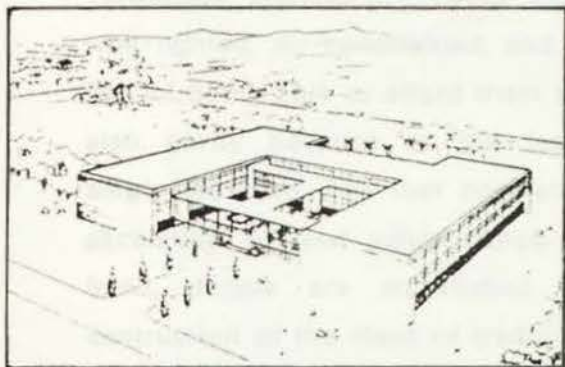


2-18



2-19

- fig. 2-20: No. 3 Student Refectory, National Cheng-Kung University, Tainan, 1958. Architect: He Chen-T'zu. [*Chinese Architect*, July 1984, p. 36]
- fig. 2-21: Laboratory Buidling, Taipei Medical College, Taipei, 1962. Architect: Wu M.H. [Li-Fu Wang, Chien-Lang Lee, and Chao-Lee Kuo (1985), p. 40]
- fig. 2-22: Shuang-Lien Building, Taipei, 1972. Architect: Lin Ching-Feng. [author]



2-20



2-21



2-22

expressionist buildings such as the chapel of Wei-Tao High School (1967, Shiu Che-Lan) in Taichung (fig. 2-23), and Slick-skin buildings such as the Wan-Chen Commercial Building at Taipei (1979, China Sincere Architects and Peng Y.H.) (fig. 2-24).<sup>35</sup>

In response to this invasion of buildings created with non-regional characteristics, the attitude of the people in Taiwan has become increasingly ambivalent; made up of both of appreciation and dissatisfaction. On the one hand, the advantages of imported modern architecture – structural and constructional technology, and environmental control systems – offer better technical solutions to the problems of the built environment than traditional Taiwanese architecture could. People not only enjoy working and living in well-lighted, air-conditioned, and multi-storeyed buildings, but also treat the fact of being able to afford them as a symbol of social status. Certainly, this is also partly because of the fact that traditional buildings were basically single-storeyed. And that population growth, particularly in the cities, and the escalation of land values force multi-storeyed development. On the other hand, people are dissatisfied with modern architecture because of its destruction of the ideas of traditional spatial organisation and built form which used to play such an important role in Taiwanese architecture. Obviously such dissatisfaction, which grows from the contradiction between modern architecture and traditional Taiwanese architecture, cannot reach an easy reconciliation. Some people then raise the questions whether an integration of these two would breed a new architecture better than either of its parents, or whether the new will simply destroy the old.

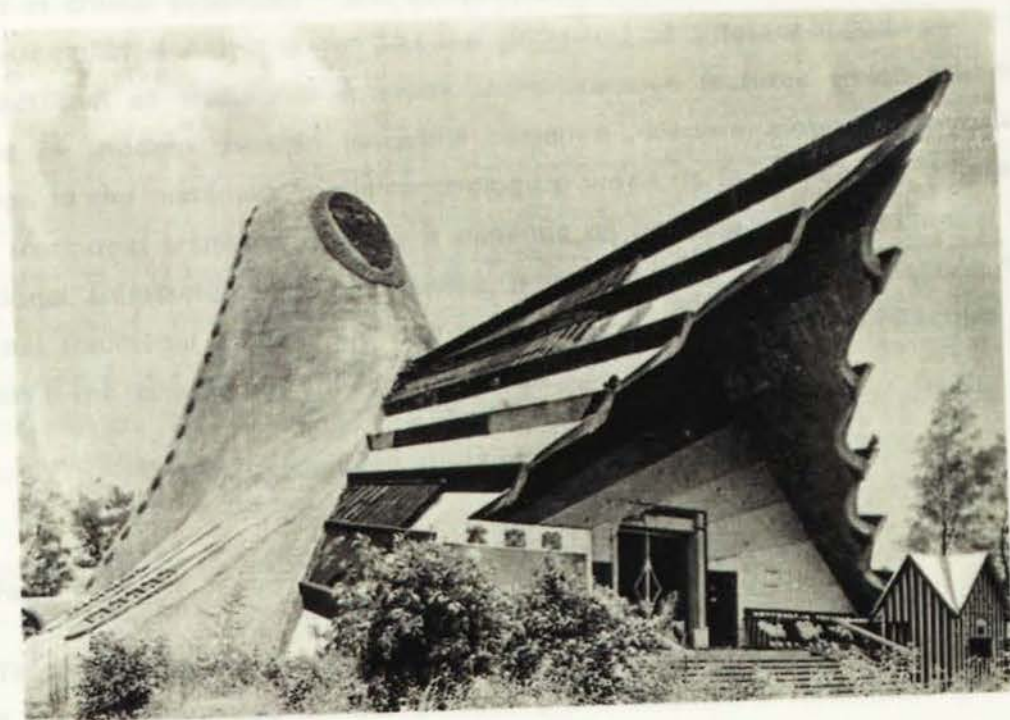
Those who in favour of the integration might argue that contacts between cultures have often in the past proved to be landmarks in human progress and architectural development: Greece learnt from Egypt, Rome from Greece, the Arabs from the Roman Empire, medieval Europe from the Arabs, Renaissance Europe from Byzantium, and Japan from China. They might also argue that throughout Chinese history, there have been several occasions when the Chinese have absorbed another culture and developed it along with their own. Sinicised Buddhism is an outstanding example.

---

<sup>35</sup> The best reference for modern architecture in Taiwan since the 1960s is the monthly *Chinese Architect* which was first published in 1975.



- fig. 2-23: Chapel, Wei-Tao High School, Taichung, 1967. Architect: Shiu Che-Lan. [*Chinese Architect*, July 1984, p. 70]
- fig. 2-24: Wan-Chen Commercial Building, Taipei, 1979. Architects: China Sincere Architects and Peng Y.H. [author]



2-23



2-24

However, all of these examples are cases of the taking over or synthesis of essentially traditional elements. They are different from the situation in which traditional societies try to integrate modern trends. Buddhism and traditional Chinese beliefs seemed very different on the surface, but were actually rather similar in critical essentials – and certainly both included a belief in some kind of transcendence. And it is not just the similarities of different religions – it is the fact that all traditional societies share common features which are not shared by modern, secular, industrial societies. Modern architecture, which belongs to the materialistic and technological world, is fundamentally different from traditional architecture since it depends on denying what is essential to traditional architecture. For this reason, it is very hard, if not impossible, for regional traditional architecture and imported foreign modern architecture to coexist if the latter is not critically reformed.

### **The Over-emphasis on the Chinese Grand Tradition**

#### **Fact.**

The third trend in the development of new architecture in Taiwan derives from an over-emphasis on the Chinese grand tradition in architecture.<sup>36</sup> The culture of a complex society is never homogeneous. It is layered, reflecting the different interests of different groups, containing traces from the past as well as the present. And, within a society, the most fundamental groups are those associated with the various cultural configurations which are also reflected in architecture.

In Taiwan the culture of the Chinese grand tradition was rarely dominant before 1949 because of her special historical and geographical background. Taiwanese societies before 1949 were permeated by the Minnan and the Hakka

<sup>36</sup> In China as a whole, the grand tradition in architecture was represented by the "Northern School" buildings which prevailed in the northern provinces along the Yellow River. Basically, grand style buildings were constructed in mud, bricks, and other heavy materials in addition to having a wooden structure. The spatial organisation of these buildings was rigid and usually symmetrically arranged. Grand style architecture was supported by the ruling class and scholar-gentry whose ways of thinking, manner, behaviour and belief were dominated by Confucian doctrines. Since the theme of grand style architecture is not our major concern, and there are a number of books on the subject, we will not enter into any detailed discussion of it. For references, see: Chih-Ping Liu (1957), Andrew Byod (1962), Yun-Ho Lee (1980), and Ssu-Cheng Liang (1984).

cultures, which, in spite of being influenced by Confucian ethics and moral ideas of the grand tradition, nevertheless remained distinct in such regional concerns as dialect, religion, music, custom, food, and architecture. Its architecture is distinguished from that of Chinese grand style by its lightweight appearance, especially shown in its curved lines and vivid decoration. Even after fifty years of the Japanese occupation, the basic features of the Minnan and the Hakka cultures were largely untouched.<sup>37</sup>

In 1949, the Nationalist government retreated from the Chinese mainland to Taiwan. The cultural realm of Taiwan started to change. Political life on Taiwan reflected the psychology of rulers in exile, determined not to give up the claims that sustained their hopes and sense of historical continuity.<sup>38</sup> As a consequence, the policy direction of cultural activities stressed those in the mainstream of the grand tradition, in order to maintain the image of cultural orthodoxy. For example, although in Taiwan only a small group of people can fully understand and appreciate the Chinese Peking Opera, it has been designated the "national opera", sponsored by the government, and has played at various theatres and on TV. In contrast, the traditional Taiwanese opera, which is very popular with the local people, did not receive serious sponsorship from the government until very recently, and was forced to perform outdoors on elevated stages in the public market or the square before a temple. A similar fate has befallen many local cultural activities. While the popular tradition was not under the protection of the government, it had to rely heavily on the populace for preservation and promotion. Even today, official support for the Taiwanese popular cultural heritage is far less than for that of the grand tradition.

In the architectural realm, although scholars and people in the private realm had already expressed a strong desire for the preservation of traditional architecture built in the Minnan style in the late 1970s, the government's attitude remained passive until the early 1980s. In fact, before the hundreds of traditional buildings built in the Minnan style were designated "Cultural

---

<sup>37</sup> The Japanese period, though harsh and restrictive on the Taiwanese people, was blessed at least by a recognition of Taiwanese tradition. Traditional Taiwanese social and religious customs were tolerated to some extent.

<sup>38</sup> John K. Fairbank and Edwin O. Reischauer(1979), p. 522.

Heritage” by the government and protected under the “Cultural Heritage Preservation Act” in 1982, a large number of such buildings had been demolished.

The conscious construction of buildings in the grand style in Taiwan is part of the campaign promoted by the Nationalist Government there to maintain its legitimacy as the heir of Chinese cultural orthodoxy. In the Summer of 1966, the Cultural Revolution began on the Chinese mainland. Demolishing traditional architecture was one of the mad acts performed by the Red Guard in order to eradicate the last vestiges of feudalism. In order to counter the Cultural Revolution, the Nationalist government in Taiwan launched its own “Chinese Culture Renaissance Movement” which has offered a shelter for the development of grand style architecture in Taiwan ever since. Only after the rise of regional consciousness in the early 1980s, which gradually shifted the attention of the people to their own regional heritage, did buildings designed in the grand style start to fall in number although they will probably never completely disappear.

#### **Discussion.**

Amos Rapoport has pointed out that architecture, like other fields of cultural activity – music, religion, literature – shows strong differences between the grand tradition and the popular tradition.<sup>39</sup> He suggests that “buildings of the grand design tradition are built to impress either the populace with the power of the patron, or the peer group of designers and cognoscenti with the cleverness of the designer and good taste of the patron.”<sup>40</sup> In contrast to the grand style, Rapoport claims that the popular style is “the direct and unself-conscious translation into physical form of culture, its needs and values – as well as the desires, dreams, and passions of a people” and that it “is much more closely related to the culture of the majority and life as it is really lived than is the grand design tradition.”<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Different dichotomous terminologies such as high culture and low culture; classic culture and folk culture; great tradition and little tradition; the learned tradition and popular tradition; and hierarchic and lay culture have been employed by various scholars.

<sup>40</sup> Amos Rapoport (1969), p. 2.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. p. 2.

Superficially, Rapoport's suggestion might be correct for some buildings in certain places during particular periods of time. Yet his view may prove to be wrong in many cases. Throughout human history, buildings of the grand tradition, particularly, churches, cathedrals, and temples, have always been part of ordinary people's symbolic, spiritual, and cultural life and not something imposed upon the populace as Rapoport implies.

In theoretical and practical terms, both the grand tradition and the popular tradition are necessary components of the culture of a country. The grand tradition is necessary because it is so strongly diffused that it can penetrate into the popular tradition and thus establish the basic framework of a national culture. The popular tradition is necessary because it is so persistent that, although influenced by the grand tradition, it still preserves some unique aspects which, in their turn, enrich the content of the national culture. Grand tradition and popular tradition are part of the same tradition and they interact with one another. In traditional societies, architecture of the grand tradition and the popular tradition retain, ideally, a harmonious and symbiotic relationship – like a lord in relation to his servants – and the two are mutually indispensable.

The attempt to adopt the grand style in architecture was initiated on the Chinese mainland in the 1920s and 1930s when missionary hospitals and college buildings were "Sinicized" by Western architects, who decked them with Chinese curved roofs and other traditional formal elements. Yenching University in Peking (1920, Henry K. Murphy) (fig. 2-25), Peking Union Medical College and Hospital (1925, C.W. Anner) (fig. 2-26), and the National Peking Library (1929, V. Leth-Møller) (fig. 2-27) are some of the best examples.<sup>42</sup> In all of them, traditional Chinese roofs of various styles were placed as crowns on bodies built according to western spatial organisation. This approach was soon followed by the younger generation Chinese architects who were returning home after completing their studies abroad. This trend, drawing its inspiration from the grand tradition, was called "the Chinese Renaissance Movement in architecture" by many writers at that time and was advocated as the 'national

---

<sup>42</sup> For discussion of buildings designed by Western missionaries and foreign architects in the 1920s and 1930s, see: Chao-Ching Fu (1987), Kuo-Wen Chao (1987), and Sung-Lin Yang (1987).



- fig. 2-25: Yenching University, Peking, 1920. Architect: Henry K. Murphy. [author]
- fig. 2-26: Peking Union Medical College, Peking, 1925. Architect: C.W. Anner. [author]



2-25



2-26

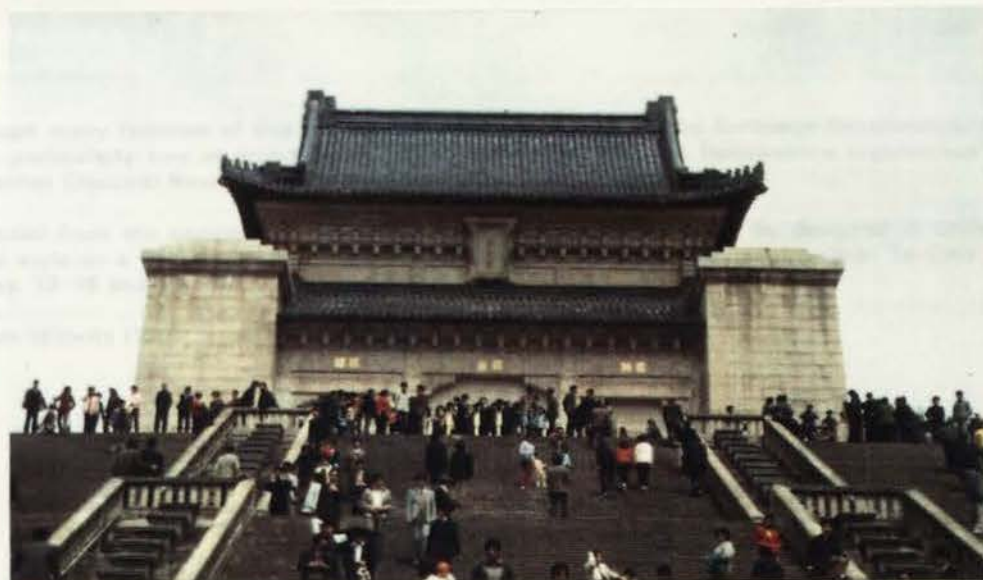
- fig. 2-27: National Peking Library, Peking, 1929. Architect: V. Leth-Moller. [author]
- fig. 2-28: Perspective of the design of a motorway interchange, Nanking, 1929. Architect: Capital Construction Committee. [Min-Chien T.Z. Tyau, (1930), Insert plate]
- fig. 2-29: Dr. Sun Yat-Sen Mausoleum, Nanking, 1929. Architect: Lu Yen-Chin. [author]



2-27



2-28



2-29

style' by the Nationalist government at Nanking in the late 1920s and 1930s.<sup>43</sup>

During that time, most governmental buildings, and also buildings sponsored by the government, were topped with grand style roofs and coated with palatial decorations regardless of their function. One of the most absurd examples was the design of a motorway interchange in Nanking, the new capital of the Nationalist Government. The design imitated a traditional city gate tower and the city wall without questioning whether such forms are suitable for a motorway interchange (fig. 2-28). In spite of being so enthusiastic about adopting the formal elements of traditional Chinese architecture, most architects from the beginning created only Western buildings Sinicised and enriched with details taken directly from classical Chinese architecture. They could not go any further for they knew too little about the essence of classical Chinese architecture. The Dr. Sun Yat-Sen Mausoleum at Nanking, won by Lu Yen-Chih in a competition in 1925 and completed in 1929, is a controversial example (fig. 2-29). Although having fulfilled the requirement of the competition to adopt the 'Classical Chinese style'<sup>44</sup>, the design relied heavily on planning concepts from the West, especially the use of a Baroque vista. William Willetts, who calls the mausoleum 'another typical misalliance' mentions in his criticism that "superficially this is a Chinese design, following the general layout of the nearby Ming tombs, and incorporating traditional features such as memorial pillars and half-hipped sagged roofs. But massive masonry stairs and foundations artlessly wedged into the hillside, and the formal triumphal avenue of decidedly Western character by which it is approached, contrive to give it an obtrusive monumentality entirely out of keeping with the true spirit of Chinese architecture."<sup>45</sup>

The same view was shared by Liang Ssu-Cheng who in 1931 joined the IRCA (Institute for Research in Chinese Architecture), an organisation formed in 1929 by a group of Chinese architects with the aim of remedying defects

---

<sup>43</sup> Although many features of this movement were reminiscent of the European Renaissance, this was not particularly true of architecture. What was called "Chinese Renaissance architecture" is in fact either Classical Revival style or Eclectic style.

<sup>44</sup> The brief from the competition committee asked that the mausoleum be designed in Chinese Classical style or a new style with the spirit of Chinese Classical architecture. See: To-Chia Hu (1986), pp. 13-16 and 149-162.

<sup>45</sup> William Willetts (1965), p. 407.



caused by a lack of knowledge of classical Chinese architecture.<sup>46</sup> The activities of the IRCA and the movement were interrupted by the civil war which was followed by the Communist capture of the Chinese mainland. But some of its protagonists fled from the mainland to Taiwan and soon found Taiwan a safe haven for them to continue the development of this style under the protection of the Nationalist Government. Buildings designed in the grand style have since the 1950s become a major trend in the architectural development of Taiwan.

Although buildings designed in various grand styles are continually being severely criticised as being without creativity, originality, and for being out of context in Taiwan<sup>47</sup>, they have never faced any shortage of clients since their first emergence because many conservative governmental officers ideologically embrace them and treat them as representatives of Chinese cultural orthodoxy. The National Taiwan Science Hall in Taipei (1959, Lu Yu-Chin) (fig. 2-30) and the buildings of the first phase development of Chinese Culture University at Yangmingshan, Taipei (1960, Lu Yu-Chin) (fig. 2-31), and the National Palace Museum in Taipei (1965, Boyle Hwang) (fig. 2-32) are examples of the early development of grand style architecture in Taiwan. The emphasis of these buildings is on nothing but sweeping tiled roofs in traditional style and the *dou-kung* (the bracket system) which is used merely as ornament rather than the structural element it should be.

Under the banner of the "Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement", which began in 1966, the application of the grand style to new buildings became a chain reaction. Hundreds of buildings, built with sponsorship from the government, were crowned with traditional tiled roofs and dressed with palatial decorations to serve as one of the achievements of the movement. Chung-Shan Lou (1966, Shiu Che-Lan) at Yangming Shan (fig. 2-33) and the Taipei Martyr's Shrine (1969, Nanking Architects and Associates) (fig. 2-34), and

---

<sup>46</sup> Liang Ssu-Cheng (1901-1972), the dominant figure in Chinese architecture for many decades until his death, graduated from University of Pennsylvania in 1928, joined the IRCA in 1931, headed the Construction Department, founded the Department of Architecture at Northeast University at Shenyang, and later became the Chairperson of the Department of Architecture at Tsin-Hua University at Peking. He was also invited to teach Chinese architecture at Yale University and Princeton University between 1936 and 1937. Many of his drawings and writings on traditional Chinese architecture had been compiled as *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture* published by the MIT Press in 1984.

<sup>47</sup> For exemplary criticisms, see Yao-Wen Zan (1969), Chan-Lin Hua (1970), and Tse-Fan Chung (1988).

- fig. 2-30: National Taiwan Science Hall, Taipei, 1959. Architect: Lu Yu-Chin. [Li-Fu Wang, Chien-Lang Lee and Chao-Lee Kuo (1985), p. 111]
- fig. 2-31: Chinese Culture University (Ta-Jen Building), Yangmingshan, Taipei, 1961. Architect: Lu Yu-Chin. [author]



2-30



2-31

- fig. 2-32: National Palace Museum, Taipei, 1965. Architect: Boyle Hwang. [*Free China Review*, September 1987, p. 11]
- fig. 2-33: Chung-Shan Building, Yangmingshan, Taipei, 1966. Architect: Shiu Che-Lan. [Dixson D.S. Sung and Lawrence C. Ho (1986), p. 116]



2-32



2-33



- fig. 2-34: Taipei Martyr's Shrine, Taipei, 1969. Architects: Nanking Architects & Associates. [Li-Fu Wang, Chien-Lang Lee, and Chao-Lee Kuo (1985), p. 135]
- fig. 2-35: Grand Hotel Addition, Taipei, 1971. Architect: Yang C.C. [Li-Fu Wang, Chien-Lang Lee, and Chao-Lee Kuo (1985), p. 41]
- fig. 2-36: National Concert Hall, Taipei, 1987. Architect: Yang C.C. [author]



2-34



2-35



2-36

the Grand Hotel Addition in Taipei (1971, Yang C.C.) (fig. 2-35) are the best example of buildings constructed in the wake of this movement.

Certainly, buildings of the grand style are successful in some ways, including their function as political symbols, nostalgic relief for mainlanders, and the undoubted increase in the richness of the skyline which they have brought with them. The biggest problem of grand style buildings is not that buildings have been designed in this style. The grand style and regional style buildings represent two ends of a continuum with many steps between them. Both of them are necessities for a complete picture of the architecture of a country. Rather, the problem is of the abuse and misuse of the grand tradition, regardless of location and function. The phenomenon is troubling on several levels. First, if they are indiscriminately located, the grand style buildings will create an illusion that they are indigenous to Taiwan, a fact which might eventually lead people to neglect regional architecture, and hence speed its disappearance. Secondly, the monumentality of grand style buildings risks becoming a symbol of political authoritarianism. The history of modern architecture shows many such examples. William Curtis has observed:

Throughout history monumental architecture has been employed to embody the values of dominant ideologies and groups, and as an instrument of state propaganda. The totalitarian regimes that came to power between the wars (first in Italy, a little later in Russia and Germany), each devoted considerable attention to the ways in which buildings and urban plans might be used to legitimise their position at home and abroad, and to convey their beliefs through symbolism and association.<sup>48</sup>

If we examine carefully the ideology behind grand style buildings in Taiwan, we will find that what Curtis stresses is also the case in Taiwan. The grand style building has since the 1950s become a symbol of the power of the Nationalist government in Taiwan.

Thirdly, the rigid shapes of the grand style might limit their efficiency in some of functions the buildings should perform. The grand style is certainly good for some types of building, but it is unsuitable for others. A blind application of it will cause both technical and spatial problems in building. The

---

<sup>48</sup> William Curtis (1983), p. 211.



grand style National Concert Hall (1987, Yang C.C.), which cost billions of dollars to complete, illustrates this phenomenon. It is hardly convincing that a classical Chinese style building can accommodate the facilities for performing Western orchestra without sacrificing the visual and acoustic aspects of a modern Western concert hall (fig. 2-36). Finally, when the issue of the context is not taken into serious consideration, the grand style buildings imposed and erected by architects arbitrarily will contribute to the loss of the sense of place.

### **Uncontrolled Urban Expansion and Instant Development**

#### **Fact.**

Economic development has transformed Taiwan from a predominantly agrarian-rural country to one which is commercial, industrial, and urban. The urban network has evolved from a series of seaport and riverport towns in the late eighteenth century to the present national urban network sprawling all over the island, and has contributed to the reduction of employment in agriculture to 20 percent of the labour force.<sup>49</sup>

The urbanisation of Taiwan has been followed by progressively rising levels of education, income, access to communication (especially such rapid media as newspapers, radio, and television), and the spreading of urban life styles to larger and larger proportions of the population, whether resident in urban areas or not. According to the sociologist Louis Wirth, there are three basic characteristics of urban societies: large population, high population density, and heterogeneity of the population, area, and activity.<sup>50</sup> The Taiwanese urban population is large in quantity, high in density, and heterogeneous in socio-cultural aspects. The diffusion of both urban characteristics and

---

<sup>49</sup> *Asia Year Book 1989* p.7.

<sup>50</sup> Louis Wirth (1938), pp. 3-24. Louis Wirth pointed out that the degree of the urbanisation of every individual country or district is very important because it becomes a guideline for defining urban problems. He says that "the degree to which the contemporary world may be said to be 'urban' is not fully or accurately measured by the proportion of the total population living in cities. The influences which cities exert upon the social life of man are greater than the ratio of the urban population would indicate, for the city is not only in ever larger degrees the dwelling-place and the workshop of modern man, but it is the initiating and controlling center of economic, political, and cultural life that has drawn the most remote parts of the world into its orbit and woven diverse areas, peoples and activities into a cosmos."

urban-oriented people into rural areas has been very rapid in the last four decades.

At the end of the nineteenth century, urbanisation in Taiwan was relatively limited when compared with major developed countries. After 1895, the Japanese government began to push the development of cities mainly in order to streamline their administration of the island. The population of each of seven major cities, where the Japanese municipal administrations were located, was more than 50,000 by the year 1940. But island-wide urbanisation took place only after Taiwan was returned to China. After millions of mainland Chinese moved from the Chinese mainland to Taiwan followed by the retreat of the Nationalist government to the island in 1949, there was a sudden increase in the urban population of Taiwan. But the most dramatic urbanisation occurred in the 1960s and 1970s when the economy of the island entered a new stage. In 1951, only 27.5 percent of the total population in Taiwan resided in eight cities and towns with more than 100,000 people each. By 1984, the percentage had reached 46.5 and the number of such cities 22.

In addition, by 1984 there were 120 settlements, including *Shih* (city), *Cheng* (Town), and *Hsiang* (village) with populations of over 30,000 and a population density of more than 500 persons per square kilometer.<sup>51</sup> All together, the urban population in Taiwan at the end of 1984 was over 80 percent which is higher than that of any Chinese society in the world except Singapore and Hong Kong. But the cases of Singapore and Hong Kong are quite different since they were developed from the beginning as urban-oriented societies. In Taiwan, urbanisation has been accompanied by the transformation from a rural state to an urban one; from an agrarian labour force to an industrial one.

Besides the three characteristics mentioned by Wirth, we must add another to the urban society of Taiwan: the encroachment of modern architecture, mostly in the form of high-rise, on the original context of the city. This is due to the increasing demand for various types of buildings, especially housing, when rural people in search of employment swarm to the city where land

<sup>51</sup> The term "urban" is defined both in terms of population and population density. A place has to have a population of at least 30,000 and a density of 500 persons per square kilometer in order to be considered as an urban area.

availability is limited and its value is high. Nor is this confined to the city; rural landscapes are also threatened by modern architecture. The spread of modern architecture also coincided with the collapse of the traditional family and kinship ideas which are essential to the survival of traditional architecture. The new cities seem closer in both spirit and appearance to Manhattan or Tokyo than to their regional predecessors.

### Discussion.

The most significant index of the fast growth of urban areas in developing countries is the replacement of traditional buildings by modern buildings which are always constructed within a very short period of time (figure 2-37). Traditional courtyard houses are now found only at the far edges of the city. Not only are single-story traditional houses quickly losing ground to high-rises, but also the four-story walk-ups considered to be so impressive only two decades ago are now falling to the jackhammer and bulldozer in order to be replaced by buildings more than ten-storey high.<sup>52</sup>

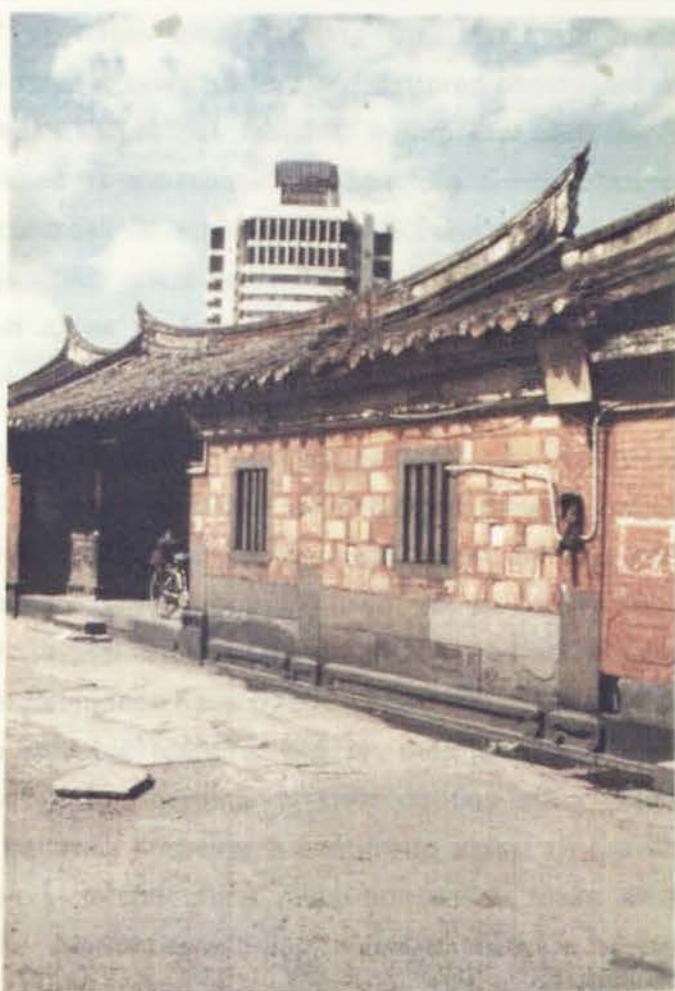
Rapid economic growth has also brought about the need to construct new offices to accommodate thriving enterprises. New schools, hospitals, and other public facilities have been constructed intensively since the 1960s as well. In the earlier developments, the emphasis tended to be on the quantity instead of the quality of the building. And this was the case until the middle of the 1970s. During the 1950s and 1960s, most new buildings in Taiwan were rather mundane and uninteresting especially in the housing projects where the amenities of a modern living environment, privacy, private facilities (bathroom and kitchen), proper sizes of room, appropriate neighbourhood relationships and open space, were all missing. In schools, classrooms were crowded with more students than the space could accommodate. In commercial and office buildings, there were always throngs of people in tiny spaces. Even though the quality of individual buildings has improved gradually, the built environment as a whole still lacks careful planning. The distance between buildings was never enough to produce a comfortable open space. The hierarchy of space was seldom provided. And the forms of the buildings were always monotonous (fig. 2-38).

---

<sup>52</sup> Ying-Hua Chang (1988), p. 30.

- fig. 2-37: Replacement of traditional architecture by modern buildings in modern Taiwan. [author]

- fig. 2-38: Common scene of the modern Taiwanese city. [author]



2-37



2-38

It was not until the 1970s when the average income of the people had reached a certain level that concern started to grow about the quality as well as the quantity of the whole built environment. Consequently, the appearance of the cities began to change. For example, Taipei was once described as the “ugly duckling” of Asian cities. During the 1960s an impression of drab buildings, dusty streets, open gutters and battered pedicabs was prevalent. The modern look which Taipei has fostered during the past few decades has, to some extent, erased its old reputation. Spacious six-lane boulevards shaded by islands of tropical trees have helped provide breathing space between the walls of new buildings which stand everywhere. Such transformation inevitably makes Taipei and other cities in Taiwan differ little from the burgeoning twentieth century cities of other developing countries.

In spite of the change in the appearance, the quality of the new built environment in Taiwan in terms of socio-cultural aspects remains questionable. On the one hand, new buildings, whose size often involves the construction of many street blocks simultaneously, have to be achieved by demolishing hundreds of traditional building overnight. A number of criticisms of such instant urban development have been focused on the standardisation of forms which destroys regional identity, and on their lack of consideration for the continuity of the existing setting. Western nations self-confidently modernised and urbanised, but they had over a century to adjust to the social and cultural changes as well as architectural revolution which these developments bring with them. The rapidly developing cities in Taiwan have been forced to change, and have seen themselves passing from a rural setting to an urban one in the course of a single generation. A rush into urbanisation without any period of transition will certainly be accompanied by many serious problems.

On the other hand, urbanisation has been associated with changes in the morphology of society, in which social and spatial change appear almost as necessary dimensions of each other.<sup>53</sup> In the past, one of the favourite subjects people liked to raise when they discussed Chinese architecture was the relationship between architecture and family structure and the individual attitudes developed in such structures. For centuries the Chinese family has

---

<sup>53</sup> Bill Hillier and J. Hanson (1984), p. 24.

been the focus of social life and the source of both cultural norms and ideas of behaviour. As the basic social unit, the family provided the persons and occasions for cooperative activities which ensured the economic self-sufficiency of the family group. It generated the guiding sentiments and customs for all social interaction and played an important role in ranking individuals and groups in the social hierarchy. The traditional family group represented an almost ideal adaptation of its members to the external environment – physical, technical, and social. The arrangement of houses in a settlement as well as the spatial organisation within a house served as mirrors reflecting the idea of the traditional Chinese family.

As most areas in Taiwan become urbanised and heterogeneous, the economic, ethnic, and social considerations which once promoted family unity in rural areas, become less possible. Increasing contact with new Western ideas has also contributed to a breakdown in traditional family and kinship patterns among the growing number of urban dwellers as well as urban-oriented rural people. The family has weakened as people find amusement outside it; kinship ties became less significant and less important. Everything in the fast-growing urban societies of Taiwan tends to weaken old and collective traditions, in favour of commercial values, the search for the new and the fetish of the contemporary.<sup>54</sup>

The overwhelming preference now is for a household consisting of a stem family or a nuclear family instead of an extended family.<sup>55</sup> When traditional family patterns changed, many characteristics of the individuals conceived in such family patterns also collapsed or were weakened. The most significant

---

<sup>54</sup> Nathan Glazer (1984), pp. 339–340.

<sup>55</sup> The traditional ideal family prototype was one where all the generations lived together in one great house, divided among various courtyards of a big compound. Yet throughout Chinese history, this was seldom achieved except by the rich, as has been pointed out by John K. Fairbank (1979), Olga Lang (1946), Cho-Yun Hsu (1968), and Tse-Han Lai and Kung Cheng Chen (1980). A typical family normally averaged around five persons and was in fact of a type familiar in the West. Olga Lang has suggested that the extended family was rarely seen even in rural areas on the Chinese mainland. She points out that many extended families are in reality fictitious units: married brothers stay in one compound but have only part of their property in common; they retain the common kitchen but eat by themselves and do not pool their expenses. There are also many families that have been formally or practically divided but continue to live in one compound and appear to the superficial observer as one family unit. See: Olga Lang (1946), p. 135. This was also the case in Taiwan before 1949 when the average number of persons in a family was between 5 and 6. The land reform programme between 1949 and 1953, which redistributed land, thus producing smaller farms, and stipulated that related families could not hold land cooperatively, further reinforced the limitations on the formation of a joint family.

change is the shift in personality and attitude orientation from collective to individual; from coexistent to competitive ; from authoritarian to equalitarian; from ascetic to indulgent; from dependent to autonomous; and from silent to expressive.<sup>56</sup> This change in people's attitudes has forced many architects to give up the idea of traditional spatial organisation and built form which they find useless for modern life. Under these circumstances, it is difficult, if not impossible for architects to take inspiration directly from aspects of rural-oriented traditional architecture such as the courtyard, the idea of axuality and cardinal orientation because in many cities, population density is as high as several thousand persons per <sup>square</sup> kilometer (Taipei is 9000 and Kaohsiung is 8366). Vertical development is therefore unavoidable because every small piece of land has to be used to accommodate more inhabitants than before.

If architects are thus forced to search for a new solution in order to meet the challenge of this new urban setting, they might turn directly to Western examples for inspiration. But the obsession with imported urban ideas which came into focus in the 1970s was always in danger of ignoring issues of architectural quality and authenticity. Many forms,, such as high-rises, large squares, outdoor exhibition spaces, cafes, and restaurants, and large fountains, which have worked well in the West, are likely to fail in Taiwan due to either the climate or to the different attitudes and behaviour of the people. New urbanscapes in Taiwan risk becoming merely a collage of ideas found in Western urban scenes, rather than a direct reflection of the authentic urban patterns of urban life in Taiwan.

## **2-4 PROBLEMS IN THE MODERN ARCHITECTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF TAIWAN**

Having pointed out the major trends in the modern architectural development of Taiwan, I shall in this section summarise more specifically the problems associated with them. Hundreds of problems have emerged during the course of this development. It is not feasible, within this thesis, to deal with every one of them. Therefore I have to narrow down the scope of discussion and concentrate here only on the problems related to three primary

---

<sup>56</sup> Since the 1970s, many Chinese scholars have participated in various research projects on the changes in Chinese characteristics. The changes of Chinese characteristics we quote in the text are mainly based on the research carried by Kuo-Shih Yang. See: Kuo-Shih Yang (1986), pp. 217-254.

ideas: the idea of Heaven, the idea of Man, and the idea of the Earth.

The reasons for focusing my discussion on problems related to these ideas are obvious. In the past scholars and architects tended to measure modern architectural development only by its external representation. Most discussions on this subject were limited to the transformations and permutations of styles; with the detection of new trends and with the tracing of their originals. Certainly these factors are important in the development of architecture. But more important is how and why some characteristics of traditional architecture consistently persisted through the whole traditional period and into the modern period, which scarcely any scholars could plausibly explain. And this is because these primary ideas have been ignored.

I believe that these ideas constitute the essential features of entire worldview of the Taiwanese people, and thus have given birth to Taiwanese architecture. In the past, the idea of Heaven helped people to place themselves in the middle of the tripartite Heaven–Man–Earth universe. The idea of Man helped people to deal with complicated and sometimes intricate human relationships among members of the family and society as a whole. Both ideas contributed to making concrete the socio-cultural aspects of traditional Chinese architecture, which, in Taiwan was both complemented and reinforced by the idea of the Earth – the considerations of the physical conditions and natural resources of the region – to produce an authentically regional architecture. The absence of any one of these ideas results in the fragmentation of this worldview and leads to the distorted development of architecture which has been occurring in modern Taiwan.

Of course, the problems related to these three ideas do not emerge in isolation, they tend to appear together as a consequence of the new trends in architectural development which were discussed in the last section. In order to construct a suitable framework for my discussion, the problems have been generalised according to these three ideas. The decline of religious commitment has led to the prevalence of the homogeneous space and rational form in the built environment, which totally undermines the traditional idea of Heaven. The waning of traditional kinship and family ties, an apparently inevitable tendency accompanying the rise of the new socio-cultural structure of urban societies, have been reflected in the increase in ethically meaningless space and impersonalised form in the built environment. The influx of foreign



cultures and the over-emphasis on the Chinese grand tradition have resulted in the emergence of contextless forms and placeless spaces whose occurrence may also be attributed to uncontrolled urban expansion and instant development. Together they have destroyed the sense of place in the traditional built environment in Taiwan.

### **Problems Related to the Idea of Heaven**

For people in traditional Taiwanese societies, the ultimate origin of all existence, or the ultimate source of everything is called "*T'ien*" (Heaven), "*T'ien-t'*" (Heaven and Earth), "*Shang-t'*" (Supreme Dominator), "*Tao*" (the Great Principle), and various combinations of the above. There is no definition of any kind given to these ideas of "Supreme Being." People in traditional Taiwanese societies attributed all phenomena, good or bad, to the will of Heaven. In order to establish a link between the human and the celestial worlds, people in the past erected temples and endowed many buildings with cosmological meaning through which they come to form the sacred part of the settlement.<sup>57</sup>

Traditional houses are similarly informed by cosmic symbolism. The main hall, where the members of the family receive important guests, and worship their ancestors as well as the deities enshrined on the ancestor altar, plays the role of a 'sacred centre.' What temples are to the settlement the ancestral altar is to the house. Etymologically speaking, many terms used in traditional architecture also reveal their cosmological connotations. For example, the courtyard is called "tien-chin" (the well of Heaven); the opening in the roof is called "tien-ch'uang" (the window of Heaven). Both of them assure communication with Heaven.

However, as Taiwanese societies have become modernised, the ancestors and Heaven increasingly lost their power. A belief in their ability to interfere in the daily affairs and well-being of their descendents, so evident in traditional times, has dwindled away gradually. Cosmological meaning in both spatial

---

<sup>57</sup> The Chinese in Taiwan worshipped hundreds of different deities whose images were mostly from the Chinese mainland. The difficulty of life on the island during its early development drove the people to supplicate their gods for protection and well-being. The Chinese religion fervour is clearly manifested in thousands of temples. I shall come back to this issue in more detail in Chapter Six.

organisation and built-form of new buildings and new cities has declined or disappeared.

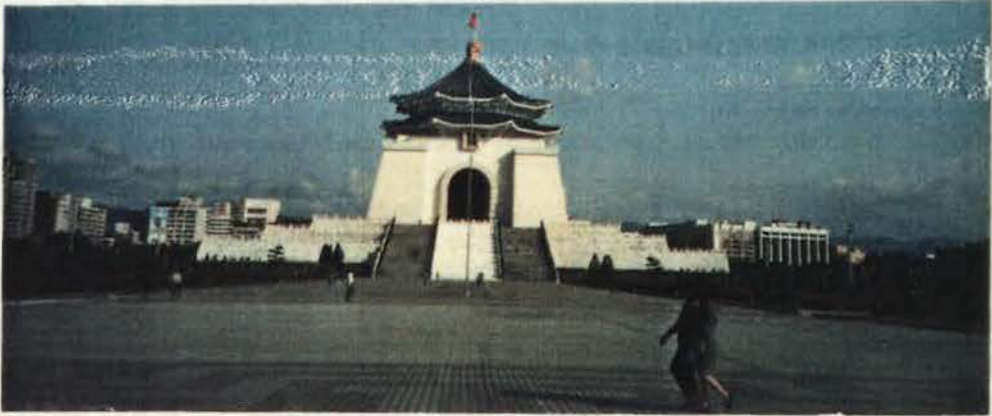
### **Homogeneous Space.**

In the first chapter, I argued, borrowing Eliade's words and ideas, that the most important characteristic of the spatial organisation in traditional architecture is its 'nonhomogeneity.' It is this characteristic that establishes or is a response to various degrees of sacredness in the built environment. The underlying idea of sacred space in the traditional built environment in Taiwan was dominated by the principles of concentricity, cardinal orientation, and the well-defined boundary, all reflecting the Chinese sense of cosmic order. The decline of religious commitment in modern society has greatly eroded away belief either in any such cosmic order or in the value of reflecting it in the built environment.

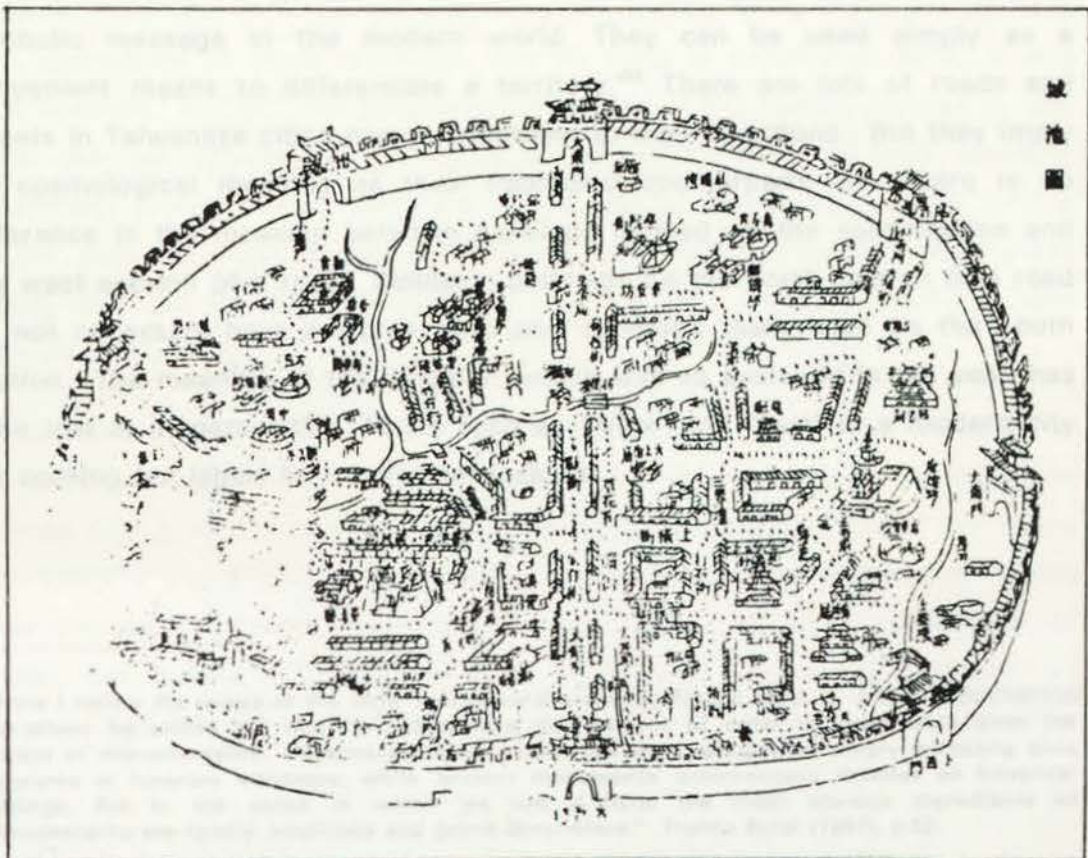
The most significant consequence of this trend is the disappearance of the sacred centre in settlements and houses. In traditional societies, centres and the most sacred places of the settlement, where rituals or religious festivals were performed, were almost identical. In other words, architectural space and socio-religious space were closely related to each other; both of them were determined by the ritual patterns and religious beliefs of society. In traditional Taiwanese settlements, folk-religion temples played this important role. In every administrative district: from cities down to small villages, temples functioned as symbols. Temples always had a much more distinctive appearance, size, and location than other structures in the local landscape; they were the focus of the settlement in almost every aspect.

However, modernisation has erased this remarkable phenomenon. The spatial layout of the traditional built environment has altered tremendously along with drastic changes in social structure. Spatially speaking, in modern Taiwanese cities, the so-called city centre and sub-city centre are simply areas where buildings are highly concentrated. They usually have no symbolic meaning. Scattered all around the city are public buildings and open spaces whose size are impressive, but most of their formation is politically or commercially motivated. The square between the enormous Chiang Kai-Shek Memorial, the National Concert Hall, and the National Theatre is an example which is almost deserted except during some organised activities (fig. 2-39). In spite of their impressive scale and 'monumental order', the vitality and

- fig. 2-39: Square in front of the Chiang Kai-Shek Memorial, Taipei. [author]
- fig. 2-40: Pictorial representation of a traditional Taiwanese walled city in old gazetteers. (Taiwan *fo*, 1807, today Tainan) [*Taiwanese Gazetteers*, early 19th century]



2-39



2-40

sacredness of such spaces are far less significant than those of the square in front of folk-religion temples.<sup>58</sup>

In traditional Taiwanese cities and villages, the hierarchy of spatial organisation could easily be identified. Buildings containing cosmological meaning were all distinguishable in the settlement, and their importance was witnessed by the dominance of the temple in pictorial representations of the city to be found in old gazetteers published in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (fig. 2-40). In modern cities, the folk-religion temple is just one of the hundreds of building types and its priority has declined in the minds of modern men.

In a city made up of homogeneous spaces, the orientation of the city becomes less important, because once the original city gates have been demolished or have become merely a landmark, no one can discern the myth of the centre and the cardinal points in the spatial lore of the modern cities of Taiwan. The relocation of the Lesser West Gate of Tainan city to the east part of the city is an example of how people ignore the original meaning of directions. Cardinal points, as Yi-Fu Tuan points out, "carry little or no symbolic message in the modern world. They can be used simply as a convenient means to differentiate a territory."<sup>59</sup> There are lots of roads and streets in Taiwanese cities named according to their directions. But they imply no cosmological meaning as their traditional counterparts did. There is no difference in the meaning between buildings located on the east section and the west section of a road. Similarly, buildings on the north section of a road do not necessary have a worse *feng-shui* condition than those on the south section. The meaning of the direction, which was so profound in the past, has been lost in modern cities. Terms such as "West" and "East" in a modern city are nothing but labels for convenient location.

<sup>58</sup> Here I follow the usage of the term 'monumental order' by Franco Borsi in *The Monumental Era* where he points out that "in architecture the element of order is inseparable from the concept of monumentality. 'Monumental' is an ambiguous word, sometimes simply indicating civic sculptures or funerary masonry, while 'ancient monuments' automatically denotes all historical buildings. But in the sense in which we use it here, the most obvious ingredients of monumentality are spatial amplitude and grand dimensions." Franco Borsi (1987), p.52.

<sup>59</sup> Yi-Fu Tuan (1977), p. 98.

In addition to the loss of the significance of orientation, the importance of a well-defined boundary has also been destroyed by urban expansion. After the city walls of all the walled cities in Taiwan have been demolished, many original settlements which functioned independently in the past have now been joined together to form metropolitan areas. As a consequence, the original spatial structure and social order have collapsed. In the past, Taiwanese settlements were often made up of many independent settlements each of them having its own symbolic building. Today, the picture is one of an endless urban sprawl with no distinct boundary between cities and villages. The hierarchy and diversity of traditional settlements no longer exist. People can in no way experience the sacred in the built environment.

In modern Taiwan, this loss of nonhomogeneity is not limited to cities and villages. A similar situation appears in individual buildings, both of a religious and a non-religious character. Folk-religion temples, in which the decline of nonhomogeneity may be seen in the many aspects of the secularisation, or in a more strict sense, the profanation of the temple, are the best examples for explaining this phenomenon. A temple often has to be juxtaposed with other types of buildings, or in an extreme situation, it may share the same building with institutions of other functions. San-Po Kung in Kaoshiung (1979) is one such example. In 1977, the governing committee of the temple decided to tear down the old temple and construct a mixed-use building with cinemas, department stores, offices, and flats on the first to fifth floors and the temple on the sixth and seventh floors. Pilgrims have to take the lifts with other people in order to reach the temple.<sup>60</sup> Spaces with different functions have been treated equally.

The courtyard, which has an important meaning because of its provision of a compulsory view of the sky, is missing in the new temples or has been covered with a roof in the old ones. Indeed, the homogenisation of the space in temples is also shown by the use of modern methods of illumination which make the lighting uniform throughout the temple. Security installations to protect the statues of the deities also significantly reduce the solemnity of temples. For example in Tien-Kung Temple or the Temple of the Jade Emperor

---

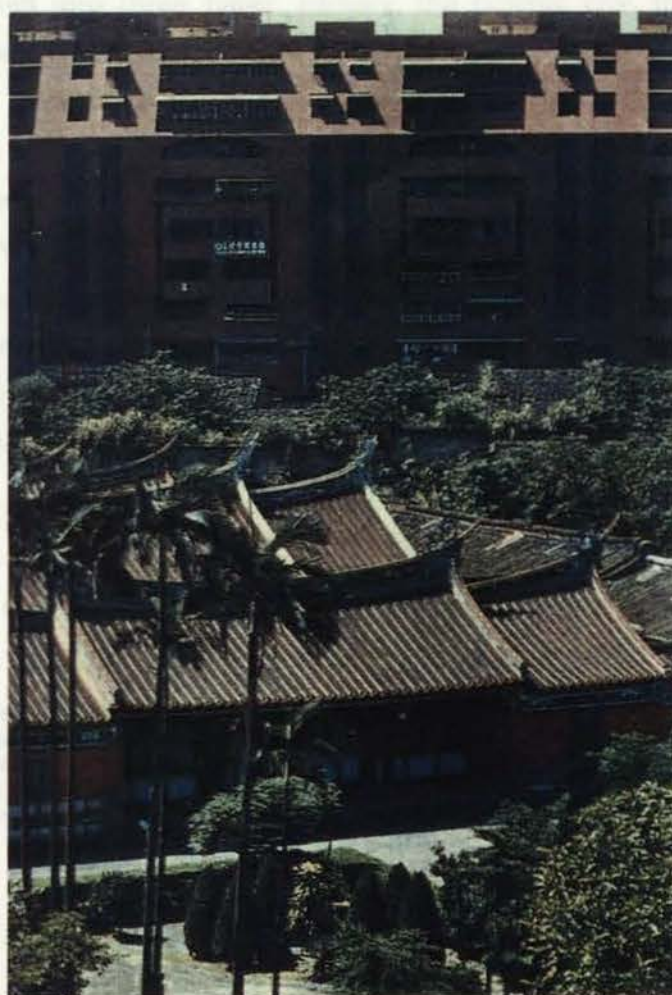
<sup>60</sup> Yu-I Wen (1985), pp. 100-101.



- fig. 2-41: Deity altar, Tien-Kung Temple, Tainan. [Daniel P. Reid (1984), p.195]
- fig. 2-42: Encroachment of the traditional settlement by modern built form. [*Free China Review*, October 1987, p. 41]



2-41



2-42

in Tainan, the deity altar is protected by a thick glass screen leaving only a small hole through which deities can be seen (fig. 2-41).

As far as dwellings are concerned, the main hall, which was the sacred centre of the traditional house, has become less important and increasingly less sacred in modern flats. Instead of being situated on the central axis, the ancestor altar in a modern flat may be located anywhere. Orientation, which played a very important role in traditional houses, has also become less prominent and a modern flat may be oriented towards any direction. If, to some extent, there exist considerations of the orientation, they are mainly from climatic point of view rather than according to a meaning associated with cosmic order.

### **Rational Form.**

In traditional times, every city, despite difference of degree, possessed sacred characteristics. This is pointed out by Jeffrey Meyer, who says that a city is "a place where sacred power is enshrined in various ways. This power has its physical dimensions in certain respects, but more important are the moral, exemplary, and religious dimensions."<sup>61</sup> According to him, sacred cities can be categorised into three types, namely, the cosmic city, the city of local sacrality, and the city of saints.<sup>62</sup> Strictly speaking, it is very difficult for us to place traditional Taiwanese cities or villages within any of these categories.<sup>63</sup> But this certainly does not mean that there are no sacred aspects in Taiwanese cities and villages. Their sacredness is supplied by a web of temples and symbolic buildings which make traditional cities and villages eminently symbolic without requiring the presence of a geometric plan and the symbolism of centricity as in a cosmic city; a divine personage or some sacred objects as in a city of local sacrality; or the implied holiness of the inhabitants as in a city of the saints.

<sup>61</sup> Jeffrey F. Meyer (1987), pp. 114-115.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., pp.125-127.

<sup>63</sup> There are a few exceptions. There is strong astral symbolism in Taipei city, whose outline is to some extent in accord with the arrangements of the stars. Thus has some characteristics of a cosmic city. And there is a strong presence of the goddess Matzu in Peikang and Tachia, which are often connected with the practice of pilgrimage. They therefore have some characteristics of the city of local sacrality.

Symbolic forms in architecture were used by people in traditional societies to express their deepest and most abstruse religious ideas because they believed in the power of symbolic forms to convey meanings on many levels. Craftsman were skilled as geomancers at consecrating the built form which was always conceived as being the embodiment of man's cosmological view, his cognition of the existence of Heaven. Nor is it only religious buildings which symbolise the religious life of the people, decorations in domestic architecture convey the same meaning. Buildings are decorated to appease evil spirits and to praise the beneficent ones, and to ensure prosperity or progeny.<sup>64</sup> If we can decipher these symbols – which are seldom mere decoration – we will discover a complicated network full of rich religious meanings. Through these symbolic forms, people establish a sacred axis between the celestial and human worlds.

In modern Taiwanese society, ritual patterns and religious aspects are either ignored or denounced. This is shown unequivocally in Modernist architects' negative attitude towards *feng-shui*, which played such a decisive role in the formation of the morphology of cities and villages and the application of symbolic forms in buildings in the past.<sup>65</sup> Having abandoned religious commitment in architecture, Modernist architects needed to have a new design rationale. They fancied themselves restricted by the same limitations as the engineers who design precision tools within tight economic and technical constraints. Therefore forms developed according to their cosmological meaning gradually lose ground to forms determined by functions which have been assumed by Modernist architects to be truly representative of the modern era. From cosmologically meaningful forms to rational forms is a path of increasing conceptualisation. Methodological design processes and standardisation in building technology have forced architects to over-simplify the production of buildings.

Modernist architects believe that a successful building can be created on

<sup>64</sup> Paul Oliver (1987), p. 183.

<sup>65</sup> Chiou Bor-Shuenn attributes such negative attitudes to: 1) Chinese scholars have been too academic; 2) the empirical approach of Chinese scholars revolted at the speculation and irrational literature as that of *feng-shui*; and 3) most of the Chinese intelligentsia have felt inclined to abandon the cultural legacy of their fatherland in order to help her survive the overwhelming material superiority of Western civilisation. Bor-Shuenn Chiou (1989), pp. 27–28.



the drafting board and constructed by the efficiency of modern technology. In order to achieve a cost-effective result, Modernist architects thus have to place great emphasis on the "rational method" because they view their own problems in the light of engineers' success, and it seems to them that by adopting the same rational methods based on the same practical values, they too could achieve indisputably correct solutions to architectural problems. They adopt rationality with a vengeance.<sup>66</sup>

However, the rational method is often interpreted by most Modernist architects and planners as being based exclusively on criteria of mathematical calculability, economy, efficiency, and simplicity. Consequently, Cartesian forms such as cubes, grids, circles, and other simple geometric shapes have always dominated the theme of new developments ranging from a single building to whole cities. On the city level, such phenomena are not limited to newly developed suburban areas and new-towns whose buildings look like a group of children's building blocks rather than a vivid city of diverse forms. The encroachment of the Cartesian forms of modern architecture onto the old sectors of cities is also significant. Modernist architects consciously ignore the fact that in addition to physical forces there are socio-cultural aspects which shape the built form of cities and villages. Cities of irregular morphology and buildings of irregular form are not welcomed by Modernist architects and planners, who then denounce them as 'irrational' simply because planning or designing in such a way will involve more money, more time, and more manpower. Monotony and lack of formal climax are aspects which characterise most modern cities in Taiwan.

People do recognise the problems caused by the forms in the built environment developed out of only a claim of rationality. There is nothing wrong with rationality. It is when it is used exclusively that problems arise, or when a pseudo-rationality excludes factors which were significant, a phenomenon most of them fail to realise. In the traditional built environment, the skyline clearly manifested the sacred character of the settlement. Temples always dominated the skyline. The difference in size, style, and decoration between temples and the surrounding structures was evident. However, modern

---

<sup>66</sup> Brent Brolin (1976), p. 50.

cities in Taiwan are dominated by new International Style buildings built between the 1950s and 1970s (fig. 2-42). Purity and simplicity in the built environment are achieved through the rational forms. But the beauty and religious nature of the symbolic forms in temples and houses which helped to stimulate the emotional responses associated with religious experience are now lost.

The most significant change of the building is the disappearance of the principle of tripartite composition. There is no longer a distinct difference between roof, body, and foundation in the formal articulation of most buildings. The association of the meaning between Heaven-Man-Earth and roof-body-foundation is now lost. Another change is the ignorance of the principle of dividing a facade into odd portions. Such articulation is important in traditional buildings because it can create a sense of centre, thus helping to reinforce the sacred aspects of a building. Most modern buildings have facades which have no articulation at all or are designed as a single mass. The problems caused by the use of 'rational' forms in buildings is not merely one of aesthetics; it is also one of symbolism. The analogy between a building and the cosmos is no longer applicable. The meaning of a building is reduced to being merely a machine to live in, or an aesthetically pleasing object.

### **Problems Related to the Idea of Man**

In traditional Taiwanese societies, the family is the basic unit. The relationship between individuals, men and women, young and old, is fundamental, following the Confucian precepts of proper relationship. Such human relationships are so important that we have seen in Chinese history numerous examples of the collapse of a regime, the bankruptcy of a family or even famine being attributed to punishment from Heaven for disharmony among men. In Confucian terms, human relationships should be based on the subordination of younger to older generations, also of younger to older within the same generation, and of women to men. The intensity of these relationships, and their associated obligations, are carefully specified in terms of the proximity and distance of the members within the family, which were

deeply reflected in traditional domestic architecture of the past.<sup>67</sup>

With the rise of modern urban society, the traditional idea of the family has waned in Taiwan. In modern Taiwan, the emphasis is shifting from harmonious relationships among families in a settlement, and between the members of a family, to a basic individualism. An individual's achievement is considered much more important than that of their family or kin as a whole. "*kwang-chung yao-chu*" (to glorify the whole family and dignify the ancestors), a traditional idea, has been replaced by a concern for personal success. More and more young Taiwanese are proud of being able to become one of the "*dan-shen kuei-chu*", or "bachelor aristocrats" – those who live alone and enjoy their individual yuppie-style lives rather than traditional family life.<sup>68</sup> The traditional relationship between the family and its house has broken down. Most families are now living in modern flats in which spatial organisation is ethically meaningless and the built form is impersonal, not to mention the fact that many modern flats are inhabited by a group of individuals who are unrelated to each other.

#### **Ethically Meaningless Space.**

Living space is the space most indicative for human society since "each culture has different expectations of its dwellings, and makes demands on them which are related to its social structure and to the ways in which its members organise their daily lives."<sup>69</sup> Traditional Taiwanese houses are ethically determined in terms of spatial organisation. The spatial structure of the house can be related directly to Confucian ethics. A house compound is always a complicated ethical system in miniature. In Confucianism, the family system is both hierarchic and authoritarian. Gradations of kinship are carefully spelled out

---

<sup>67</sup> Caroline Blunden and Mark Elvin (1983), pp. 214-215. Blunden and Elvin also point out that Chinese family and kinship relationships were defined with a specificity quite unknown in the West. To mark the distinctions of such a complicated system, the traditional Chinese kinship nomenclature used 23 basic terms, plus a further 10 basic modifiers to handle variants within the system.

<sup>68</sup> The term "*dan-shen kuei-chu*", now used widely in Taiwan, was imported from Japan where it is called "*dokushin kizoku*". However, the original meaning of the term was slightly different from what it means in Taiwan now. In Japan, the term refers to those who are supported by their parents until marriage and therefore do not have to pay any of their own living expenses even they work and make money of their own.

<sup>69</sup> Paul Oliver (1987), p. 128.

in a complex terminology whose hierarchical relations correspond to the spatial organisation of a traditional house.<sup>70</sup> The ancestral altar is at the centre of this hierarchy. In addition to its religious function, the ancestral altar is a symbol of the family.

One of the most dangerous assumptions that Modernist architects have made is that people in modern urban society are uniform in their socio-cultural life and hence that living space should also be uniform. Spatial organisation in public housing, consisting of modern flats which have become very popular with the housing authority of the government in Taiwan since the 1960s<sup>71</sup>, demonstrates this tendency to neglect the bonds of family and kinship which characterised traditional societies.

In early public housing projects in Taiwan, the site was usually lined with rows of flats with small fire alleys in between. The highest priority was given to maximal use of land. The spatial organisation of flats was not a great issue. This trend lasted up until the early 1980s, when some public housing was still being designed in this way. Generally speaking, though, in developments since the late 1970s, site plans have been diversified. A Six-Year Public Housing Program was begun in 1975, with Kuo-Kwang Public Housing being the first project. It was also the first project to use the concept of 'cluster housing' as well as the first high-rise public housing in Taiwan. After its completion in 1979, it was soon followed by many other similar projects.

However, the application of the notion of the 'cluster housing' does not guarantee the success of the project if it is a direct transplant from Western models rather than being based on the local conditions and needs. In Western countries, cluster housing tends to be used in low-rise or middle-rise projects. But in Taiwan the idea is usually applied to high-rise projects and the result is always unsatisfactory. Hsin-An Public Housing in Taipei (1984, Chung-Mai Architects and Associates) is a case in point. The site plan of this housing

<sup>70</sup> This issue will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Six.

<sup>71</sup> The period between 1959–1968 was the most thriving time for public housing in Taiwan. The Taiwan Provincial Government decided in 1959 that all of the revenue from the land value increment tax between 1959 and 1966 and 25% of the revenue thereafter would be put into a public housing fund. During the period, 87,893 housing units were built with an average of 97,66 units each year. Chao-Ching Fu (1983), p. 144.

project looks interesting in the two dimensional drawing. Flats are so clustered that an intimate and concentrated common space has been formed at the centre. But in reality the space is hardly used by its inhabitants partly because each flat is isolated and partly because the proportion of the space becomes uncomfortable after being surrounded by buildings more than ten stories in height (figs. 2-43, 2-44)

Within such types of mass housing, one can expect to find similar spatial organisation in every flat. Even flats in different housing projects are hardly different from one another. The reason why the government is in favour of modern flats in public housing is because of their low cost and the ease of mass production. But what were conceived in the West as low-cost models might be inappropriate when built elsewhere. In Egypt, for example, the architect Hassan Fathy has discovered that concrete-frame housing schemes are liable to be far more expensive in terms of capital cost, transport costs, and wages than local, traditional, self-build methods, and that they are at odds with non-Western ways of life.<sup>72</sup>

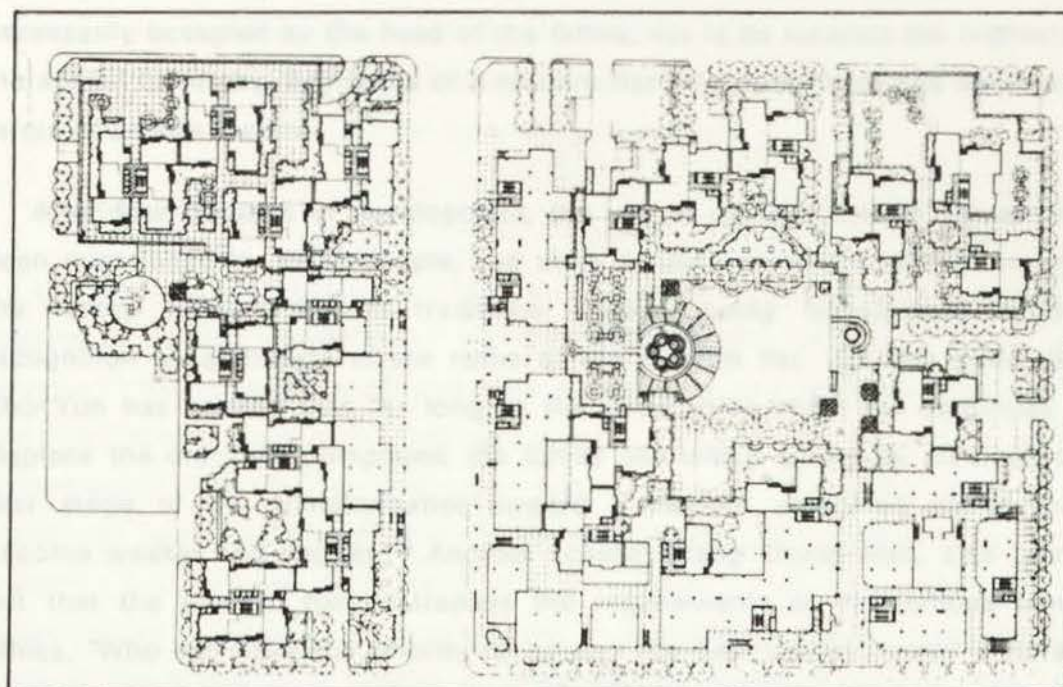
In Taiwan, a comparison between the cost of a traditional settlement and a new housing project is not available. But the most serious problem in this regard in Taiwan is not the "cost" *per se*, it is the situation that low-cost housing is being achieved by the sacrifice of the still-existing, though fading, idea of the family. And this problem is not confined to public housing. Like the situation in the public sector, housing in the private sector – in spite of the application of expensive materials and the provision of spacious rooms – is not immune from problems of spatial organisation when the idea of the family is taken into consideration.

Spatial organisation in the traditional built environment used to be the best way of fulfilling the need of human social interaction within a settlement and reflecting the relationship between members of a family. However, the advantages of this started to break down in the new types of housing in which the interaction of people has changed from a horizontal basis, as in the past, to the present vertical basis. From another point of view, a traditional Chinese house is an organism. It grows when more space is needed, an idea which

---

<sup>72</sup> William Curtis (1983), p. 357.

- fig. 2-43: Hsin-An Public Housing, Taipei, 1984. Architects: Chung-Mai Architects and Associates. Site plan. [*Chinese Architect* October 1985, p. 58]
- fig. 2-44: Hsin-An Public Housing, Taipei, 1984. Architects: Chung-Mai Architects and Associates. Exterior view of flats. [*Chinese Architect* October 1985, p. 65]



2-43



2-44

satisfactorily meets the needs of family expansion. But the rigid design of modern housing fails to meet this need. When the members of a family increase, the only solution is to find a larger flat or to become two or more households. If this happens, the relationship among the members of the original family will certainly be undermined. Inside a modern flat, the hierarchy of space in terms of family structure rarely exists. The 'master bedroom' is not necessarily occupied by the head of the family, nor is its location the highest in the spatial hierarchy. Bedrooms of a modern flat only differ from one another in terms of square meters.

After four decades of development, the use of modern flats in Taiwan has been questioned by many people, and there is widespread dissatisfaction with the family relationships in traditional society being transformed beyond recognition by architects in the name of the modern flat. On this point, Hsu Cho-Yun has warned that "as long as the small three-room flat continues to displace the old-style compound, the family ties which somehow survived the first stage of the transformation toward a modern urbanised society will become weaker and weaker."<sup>73</sup> Another scholar, Wang Cheng-Hwa, also points out that the modern flat contradicts the requirements of harmonious family ethics. "Who will have the priority to occupy the best quality room? children? young couples? or their ageing parents?"<sup>74</sup> Nowadays young couples are generally unwilling to offer their ageing parents the best room to live in while simultaneously feeling guilty of being unkind to the parents. In many cases, their ageing parents have to choose for themselves the worst and smallest room in the flat.

Privacy is another issue which should be discussed in this context. In traditional houses, privacy was not much of an issue when members of the family had to share their rooms. However, because of improving standards of education, people demand a higher degree of privacy, especially adolescent girls after puberty. Furthermore, harder work tends to make people feel like relaxing when they return home. The emphasis on privacy in modern society has meant a shift from the concern for family territory to a concern for

---

<sup>73</sup> Cho-Yun Hsu (1980), p. 28.

<sup>74</sup> Cheng-Hwa Wang (1984), p. 50.

individual territory. Superficially, people living in modern flats have a higher degree of privacy because the provision of a single room for each member of the family is no more a luxury, as it was in the past. However, a single room for everyone does not guarantee more privacy in a community which contains thousands of flats. In such mass housing, flats are likely to be exposed to one another because of the lack of visual obstacles between buildings inevitably located close together. Visual intrusion from nearby flats occupied by strangers provides an even bigger threat to privacy than that of a traditional house where intrusions on privacy are limited to one's own family.

### **Impersonal Form.**

Brent Brolin has argued that "wherever western civilisation has penetrated, impersonal forms intrude upon the traditional profiles of cities, towns, and villages."<sup>75</sup> Forms in the traditional built environment are multiple, according to the motivations leading to their emergence. Symbolic forms with a strong cosmological meaning are the most important ones. But forms created by people to express and identify themselves socially carry almost the same weight. I have already discussed the former. Here I shall concentrate on the latter. When the idea of the family loses its meaning to modern men, the built form of the house as a symbol of a harmonious family is ignored. The Lin's Compound in Matou, Tainan is the best example witnesses the change. In 1978, one of the descendents of the Lin family, regardless of the views of other members of the family, decided to tear down the left part of the house owned by him after the division of the family. But the family occupying the right part of the house refused to join in this act. As a result, the destruction was carried out sharply along the central axis of the house. And on the left part of the house new flats were constructed (figs. 2-45, 2-46).

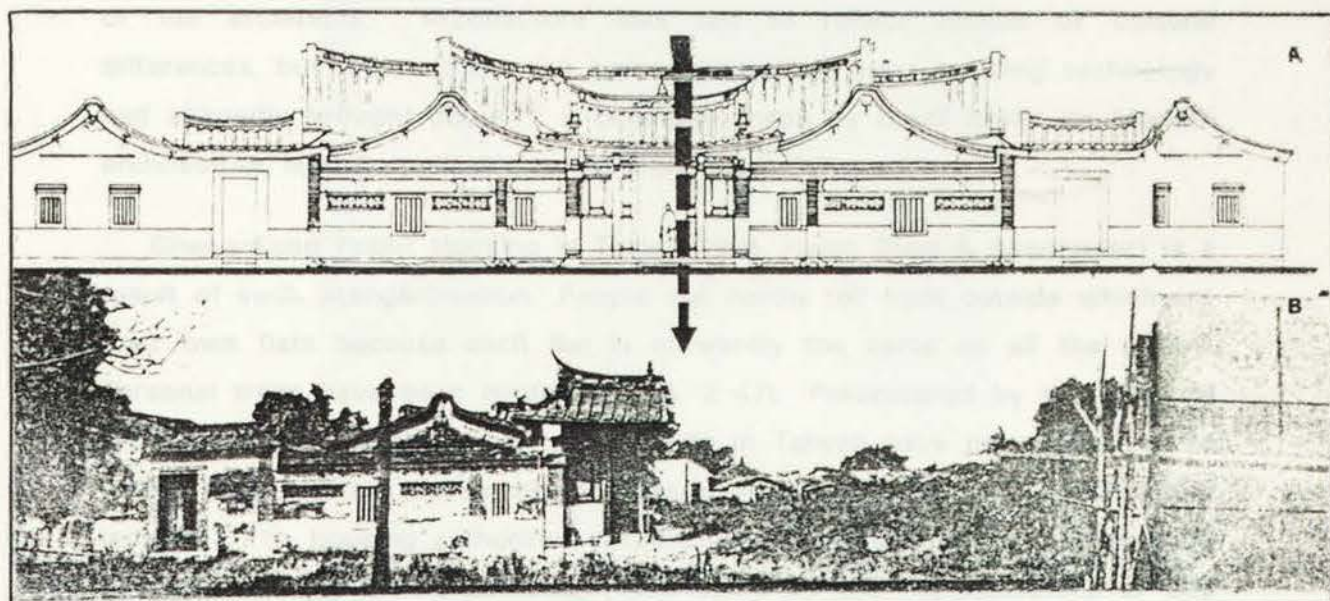
In addition to the house as a whole representing a harmonious family, Traditional Taiwanese houses are socially and personally decorated. *Men-mein*, a Chinese term referring to the facade of a building and to the appearance of a person, is considered to be important for both. For traditional people, their social status and the wealth of their family must be expressed in a certain way. The built form is one of the best means of satisfying this need.

---

<sup>75</sup> Brent Brolin (1976), p. 12.



- fig. 2-45: Demolition of Lin's Compound, Matou, Tainan. a. Elevation, b. Condition after the left part was demolished. [*Echo*, No. 11, p. 59]
- fig. 2-46: Demolition of Lin's Compound, Matou, Tainan. Present condition. *Free China Review*, March 1988, p. 28]



2-45



2-46

In modern mass housing in Taiwan, the expression of personality in terms of the built form, either for social or artistic purposes, is left out. In order to cope with urbanisation and the rapid increase of population, too often thousands of flats have to be provided in a single project. For example, there are 2,336 flats in Cheng-Kung Public Housing, and the number in Hsin-An Public Housing is 1,900. In order to design and construct as many flats as possible within a short time, 'standardisation' inevitably becomes the sole tenet of the architects. "Architecture was not to reflect human or cultural differences, but rather the social homogeneity that mass building technology had allegedly brought about"<sup>76</sup>, a comment made by Brent Brolin on Modern architecture, is also applicable to the situation in Taiwan.

Cheng-Kung Public Housing in Taipei (1984, Haigo Shen & Associates) is a result of such 'standardisation.' People can hardly tell from outside which are their own flats because each flat is outwardly the same as all the others. Personal traits have been minimised (fig. 2-47). Preoccupied by the issue of economy and efficiency, modern architects in Taiwan have no choice but to follow their Western colleagues and resort to standardisation in the building industry. The housing authorities responsible for the design and construction of such housing are fundamentally the same as the manufacturers of any mass-produced product. They standardise the product, package it, arrange for rapid distribution and easy financing, and sell it off the shelf as fast as they can.

In order to defend the standardisation of modern housing, architects might argue that standardisation is not a modern invention since it was widely adopted in the built form of traditional architecture. However this is a misconception. In spite of any similarity in appearance, there are always differences between any two houses in traditional settlements. Houses that look alike from a distance often differ slightly at closer view because they were constructed by different craftsmen at different times for different people. The fallacy of modern housing is the idea that thousands of families need identical accommodation at the same time, and that this can be achieved with the help of modern technology.

---

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., p. 54.

– fig. 2-47: Cheng-Kung Public Housing, Taipei, 1984. Architects: Haigo Shen & Associates. [*Chinese Architect*, October 1985, p. 65]

– fig. 2-48: SLOIP in the modern Taiwanese city. [author]



2-47



2-48

Certainly, we cannot go back to a state where social status is entirely reflected in the built form of architecture. In our egalitarian democracy, we have achieved the ideal of allowing all men to be born equal. But this should not contradict the need for personal expression in their dwellings. In recent years, more and more architects in Taiwan have realised this. They have spoken out and criticised the design policy of the housing authority. Lee C.Y., one of the most famous architects in Taiwan, is an example. He says that "to treat 'standardisation' as the only way to reduce building cost is a fundamental mistake. If we want to review the problem seriously today, we have to escape this outdated idea. The problems of public housing in Taiwan must be reviewed case by case instead of looking at different projects with the same standard and tactics. Just as a dying patient must seek for a first-class doctor, the government should be willing to look for a first-class architect to design a public housing project and have it built by a first-class builder rather than restrict itself to the dead alley of 'standardisation.'"<sup>77</sup> However, while housing projects containing thousands of flats continue to be built inside the city<sup>78</sup>, the problem of personal or family identity will remain.

#### Problems related to the Idea of the Earth

Traditional Taiwanese architecture is indigenous in character; its reliance on regional resources, and response to regional physical conditions being evident in both spatial organisation and built form. In addition to meeting the socio-cultural requirements mentioned in the last two sections, people in traditional societies respected the constituents of the physical environment of their region. On the one hand, people were apt to conform to the natural conditions of their region. Buildings were placed in a position harmonious with their surroundings. The reasons behind this respect for nature are multifold. Geomantic considerations play a crucial role. Nature, made up of the flora and fauna of a region as well as its topography and climate, is believed to be the

---

<sup>77</sup> From a dislogue in a seminar on the role of the architect in public housing. *Chinese Architect* October, 1985, p. 33.

<sup>78</sup> This seems to be exactly what the housing authority in Taiwan is planning to do. The Taipei Municipal Government has started the construction of the largest public housing in Taipei. Fu-Yen Public Housing will contain 2,375 flats when it is completed in 1992. *Central Daily*, October 15, 1989.



manifestation of Heaven. On the other hand, continuity is maintained in different buildings in this way, so that a sudden interruption in built form will not occur to mar the sense of place. In order to maintain this continuity, architects rely heavily on regional materials and formal motifs.

Unfortunately, as a result of rapid social changes, the intellectual orientation of Modernist architects in Taiwan has switched from regional sources to foreign models. In general, Taiwanese architects are consciously internationalising although one can occasionally still find in Taiwan today buildings formally or thematically related to the traditional architecture of Taiwan. Although some of them are the result of the regional consciousness which will be discussed in later chapters, most of them are merely post-modern pastiche.

When internationalism becomes a ubiquitous phenomenon, the loss of the sense of place is felt in the placeless space and contextless form of modern design and planning. Many old settlements which expressed the multiplicity of factors which give rise to the meaning of places – characteristics of local topography and biota, the aspirations of pioneer settlers, reminiscences of earlier homes – are vanishing with unprecedented speed.

### **Placeless Space.**

One of the most obvious differences between the modern built environment and its traditional counterpart is that the former places its emphasis on the concept of 'space' while the latter lays its stress on the idea of 'place.' Space and place are mutually inclusive in the traditional built environment. E. Relph remarks that "space is amorphous and intangible and not an entity that can be directly described and analysed. Yet however we feel or know or explain space, there is nearly always some associated sense or concept of place."<sup>79</sup>

However, the importance of place was not fully acknowledged until the 1950s when the phenomenological interpretation of the built environment became widespread. Although I shall not become involved in questions of the definition of space and place until a later chapter, it is worthwhile quoting a

---

<sup>79</sup> E. Relph (1976), p. 8.

paragraph by Martin Heidegger which stresses the importance of place. 'Place', writes Heidegger, "places man in such a way that it reveals the external bonds of his existence and at the same time the depths of his freedom and reality."<sup>80</sup>

It is the sense of place which makes people feel that they belong to a particular locality. Scarcely any human being forgets the house and surroundings of their childhood. The memory of place is part of the life of people which can hardly die away. But we are likely to forget very quickly the space of the modern built environment because it is manufactured, not taken from life. The divorce of space and place inevitably accompanies the concepts of modern architectural space. Consequently, placeless space emerges.

Spaces in the traditional built environment in Taiwan were structured according to the religion, ritual, and myth of the people; characterised by the social order of the people; and full of fusions of natural and physical influences. In other words, spaces in traditional built environment in Taiwan were place-oriented. But in modern Taiwan, spaces are created by architects who build and organise them within new concepts in order to achieve the penetrative and flexible quality which characterise modern architecture.

With no concept of the importance of preserving a whole quarter of the old city, new roads, squares, and circles are planned to replace the old structure of the city in order to maximise land value and the efficiency of administration. Restricted by these new features, buildings can only be located monotonously within pre-planned grid-like blocks which have none of the character of organically-shaped traditional cities and villages. Even in places where the topography is significantly different, the buildings are still designed arbitrarily by the architect. The locality of the site is in most cases ignored. This makes Taiwanese cities differ little from other modern cities in the world in terms of spatial layout.

This placelessness in spatial organisation is also created by the discontinuity of the spaces between buildings adjacent to each other. Many new buildings have come in to being as individual buildings conceived and constructed in isolation. Therefore the space between buildings is interrupted.

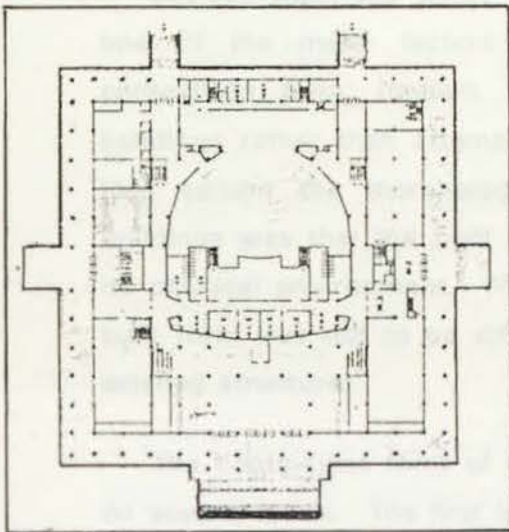
---

<sup>80</sup> Martin Heidegger (1958), p. 19.

- fig. 2-49: Sun Yat-Sen Memorial, Taipei, 1972. Architect: Wang Da-Hong. [author]
- fig. 2-50: Sun Yat-Sen Memorial, Taipei, 1972. Architect: Wang Da-Hong. Ground floor plan. [Li-Fu Wang, Chien-Lang Lee, and Chao-Lee Kuo (1985), p. 144]
- fig. 2-51: Alien built form in the rural area in Taiwan. [*Free China Review*, March 1988, p. 28]



2-49



2-50



2-51

For example, in the past, many Taiwanese urban scenes were characterised by *chi-lou* (continuous arcade) which created continuity along the streets and provided people with shelter from strong the sun and frequent rain so common on the island. Today *chi-lou* is interrupted by individual buildings. Between buildings there is a lot of what L. Brett calls "SLOIP" (Space Left Over in Planning)<sup>81</sup> (fig. 2-48).

Even if we narrow down the scale, and look at the individual buildings, we can also find that their spatial organisation is always 'foreign' in character instead of providing regional colour. Even buildings which resemble the grand style Chinese buildings as far as their appearance is concerned have in reality foreign-inspired spatial organisation, let alone those buildings modelled on foreign examples. For example, in the Sun Yet-Sen Memorial in Taipei (1972, Wang Da-Hong) in Taipei, a sweeping, gracefully curved reinforced concrete roof is coated with glazed yellow tiles with a boastful entrance topping a colonnaded body, an attempt to create an image of a grand style Chinese building. But its spatial organisation – a circular space in the middle of a rectangular plan which is surrounded by colonnades – takes its inspiration from the Altes Museum (1836, F. Schinkel) in Berlin rather than from any traditional Taiwanese building (figs. 2-49, 2-50).

### **Contextless Form.**

Besides placeless space, contextless form in modern architecture is also one of the major factors undermining the sense of place. By applying contextless form, modern architecture consciously defies surrounding old buildings rather than attempting to stands alongside them harmoniously. The idea behind the morphology of traditional Taiwanese cities, villages, and buildings was that the built form should be in a harmonious relationship with its physical environment. What was wanted by traditional people in terms of built form was not to be different but to be cooperate with nature and other existing structures.

The contextless form of the built environment in Taiwan can be discussed on several levels. The first is that built form is always designed without taking

---

<sup>81</sup> See: L. Brett (1965).



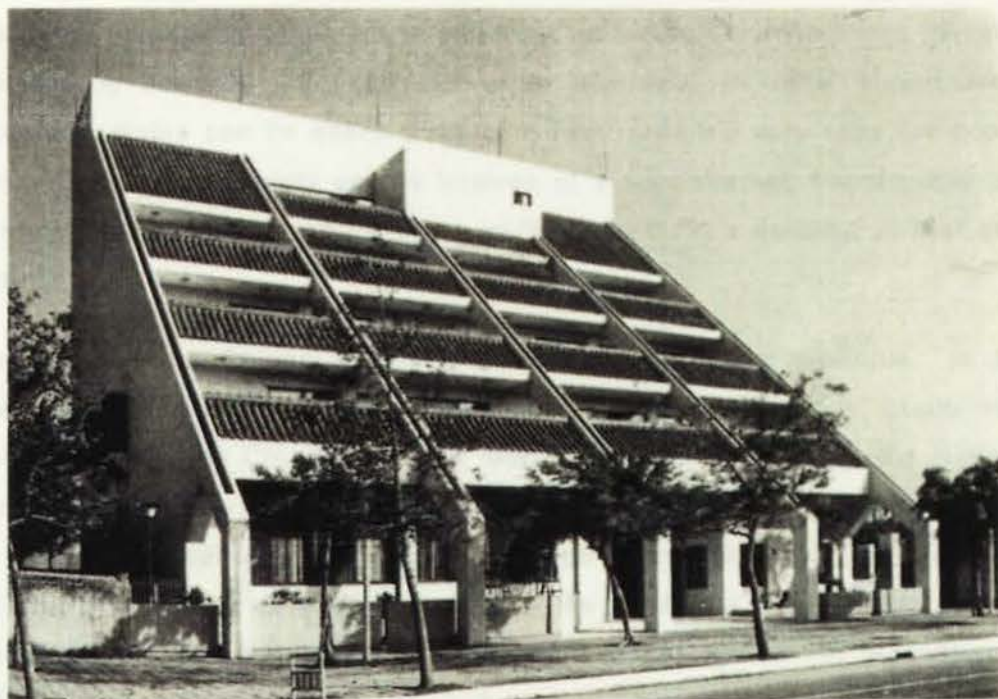
regional references into consideration. This has been a problem for many decades. As I have mentioned before, the importation of foreign forms began in the the western-style buildings built by Western missionaries and the Japanese. But most of them still preserved some characteristics of traditional buildings. It was during the 1950s, when Chinese grand-style buildings and International Style buildings, spread extensively that contextless form became a problem. Since then, new forms have transformed the landscape of modern Taiwanese cities and villages. Even in remote areas, alien built forms can be seen in ever-growing numbers like bamboo shoots after spring rain (fig. 2-51).

Not only has the built environment as a whole lost its regional characteristics, but also individual buildings are also being designed with contextless form. The Korean Embassy (1978, Tsai P.F. & Associates) in Taipei (fig. 2-52) is one such example which has been designed with the plain intention of neglecting local conditions. The setback of the building is a gesture forward to receiving more sunshine. But such manipulation runs totally counter to the characteristics of traditional buildings in hot and humid countries like Taiwan, where buildings are more likely to have eaves to give shade and shelter from rain. In Taiwan, ventilation is is also an important issue which needs careful consideration. However, it has been ignored in the hundreds curtain-wall buildings such as the Cathay Twin Towers (1980, China Sincere Architects & Peng Y.H.) in Taipei (fig. 2-53) which has to rely on an artificial environmental control system.

Those in favour of such new forms might argue that there is nothing wrong with having buildings of different kinds since we live in a pluralistic society, and should enjoy the variety of modern inventions such as watches, TV sets, cars, and so forth. But architecture is quite different from these material goods. One can buy a watch or a car yet still change it easily. But once a building is completed, it will become part of the built environment and have a great impact upon the formation of the sense of place both spiritually and physically – something a watch or a car certainly cannot do. So the sense of place which is so important to the identity of a people will be threatened and lost if most architecture with regional characteristics is replaced by buildings coated with different modes of built form.

The second consideration is that too often buildings of different styles are juxtaposed too closely. A street may have facades of traditional sun-dried

- fig. 2-52: Korean Embassy, Taipei, 1978. Architect: Tsai P.H. [Li-Fu Wang, Chien-Lang Lee, and Chao-Lee Kuo (1985), p. 157]
- fig. 2-53: Cathay Twin Towers, Taipei, 1980. Architects: China Sincere Architects & Peng, Y.H. [Li-Fu Wang, Chien-Lang Lee, and Chao-Lee Kuo (1985), p. 162]



2-52



2-53

brick as well as modern curtain walls, traditional sweeping roofs as well as modern flat roofs. Taiwanese cities have become a 'laboratory' of architectural forms on the one hand and a 'supermarket' of architectural styles on the other. As in a 'laboratory', there are no restrictions on the built form in modern cities and this visual anarchy seems to have given Taiwanese architects license to indulge in a high level of formal experimentation. They no longer feel the necessity of designing buildings in harmony with their surroundings because the prevailing character of each setting is 'invented.' As in a 'supermarket', architectural styles can be easily produced. They are also very easy for people to discard, like the products on the shelves of a supermarket. People may pick up a style from the street and ask the architect to build a building in that style for them.

Let us take the Chiang Kai-Shek Culture Centre as an example. In this centre, which occupies a superblock, there are three Chinese grand-style buildings: namely, the Chiang Kai-Shek Memorial (1980, Yang C.C.), the National Concert Hall and the National Theatre (1987 Yang C.C.). At first glance, it is very difficult to believe that these buildings were designed by the same architect. According to a statement by the architect, the memorial was modelled on the Sun Yet-Sen Mausoleum in Nanking (1929), the Mausoleum of the Taj Mahal at Agra (1630-53), and the Lincoln Memorial in Washington D.C. (1911-1922).<sup>82</sup> The building has a square body coated with white marble and topped with a traditional double-eave, octagonal-shape roof with blue tiles. In contrast, the concert hall and the theatre were designed to resemble a Ching dynasty palace, and thus are coated with palatial colours of emperor yellow and red.

These buildings have been severely criticised ever since their design stage. Why did the architect have to model the memorial on three foreign models? Even if this approach is accepted, why did he choose these particular models? Obviously he was confused between the function of a mausoleum and a memorial. This building is a memorial rather than a mausoleum, and thus the use of white and blue colours like those in the Sun Yet-Sen Mausoleum is unnecessary because these are colours associated with funeral rituals. Similarly,

---

<sup>82</sup> From an interview with the architect Yang C.C.. *Chinese Architect* August, 1976, pp. 4-9.



- fig. 2-54: Chiang Kai-Shek Culture Centre and its surrounding buildings, Taipei. [author]
- fig. 2-55: Chiang Kai-Shek Culture Centre and its surrounding buildings, Taipei. [author]



2-54



2-55

to design a modern concert hall and a modern theatre in the style of the imperial palace is absurd because of different functions they should perform. The memorial, the concert hall and the theatre are completely opposed to each other in formal character. Nor does this apply only to the buildings within the centre, immediately outside there are buildings in different styles, ranging from neo-renaissance, modernist, to post-modernist architecture. Visually, spatially and formally, the Chiang Kai-Shek Culture Centre and its surrounding buildings present a collage of contextless forms in a modern Taiwanese city (figs. 2-54, 2-55).

## **2-5 CONCLUSION**

So far I have examined the most readily distinguishable trends in the development of the modern architecture of Taiwan. At the same time I have summarised the problems of modern architecture which accompany these trends. During the course of the discussion, comparisons have continuously been made between modern architecture and traditional architecture, with the underlying implication that a lot of good characteristics of traditional architecture have been lost in modern architecture. However, in order to remedy these problems, it is no good simply constructing buildings by imitating traditional ones. And it is even worse to pretend that the clock can stand still or even turn back to an entirely illusory traditional society where rapid changes in socio-cultural patterns are supposed never to have occurred.

However, I still believe in the possibility of creating a new built environment suitable for a changing society, while making reference to a regional heritage, if architects can pay more attention to the ways in which traditional architecture makes concrete the ideas of traditional people and how modern people view their world and behave, and then use this knowledge as the basic guideline for new architecture. In order to avoid extremes, architects and architectural scholars must acquaint themselves with how far their own cultural heritage in architecture has been rendered obsolete by modern standards; but also with how much of their heritage could be preserved and revived to maintain a distinctive cultural identity. They should also endeavour to re-evaluate those aspects of their heritage applicable to modern problems and readjust them to suit the ideology of modern society.

Recently a new kind of architecture has been advocated by a new generation of architects and scholars in Taiwan. They aim to develop an

architecture which will maintain world standards while ensuring that some traditional architectural ideas can remain part of the new architecture and thus play an continuing role. In order to achieve this goal, two activities will be required: one is "selection" and the other "readjustment". Architects have to filter out what is unsuitable from both Western and Taiwanese architecture and adopt only that which is applicable. Then, architects have to reform and re-create these aspects to meet the needs of modern society.

During these two processes, the discarding of some part of Chinese tradition is unavoidable. This was an idea unacceptable to many conservatives in the past. However, if we look it from another side, it will probably be a positive thing for Taiwanese architecture. It is very interesting to note that in the 1920s and 1930s, scholars such as Shih Hu in the East and Bertrand Russell in the West expressed optimistic opinions on this issue. For example, Hu said that "we should treat it (the discarding of some traditions) as an emancipation of Chinese culture from its isolated civilisation restraints. The acceptance of the new culture will enrich the old culture and increase its vitality. I'll never be afraid of any danger of a complete destruction when we have to discard some Chinese traditions and accept some foreign ones"<sup>83</sup>; and Russell believed that "if the Chinese are left free to assimilate what they want of our (Western) civilisation, and to reject what strikes them as bad, they will be able to achieve an organic growth from their own tradition, and to produce a very splendid result, combining our merits with theirs".<sup>84</sup>

However, the problems in architecture are clearly much more complex than Hu or Russell imagined. Architects should avoid becoming trapped in the sentimental imitation of either the grand tradition or the popular tradition in architecture. Nor should they indulge themselves in copying the skin-deep language of foreign sources. The endeavour that architects should make is to cultivate a new approach which can guarantee a place for traditions in a new architecture. Three approaches, namely, Post-Modernism, Alexander's Pattern Language and the Phenomenology of Architecture, which have been advocated by different people in Taiwan since the 1970s, seem to offer certain

---

<sup>83</sup> Quoted in Yao-Chi Chin (1978), p. 213.

<sup>84</sup> Bertrand Russell (1922), p. 13.

alternatives to architects. In order to understand their potential, in the next chapter these approaches will be examined to see whether or not their application could help architects in Taiwan achieve their goal of developing a new architecture.

# CHAPTER THREE

## THREE THEORETICAL APPROACHES

### OF

## CONTEMPORARY ARCHITECTURAL DEVELOPMENT

#### 3-1 INTRODUCTION

As has been pointed out in previous chapters, beginning from the 1960s, architects as well as architectural critics and historians started to make severe criticisms of the modern built environment. As a consequence, several new theoretical approaches in architecture emerged, trying in one way or another to inspire a new kind of architecture free of the symptoms of the alienating modern built environment. All were infused with the aim of defending architecture against the ideology of Modernism, and all of them had the objective of returning to our living environment aspects ignored by Modernist architect.

Here a review will be attempted of the three most influential proposals, namely Post-Modernism, Alexander's Pattern Language, and the Phenomenology of Architecture. These theoretical approaches have been developed by their advocates over many years. All of them have acquired many followers in both developed and developing countries. In the following discussion, we will focus on their potential for leading to a new architecture which is not only practical for the modern world, but which would also reserve a place for tradition.

The reason for reviewing these approaches is that two of them (Post-Modernism and Alexander's Pattern Language) have been popular and one of them (the Phenomenology of Architecture) is becoming popular, in the Taiwanese intellectual climate. To review them will offer an opportunity of examining their efficacy (or lack of it) in originating a satisfactory alternative to Modernist architecture. In the following sections, I shall go through each approach separately. In each section, the basic background of each approach will be first provided, which will followed by discussions against the backdrop of the ideas of Heaven, Man, and the Earth.



### 3-2 POST-MODERNISM

#### Background.

Post-Modernism is a weasel word which no one seems to be able to fully understand or define in a satisfactory way.<sup>1</sup> The definitions vary from one field to another. Even in the realm of architecture, the definitions of historians, critics, and architects are not homogeneous. It is rare for anyone to explain in a concrete and convincing way what Post-Modern architecture actually is. "The term 'Post-Modernism' in architecture", writes Mary McLeod, "as in other fields, eludes easy definition. As a movement, Post-Modern architecture has often been much clearer about what it rejects than what it represents. Its emphasis has been on the repudiation of existing styles and beliefs rather than on the construction of a cohesive, theoretical, and formal programme."<sup>2</sup>

Certainly, the term 'Post-Modernism' was not invented by people in architectural circles. It was used in literary criticism and historical studies much earlier than in art and architecture. Its first appearance – *postmodernismo* – was referred to in 1934 by Federico De Onis in his *Antología de la poesía española e hispanoamericana* as a minor reaction to Modernism.<sup>3</sup> Then it was taken up by Dudley Fitts in his *Anthology of Contemporary Latin-American Poetry* in 1942.<sup>4</sup> In 1947, Arnold Toynbee in the abridged edition of *A Study of History* used the term 'post-Modern', and repeated it in 1956 in his *An Historian's Approach to Religion*<sup>5</sup> According to Toynbee, the term refers to the end of a Western dominant and Christian culture. Since the 1960s, the term 'Post-Modernism', though written in different ways, has been used by a variety of writers and critics in different disciplines. In the beginning, the various notions of Post-Modernism were very divergent and "the concept of Post-Modernism cannot be said to have crystallised until

---

<sup>1</sup> There are several variations of the spelling of the term. Besides 'Post-Modernism', 'post-modernism', 'Postmodernism', and 'post-Modernism' are also widely used. For consistency, we will throughout this discussion use the spelling 'Post-Modernism' except in book titles, where the original form will be retained.

<sup>2</sup> Mary McLeod (1985), p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Jencks (1987), p.13.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. and Arnold Toynbee (1956), p.146.

about the mid-1970s, when claims for the existence of this diversely social and cultural phenomenon began to harden within and across a number of different cultural areas and academic disciplines in philosophy, architecture, film studies and literary subjects.”<sup>6</sup>

By the late 1970s, the arguments about Post-Modernism by several writers were beginning to set the orientation of the whole range of discussion of social, economic and political post-modernity. The French philosopher Jean-François Lyotard’s *La Condition Postmoderne* (1979) and its English translation *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (1984) have exerted an immense influence on theorists of Post-Modernism. In this book Lyotard examines the debate on the nature of Post-Modernism, which has been focused upon its status as herald of the aftermath of the modern industrial age, by looking at the status of science, technology, and the arts, the significance of technocracy, and the ways in which the flow of information and knowledge are controlled in the Western world. But he cannot escape the contradictory connotations of the Post-Modern Movement, which involves an incessant battle of the generations, motivated by the fetish of the new, and thus paradoxically concludes that the Post-Modern “is undoubtedly a part of the Modern. ... In an amazing acceleration, the generations precipitate themselves. A work can become Modern only if it is first Post-Modern. Post-Modernism thus understood is not Modernism at its end but in the nascent state, and this state is constant.”<sup>7</sup>

The American Marxist social theorist Fredric Jameson’s *Postmodernism and Consumer Society* (1983), and its revised version *Postmodernism: or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (1985) have also contributed greatly to the debate on the subject. According to Jameson, “the emergence of Post-Modernism is closely related to the emergence of this new movement of late, consumer or multinational capitalism.”<sup>8</sup> He identifies ‘pastiche’ and ‘textuality’ as two of the most basic and significant features of Post-Modernism. According to him, the use of pastiche can be seen as ‘the

---

<sup>6</sup> Steven Connor (1989), p.6.

<sup>7</sup> Jean-François Lyotard (1984), p.79.

<sup>8</sup> Fredric Jameson (1983), p. 125.

transformation of reality into images', and it mimics the actual tendency towards the fragmentation of linguistic norms, with "each group coming to speak a curious private language of its own, each profession developing its private code or idiolect, and finally each individual coming to be a kind of linguistic island, separated from everyone else."<sup>9</sup> And this focus on textuality means 'the fragmentation of time into a series of perpetual presents.'<sup>10</sup> However, most of his argument is taken up by a discussion of how to identify the formal and stylistic features of Post-Modernist culture. And he confuses the debate still further when he points out that the features which characterise Post-Modernism "are not new at all but abundantly characterised Modernism proper or what I call High-Modernism."<sup>11</sup>

In addition to the accounts by these two figures, there exist many other analyses by writers from different backgrounds. The following are just a few interesting and influential examples: Harry R. Garvin's *Romanticism, Modernism, Postmodernism* (1980), Hal Foster's *Postmodern Culture* (1985, first published in 1983 as *The Anti-Aesthetic*), Stanley Trachtenberg's *The Postmodern Moment* (1985), Brandon Taylor's *Modernism, Post-Modernism, Realism* (1987), John Fekete's *Life after Postmodernism*, David Harvey's *The Condition of Postmodernity* (1989), and Steven Connor's *Postmodernist Culture* (1989). These books, in spite of the similarity of their titles, are very divergent, and even contradictory in their contents.

In the field of architecture, J. Hudnut first used the term 'Post-Modern' in his *Architecture and the Spirit of Man* in 1949.<sup>12</sup> Nikolaus Pevsner used the same term in 1966 when he spoke of Richard Sheppard's Churchill College in Cambridge (1959) as demonstrating "the existence of a new style, successor to my International Modern of the 1930s, a Post-Modern style ... the legitimate style of the 1950s and 1960s."<sup>13</sup> But it is Charles Jencks who first tried to define Post-Modernism in architecture and consciously advocate it, an attempt

---

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 114.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 125.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 123.

<sup>12</sup> J. Hudnut (1949), p. 119.

<sup>13</sup> Nikolaus Pevsner (1966), p. 955.

which led to endless battles over the definition of Post-Modernism. In 1974, two years after the Pruitt-Igoe housing scheme in St. Louis was demolished, Jencks started to use the rhetorical formula – Death of Modernism/Rise of Post-Modernism – to stress the demolition as a turning point in the development of architecture.<sup>14</sup> In many subsequent lectures, Jencks has continued to emphasize the same concept. The idea is also at the root of his book *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* (1977, revised editions in 1978, 1981, 1984, and 1989) which has been followed by many articles and books on similar subjects written or edited by him. *Post-Modern Classicism* (1980), *Current Architecture* (1982), *What is Post-Modernism?* (1986, enlarged edition 1987), and *Post-Modernism – The New Classicism in Art and Architecture* (1987) are among the most notable ones.

Besides Jencks, there are a number of architects, historians, and critics who advocate a Post-Modern architecture. Heinrich Klotz and Paolo Portoghesi are two important figures. The former has edited *Postmodern Visions: Drawings, Paintings and Models by Contemporary Architects* (1985, originally published in German in 1984 as *Die Revision der Moderne: Postmoderne Architektur 1960–1980*) and published *The History of Postmodern Architecture* (1988, originally published in German in 1984 as *Moderne und Postmoderne Architektur der Gegenwart*). The latter has written *After Modern Architecture* (1982, originally published in Italian in 1980), and *Postmodern, the Architecture of the Postindustrial Society* (1983, originally published in Italian in 1982). He also organised in 1980 the section of the architectural exhibition entitled 'The Presence of the Past' in the Venice Biennale. In this exhibition, many Post-Modernist architects were invited to present their works in historicist forms. This is an exhibition that "confirmed the Post-Modern Movement's widespread acceptance."<sup>15</sup>

Those who support Post-Modernism tend to stress its role as a critical category of Modern architecture. According to Jencks' view, "there was a tragic, indeed fatal, connection between Modern architecture and modernisation. ... The Post-Modernism Movement was there, and remains today, a wider

---

<sup>14</sup> Charles Jencks (1987b), p. 27.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

social protest against modernisation, against the destructive of local culture by the combined forces of rationalisation, bureaucracy, large-scale development and, it is true, the Modern International Style.”<sup>16</sup> Similarly, Klotz treats Post-Modernism “as primarily a designation of a break of continuity, pinpointing the fact that the tradition of the Modern Movement in architecture has ceased to be a continuum.”<sup>17</sup> For Klotz, the final goal of Post-Modern architecture is “to liberate architecture from the muteness of ‘pure forms’ and from the clamour of ostentatious constructions in order that a building might again become an occasion for a creative effort, attuned not only to facts and utilisation programmes but also to poetic ideas and to the handling of subject matter on an epic scale.”<sup>18</sup> And Portoghesi thinks “the Post-Modern is a rebellion originating in the realisation that in the past sixty years everything has changed in the world of social relationships and production; that industry has undergone radical transformations, and the energy crisis has once more uncovered problems that had been thought to be solved for some time.”<sup>19</sup>

Post-Modernists have attacked Modernists at both ideological and practical levels. “Advocates of Post-Modernism in architecture”, as Mary McLeod points out, “eschew both the formal and the social premises of the Modern Movement: its minimal, stripped-down aesthetic, including Le Corbusier’s five points (strip window, roof terrace, *pilotis* [posts], free facade, and free plan), and its accompanying ideology of structural rationalism, mass production, functionalism, and social regeneration through architecture.”<sup>20</sup> As a result of these battles, the Post-Modernists appear to have gained an advantage over the Modernists. According to the comparison made by Jencks between Modern and Post-Modern architecture, the International Style has surrendered to regional and historical styles; utopian and idealist ideas have been replaced by their popular and folk counterparts; semiotic and symbolic forms have taken the place of deterministic and abstract ones; and contextualist ideas have been

---

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., pp.27–29.

<sup>17</sup> Heinrich Klotz (1988), p. 5.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Paolo Portoghesi (1983), p. 7.

<sup>20</sup> McLeod, Mary.(1985), p.19.

substituted for individualist concepts.<sup>21</sup>

The Vanna Venturi House in Chestnut Hill, Pennsylvania (1963–65, Robert Venturi), the Getty Museum in Los Angeles (1970–74, Langdon, Wilson, and Mumpen), the Austrian Travel Bureau in Vienna (1971–78, Hans Hollein), the Piazza d'Italia in New Orleans (1976–79, Charles Moore, Perez Associates & UIG), the Portland Public Service Building in Portland (1980–1982, Michael Graves), the Tsukuba Civic Centre in Tsukuba (1980–83, Arata Isozaki), the New City Gallery in Stuttgart (1977–84, James Stirling and Michael Wilford), and the AT & T Corporate Headquarter (1979–84, Philip Johnson & John Burgee) are the best-known examples bearing witness to these changes. (figs. 3-1 – 3-8)

Generally speaking, there are several features which characterise Post-Modern architecture. The first is the return to a pluralistic state of architecture. Post-Modern Movement is marked by the shift from univalence to multivalence. There is no absolutely orthodox rule existing in Post-Modern buildings. The second feature is that once again architecture becomes able to communicate. Charles Jencks has defined Post-Modern architecture as a double-coded architecture, i.e. "a combination of modern techniques with something else in order for architecture to communicate with the public and a concerned minority, usually other architects."<sup>22</sup> This "double-coding" has been used by Post-Modern architects as a strategy for communicating with different people on various levels. Post-Modernists have recognised the importance both of the discursive and the expressive meanings of formal language as such. Robert Stern has stressed this:

It (Post-Modernism) recognises the language of form as communicating sign as well as infra-referential symbols: that is to say, it deals with both physical and associational experience; with the work of art as an act of "presentation" and "representation".<sup>23</sup>

In this regard, Post-Modern architects are trying to convince us of the notion that we do commonly experience architecture as communication, even while

<sup>21</sup> However, we doubt that all these changes are strictly Post-Modernist. Contextualism and Regionalism, for example, are certainly not. We will return to this issue later.

<sup>22</sup> Similar versions of this definition have appeared in various other articles and books by Charles Jencks. See Charles Jencks. (1977), p.6; (1982), p.111; (1983), p.40; and (1987), p.14.

<sup>23</sup> Robert Stern (1980), p.86.

- fig. 3-1: Vanna Venturi House, Chestnut Hill, Pennsylvania, 1963-65. Architect: Robert Venturi. [Charles Jencks (1987), p. 280]
- fig. 3-2: Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 1970-74. Architects: Langdon, Wilson and Mumpen. [Charles Jencks (1987), p. 219]



3-1



3-2



- fig. 3-3: Austrian Travel Bureau, Vienna, 1971-78. Architect: Hans Hollein. [Charles Jencks (1987), p. 286]
- fig. 3-4: Piazza d'Italia, New Orleans, 1976-79. Architects: Charles Moore, Perez Associates & UIG. [author]



3-3



3-4



- fig. 3-5: Portland Public Service Building, Portland, 1980-82. Architect: Michael Graves. [Spiro Kostof (1985), p. 755]
- fig. 3-6: Tsukuba Civic Centre, Tsukuba, 1980-83. Architect: Arata Isozaki. [Charles Jencks (1987), p. 295]



3-5



3-6

- fig. 3-7: New City Gallery, Stuttgart, 1974-84. Architects: James Stirling and Michael Wilford. [author]
- fig. 3-8: AT & T Corporate Headquarter, New York, 1979-84. Architects: Philip Johnson and John Burgee. [Charles Jencks (1987), p. 233]



3-7



3-8

recognising its functionality.

Closely related to the feature of "communication" is the notion of "meaning." What Jencks terms "double-coded" is in fact "a dual code of meaning". In other words, architecture should "speak" on at least two levels at once. One of the primary concerns of the Post-Modernists is the idea of meaning. Of course, the rediscovery of "meaning" is not a phenomenon peculiar to architecture. It has been a focus of the general intellectual discourse of linguistics, semiology and structuralism since early the 1960s. On this subject Mary McLeod also points out architecture's connections with "structuralism and semiology which offered the possibility of scientific knowledge without subsuming culture in quantifiable methods of analysis. Meaning has become for the Post-Modern architects a means to transcend both functional determinism and personal subjectivity."<sup>24</sup>

Western Post-Modernism was introduced into Taiwan in the early 1980s. The June 1983 issue of the journal *Chinese Architect* was devoted, for the first time, to the theme of the 'Post-Modern Style'. In the ensuing years, many articles and reports have been published focusing on the subject of Post-Modernism. However, much of these discussions were confined to academic circles. Ordinary people rarely heard the term 'Post-Modernism', let alone understood it. The atmosphere changed in August 1986 when *Chung-Kuo-Shih-Pao* (*China Daily*), the biggest newspaper in Taiwan, started to published a series of reports on Post-Modernism. Since then, the discussion of Post-Modernism has become a wider phenomenon and products labelled 'Post-Modern' have become a fashion. The journal *CON-TEMPORARY* started in 1987 to publish Fredric Jameson's *Hou-Hsien-Tai Wen-Hua* (*On Post-Modern Culture*) which was later published as a book under the same title, and was followed by Jameson's visit to Taiwan. And the journal *Artists* also started in 1988 a series of articles by Lu Jung-Chi entitled *Hou-Hsien-Tai I-Shu Hsien-Hsiang* (*The Post-Modern Art Phenomenon*). Both of these series of discussions devoted a good deal of space to the question of architecture. There are also some studies specifically devoted to architecture. Sun Chuan-Wen's *Lun Hou-Hsien-Tai Chien-Chu* (*On Post-Modern Architecture*)

---

<sup>24</sup> McLeod, Mary. (1985), p.31.

(1987) is one example.

As far as actual buildings are concerned, the Lakeside Housing in Taipei (1982, Lee C.Y.) marked the beginning of the Post-Modern era in architecture in Taiwan. Other exemplary Post-Modern buildings include: the Staff Club of Hung-Kuang College of Nursing in Taichung (1983, Wang I-Ch'ing and Kuo Chao-Lee), the Interdepartmental Building of Taiwan University in Taipei (1983, Lee Chun-Jen and Wang Li-Fu), the Shihlin Branch of Taipei Municipal Court in Taipei (1984, Chu C.M.), Wellgo Private Elementary School in Taipei (1985, Lee C.Y.), the Graduate School of Environmental Engineering at Taiwan University in Taipei (1985, Pai-Sen Architects), the Sky Plaza in Taipei (1986, Liu S.H. and Associates), the Hotspring Gymnasium at the Chingshan Youth Centre in Chingshan (1987, Hsuen Chao-Hsin), the Lien Obstetric Clinic in Tainan (1987, Hung P.Y.), and the San-Shang Enterprise Building in Taipei (1987, Lee C.Y.). (figs. 3-9 – 3-18) In all of these buildings, elements and motifs taken from historical Western buildings are applied indiscriminately. Most of them have been distorted, exaggerated, or used ironically.<sup>25</sup>

### Discussion.

One of the most controversial points about Post-Modern architecture is its relationship with Modernism. Jencks argues that Post-Modernism in architecture is in essence a continuation of Modernism rather than a break with it, and Post-Modernists are "like the Modernists of the twenties, more rigorous, revolutionary and creative than their opponents." Therefore the critical creativity of Post-Modernists makes them "the true inheritors of Modernism."<sup>26</sup> Similarly, Robert Stern suggests that Post-Modernism should not be seen as a reaction against Modernism, because it seeks "to develop Modernism's themes by attempting to examine them in relationship to the wider framework of the

---

<sup>25</sup> Here I include only examples using the elements of historical Western buildings. There are also buildings in which elements from historical Chinese buildings are used. But these will be discussed in Chapter Six, rather than here, because of their differences from buildings influenced by Western Post-Modernism.

<sup>26</sup> Charles Jencks (1983), p.37. Jencks qualifies this argument with two provisos. Firstly, although he names Post-Modernists as the true inheritors of Modernism, he thinks "they really share this role with other brothers, or siblings", and secondly he thinks "they do not seek to revive Modernism so much as to revive Western architecture."



- fig. 3-9: Lakeside Housing Development, Taiepi, 1982. Architect: Lee C.Y. [*Free China Review*, June 1987, p. 18]
- fig. 3-10: Staff Club, Hung-Kuang College of Nursing, Taichung, 1983. Architects: Wang I-Ch'ing and Kuo Chao-Lee. [*Chinese Architect* September 1983, p. 69]



3-9



3-10

- fig. 3-11: Interdepartmental Building, National Taiwan University, Taipei, 1983. Architects: Lee Chun-Jen and Wang Li-Fu. [author]
- fig. 3-12: Shihlin Branch, Taipei Municipal Court, Taipei, 1984. Architect: Chu C.M. [author]



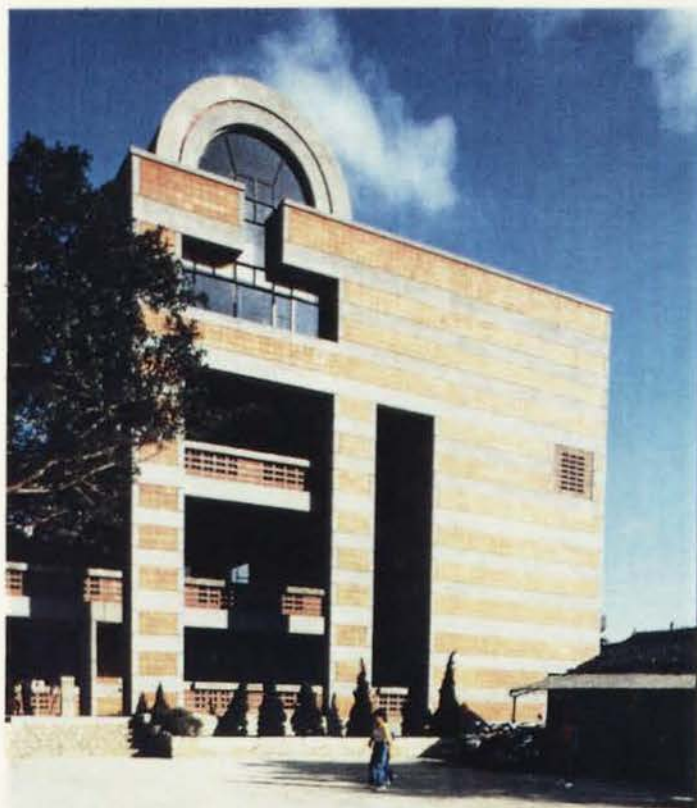
3-11



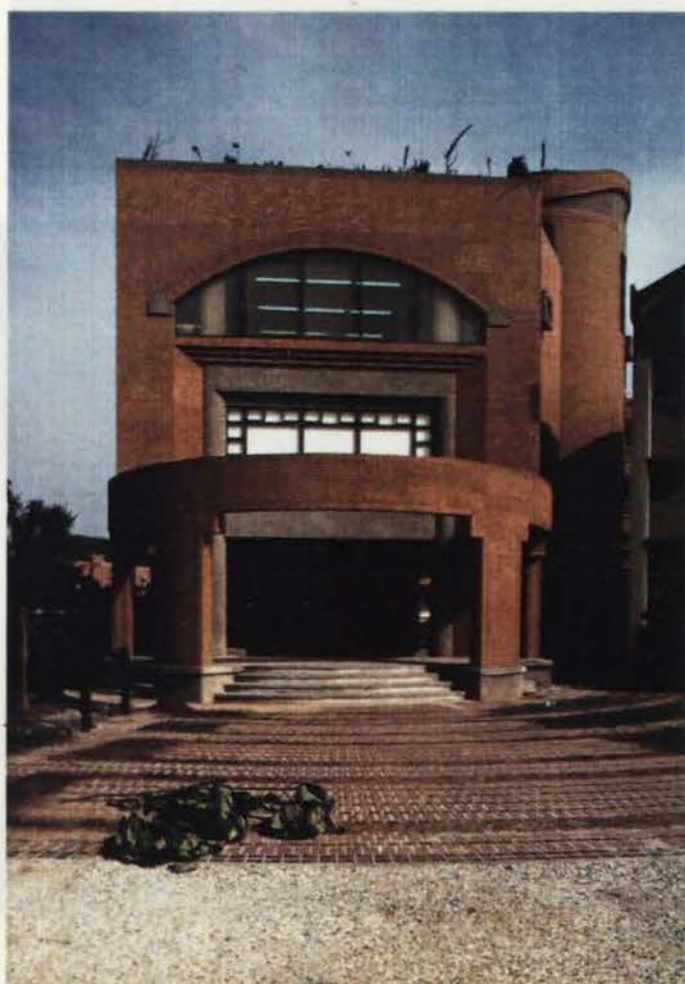
3-12



- fig. 3-13: Wellgo Private Elementary School, Taipei, 1985. Architect: Lee C.Y. [author]
- fig. 3-14: Graduate School of Environmental Engineering, National Taiwan University, Taipei, 1985. Architects: Pai-Sen Architects. [author]



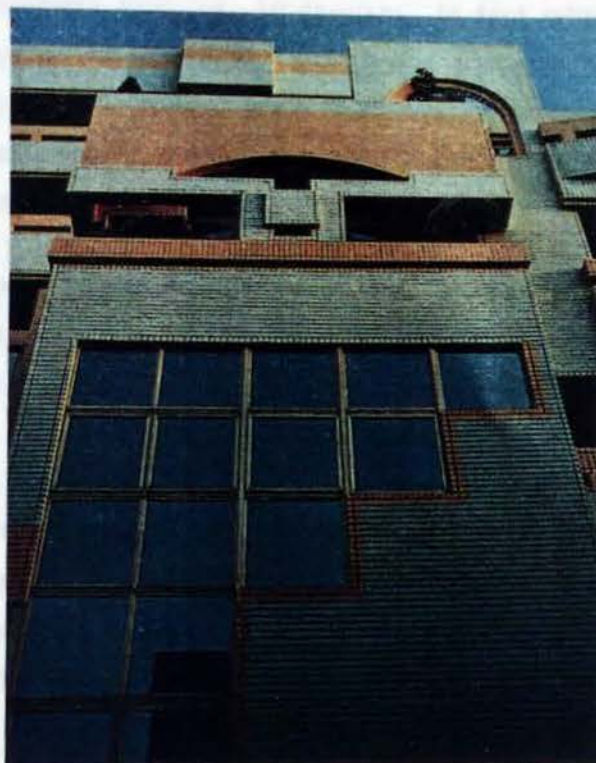
3-13



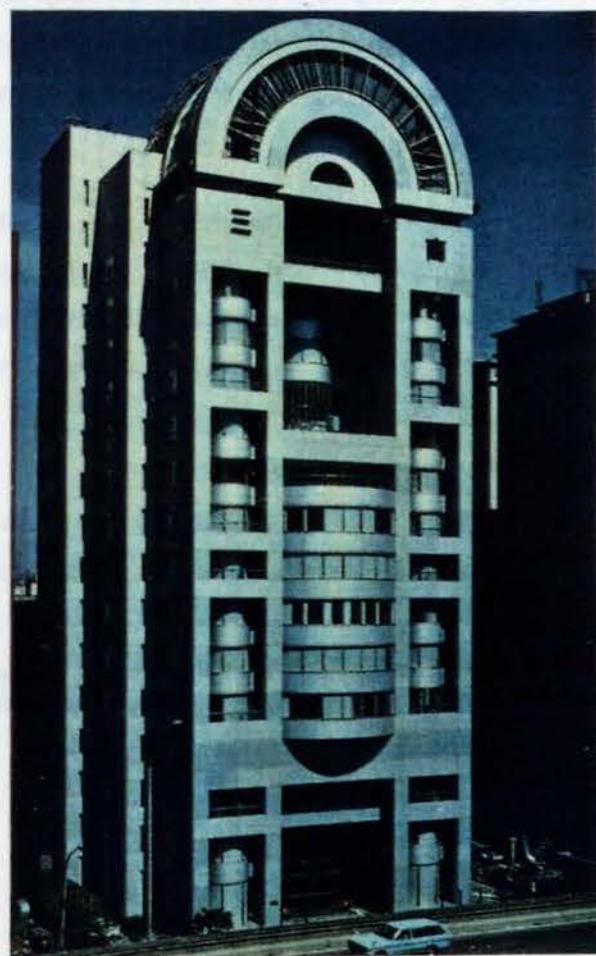
3-14

- fig. 3-17: Lien Obstetric Clinic, Tainan, 1987. Architect: Hung P.Y.  
[*Chinese Architect* May 1988, p. 111]

- fig. 3-18: San-Shang Enterprise Building, Taipei, 1987. Architect: Lee C.Y.  
[*Architecture*, September 1988, p. 94]



3-17



3-18



Modern Period as a whole.”<sup>27</sup> But I think that both of these arguments are confused. The fact that Post-Modernists may have inherited the iconoclastic spirit of Modernism cannot make them the heirs of Modernism by token of that fact alone. There is a strong demand among Post-Modernists for a complete break from the immediate past, i.e., Modernism. In fact when Jencks argues that “the taboos against ornament, symbolism and tradition have been broken by Post-Modernists in their radical critique of the orthodoxy”, he contradicts what he has said elsewhere. If these taboos are broken, how can there be a continuous progress from Modernism to Post-Modernism?

The verdicts on Post-Modernism are also divergent, some praise its progressive and constructive aspects while others condemn it as being reactionary and destructive. Jencks argues strongly that the emergence of Post-Modernism is “a new epoch that has returned to the greater Western tradition, to all the things that Loos and Le Corbusier cleaned up and threw out during their ‘vacuum cleaning period of architecture’, to all the things outlawed by Modernist repression – polychromy, anthropomorphism, decorum, proportion – ... the list of classical virtues *ad nauseum* since Vitruvius reaffirmed them.”<sup>28</sup> Klotz also praises the fact that “the contents of Post-Modernism can refer to a great variety of things. They can indeed create “a beautiful world of appearances” that distracts one from the bare factuality of architecture as a protective cover and that deflects one’s attention to the completely different realms of environment as a narrative representation.”<sup>29</sup> And Portoghesi suggests that Post-Modernism “made its way toward the recovery of certain aspects of tradition.”<sup>30</sup>

On the other hand, the Dutch architect Aldo van Eyke has lampooned Post-Modern architects as “Rats and Pests”. He ferociously condemns Post-Modernism for its tumultuousness and vociferousness by claiming that “at no point in history was there ever a constellation of notions concerning

---

<sup>27</sup> Robert Stern (1980), p.81.

<sup>28</sup> Charles Jencks (1983), p. 37.

<sup>29</sup> Heinrich Klotz (1988), p. 128.

<sup>30</sup> Paolo Portoghesi (1983), p. 7. However, I think what Jencks and Portoghesi mean by ‘tradition’ is not tradition in its essence but merely certain of its historical elements. I will return to this point later.

architecture so ill-behaved and wilfully uncongenial, so useless and unbecoming, so unreal without ever becoming surreal."<sup>31</sup> No less satirically, another architect, Sym Van der Ryn has dubbed Post-Modernism in architecture "Neofashionism". He says that Post-Modern architecture, "stripped of social significance, devoid of human content, uncoupled from technology and nature" is merely "a neofashion for the bored, the rich, the jaded and the blind." He thinks that such 'neofashionists' in architecture are too superficial to be called architects. Instead, Van der Ryn describes Post-Modernists as fashionists "wrapping shoddy merchandise in titillating packages soon to be forgotten , ... and they are doing damage in the Academies where their facile formulas and dictums can easily be copied by novices seduced by flash, paralysed by fear, eager for entrance into illusion."<sup>32</sup>

It is not only the evaluations that vary – the meanings and applications of Post-Modernism also change. The trouble is that Post-Modernism was suddenly promoted in architecture by Jencks simply as a critical category without any proper theoretical basis. Most of what Jencks has done is the categorisation of what he thinks to be Post-Modern buildings into several kinds of New Classicism. He argues that "there has been a convergence of styles within Post-Modernism, a convergence towards a manner which could be called Classical."<sup>33</sup> But his categorisation is mainly based on the pluralism of styles in building which I believe should not become the sole criterion for defining Post-Modern architecture. The 'styles' only "provide the vocabulary needed to substantiate an architectural narrative. They are the repository of forms, the potential raw material of architectonic representation. It is not the most appropriate fomulation of Post-Modernism", as Klotz argues.<sup>34</sup>

Besides, there is a serious problem accompanying the pluralism of styles

<sup>31</sup> Quoted in Charles Jencks (1983), pp. 27-28.

<sup>32</sup> *AIA Journal* May 1983, p.24. This is quoted from the definition Sym van der Ryn gave to a questionnaire conducted by AIA Journal in 1983.

<sup>33</sup> Charles Jencks (1987b), p. 33. In *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* Jencks divides Post-Modern architecture into six groups: Historicism, Straight Revivalism, Neo Vernacular, Urbanist Ad hoc, Metaphor Metaphysical, and Post-Modern Space. But he has changed this categorisation in his latest publication and re-divides Post-Modern architecture into four groups in terms of Classicist tendencies, namely, Fundamentalist Classicism, Revival Classicism, Urbanist Classicism, and Eclectic Classicism.

<sup>34</sup> Heinrich Klotz (1988), p. 130.

which has been seen by many Post-Modernists as synonymous with Post-Modernism. Pluralism has led us to a condition in which there are no standards; no good or bad; everything and anything is acceptable. It goes without saying that pluralism has helped architects to emancipate themselves from the monotonous International Style. But, it has also become the norm "which cancels all norms." As Suzi Gablik points out, "we no longer know where the truth lies. The only truth Pluralism allows is that it is absolutely true there is no such thing as absolute truth."<sup>35</sup> Pluralism has offered Post-Modernists a foundation on which to build up their divergent styles, but the final result is totally out of their control. Moreover, Post-Modernism is certainly not confined to Classicist tendencies, as is pointed out by J. Mordaunt Crook:

It (Post-modernism) is far wider in scope than mere Post-Modern Classicism. And – despite persuasive claims for Classicism's integrating, mythopaeic power – it is far more serviceable too. Its basis is a cultural shift, a shift in our way of conceiving architecture: back again from architecture as utility to architecture as communication; from architecture as service to architecture as art."<sup>36</sup>

At this point, it could be asked whether Post-Modern architecture has offered a satisfactory alternative to its Modernist counterpart, and solved the problems associated with the latter. For the answer, I shall now examine Post-Modern architecture according to three ideas (the idea of Heaven, the idea of Man and the idea of the Earth) which I mentioned before. First, one may ask whether or not Post-Modern architecture can respond directly to problems related to the idea of Heaven. To answer this question, I have to first return to the issue of the relationship between Post-Modern architecture and tradition. It has been argued in previous chapters that tradition cannot be separated from religion. If Post-Modernists want to solve the problems related to the idea of Heaven, which is the centre for the religion of traditional people, they must bring back the sense of religion in architecture.

Superficially one might argue that Post-Modernism was an efficacious remedy if one believed, as Jencks and Portoghesi have claimed, that there is a

<sup>35</sup> Suzi Gablik (1984), p.77.

<sup>36</sup> J. Mordaunt Crook (1987), p. 265.

resurgence of tradition in Post-Modern buildings. But if one looks carefully at Post-Modern buildings, he will find that what Jencks and Portoghesi mean by tradition is in fact the use of historical elements. For example, the massive keystone motif as well as the polychrome decoration of the facade in Graves' Portland Public Service Building and the distorted Classical Orders in Moore's Piazza d'Italia are merely elements appropriated from historical buildings – they have nothing to do with traditional buildings, or, indeed, with tradition.

There is no doubt that when symbolic aspects reclaim their role in architecture, the layers of meaning in buildings will automatically become richer. But this does not guarantee that the idea of traditional architecture as a reflection of Man himself in the universe will return as well. There are a great many differences between the meanings and symbols of modern architecture and those associated with a traditional context. What Post-Modernism has brought back to architecture is limited to the visual, rather than the inner meaning of the symbol. It is extremely superficial to claim that the despiritualisation of Modernism is overcome by Post-Modernism. The reintroduction of symbols and meanings (and this means only historically rooted symbols and meanings – Modernist buildings too 'mean', and contain symbolism, though in different meanings) does not necessarily have anything to do with the reintroduction of any kind of spirituality, let alone religion or the idea of Heaven in any real sense.

With the aim of countering homogeneous and abstract space in Modern architecture, "Post-Modern space is historically specific, rooted in conventions, unlimited or ambiguous in zoning and 'irrational' or transformational in its relation of parts to whole."<sup>37</sup> But the emphasis is on architectural space *per se* rather than its associated meanings. For example, the spatial organisation of Charles Moore and William Turnbull's Faculty Club of Kresge College in Santa Barbara (1968) is much richer than Modernist buildings (fig. 3-19). But the motivation and manipulation are physically rather than metaphysically considered. What the Post-Modernists do in terms of space is merely to "complicate and fragment their plans with screens, non-recurrent motifs,

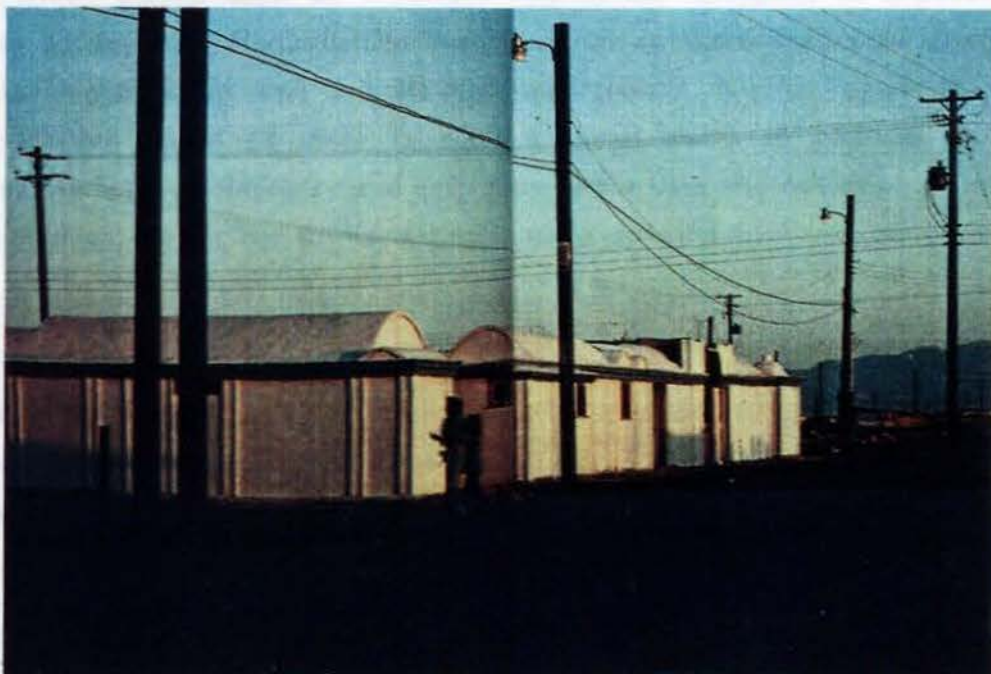
---

<sup>37</sup> Charles Jencks (1981), p. 118.

- fig. 3-19: Faculty Club, Kresge College, Santa Barbara, 1968. Architects: Charles Moore and William Turnbull. [Eugene J. Johnson (1986), p. 183]
- fig. 3-20: Mexicali Housing Development, Mexicali, 1976. Architect: Christopher Alexander [Christopher Alexander (1985), p. 12]



3-19



3-20

ambiguities and jokes to suspend our normal sense of duration.”<sup>38</sup>

From a formal point of view, while applying historical and symbolic elements, the Post-Modernists have relied too much on their theory of semiology and the tactic of metaphor. On the subject of this obsession with metaphor, Norberg-Schulz remarks that:

In our opinion semiology reduces the problem of a meaning to the case of its more superficial aspects. If the meaning of a thing (building) consists in its relationship to another thing, this relationship evidently comprises much more than similar “looks”.<sup>39</sup>

Norberg-Schulz uses a jug to illustrate this. He says that “a jug is related to water and wine, but it does not look like a fluid! And still we are able to grasp its ‘meaning’. Hence, we do not primarily see one thing in terms of another, or as a metaphor.” He quotes Gaston Bachelard’s words to conclude that “a metaphor is a false image”.<sup>40</sup>

As far as problems related to the idea of Man are concerned, Post-Modernists offer neither theoretical nor practical tactics for them. One might argue that the emergence of Post-Modernism in architecture has changed the way people look at and talk about buildings, established a new dialogue between architecture and its socio-cultural context, extended its communicative potential; and therefore that the idea of Man may re-emerge in Post-Modern buildings. But this is a misleading argument. When the rationalist aspects of Modernist architecture have been replaced by the eclecticist approaches of the Post-Modernists, architecture might once again become more human. But this certainly has nothing to do with the traditional idea of Man which played such an important role in the formation of architecture. Rarely do any Post-Modernist architects and critics express concern about the relationship between man and the built environment. Spatially speaking, what Post-Modern space (if there is such a thing) seeks to address are the characteristics of complexity and ambiguity rather than any reflection of human relationships. As for the formal aspects, there do exist a variety of forms and

---

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. 124.

<sup>39</sup> Norberg-Schulz, Christian. (1980b), pp. 24-25.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p.25.

styles, but all of these are the result of the arbitrariness of architects rather than the considerations of occupants.

Finally, I should look at Post-Modern buildings to see if they can solve any of the problems related to the idea of the Earth. There is no doubt that many of the buildings built with a more contextualist approach, which Jencks includes as one of the strands of Post-Modernism, offer a better solution to the sense of place than Modernist buildings. However, the concept of contextualism is, strictly speaking, not Post-Modernist. It is a traditional European approach to the theory of urban design. Contextualism lost its influence in the 1940s and 1950s, but was revived in the early 1960s by studies undertaken in Cornell University.<sup>41</sup>

According to Grahame Shane, A contextualist building must “fit with, respond to, mediate its surroundings, perhaps completing a pattern implicit in the street layout or introducing a new one. Crucial to this appreciation of urban patterns is the Gestalt double image of the *figure-ground*. This pattern, which can be read in either way – solid or void, black or white – is the key to the contextualist approach to urban space.”<sup>42</sup> Do Post-Modern buildings really meet this requirement? Let us take Graves’ Portland Public Service Building as an example. Jencks has praised this building as being “related to the adjacent city hall as well as the surrounding Modernist slabs.”<sup>43</sup> No doubt Graves has extracted some elements from surrounding buildings, but the manner in which he has applied them is limited to lining up with the moldings and motifs and parodying mimicry of the ornaments on surrounding buildings rather than a deep penetration of the real meaning of the elements and the spirit of the place.

Post-Modern buildings very often arrive in the end merely at a meaningless

<sup>41</sup> Grahame Shane (1976), pp. 676-677. Such studies include Alvin Boyarsky’s thesis on Camillo Sitte, Cohen and Hutt’s examination of Le Corbusier’s Plan Voisin for central Paris, also Wayne Cooper’s figure-ground drawings of urban precedents and Claus Herdeg’s examination of complex geometry in the formal structures of Indian Temples. All of these student theses were contemporary with Rowe and Slutzsky’s discussion of Cubism, collage, and Le Corbusier’s built design, which was later published as articles on Literal and Phenomenal Transparency (*Perspecta* 12, 13/14).

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Charles Jencks (1987b), p.32.



and careless collage of forms taken from surrounding buildings. They never really contribute to the sense of place, which is lost in modern architecture. William Curtis shares this view. He criticises much (Post-Modern) contextualism because it "degenerates into a sentimental imitation of the status quo: a cozy packaging for the yuppie consumption city that helps to calm the nerves of preservationists, but not a vital civic architecture."<sup>44</sup> Formally speaking, the negative effects of Western Post-Modern buildings on the built environment have been as great as those of the International Style. When hundreds of rootless and meaningless broken pediments, spires, keystones replace the flat roofs, and other features of Modernist architecture the loss of the sense of place remains unchanged. Spatially speaking, the ideology of the Post-Modern Movement as a complex counterpart to that of Modern Movement has been widely accepted and diffused with little restraint or scrutiny, resulting in the ideological supremacy of complexity over simplicity.

To sum up, I think not only that Post-Modernism does not solve the existing problems of Modern architecture, but also that it is leading the development of architecture to a new crisis. When historical forms become nothing but decoration, the striving for meaning is lost, and the result is merely pastiche. Richard Bender has paralleled Post-Modernist architects with people who have an occasional costume party. He argues that a fancy dress party is fun and can be inspiring, reminding us of our past and provoking new ideas. "But dressing up like children who have found a trunk full of old clothes in an attic quickly becomes uncomfortable and tiresome."<sup>45</sup>

Another worrying danger of Post-Modernism in architecture is the increasingly commercialist approach of Post-Modernist architects. Unlike the architects of Neoclassicism and the Beaux-Arts who drew their inspiration from the measurements of ancient buildings, Post-Modernists generally seem to rely on second-hand information from the mass media, usually glossy magazines. Architecture is no longer seen as timeless, but ephemeral; something which can be thrown away, subject to the caprice of commercial trends and the exigencies of the market. Some may argue that we are already in a "consumer

---

<sup>44</sup> William Curtis (1989), p. 113.

<sup>45</sup> *AIA Journal*, May 1983, p.244.

society", and that there is nothing wrong with treating architecture as another commercial product. It may indeed be true that we live in a so-called "Consumer Society", if we accept the theories of Frederic Jameson.<sup>46</sup> I do not object to the fact that "new types of consumption", "an ever more rapid rhythm of fashion and styling changes", and "the penetration of advertising, television and the media" are some of the features of this Post-Modern period. However, I think there should be some differentiation between good and bad commercial products. I do object to a situation where buildings are made on the cheap with the excuse of meeting the tastes of the people, though, of course I have no objection to inexpensiveness as such if the buildings are good. But, a historical architecture – like a traditional architecture – is a whole and can only be re-introduced by a critical transformation and not by filching already popular elements from the market-place. And surely it cannot be done in any other way.

In the Summer of 1986, E.M. Farrelly bravely proclaimed that Post-Modernism was dead. She declared that "some have known from the start that it (Post-Modernism) was no more than a painted corpse, but, for others it has taken a little longer to work through the deceptively populist arguments of the pasticheurs, the quasi-classicists and the toy-town tarter-uppers towards the realisation that while 'giving the people what they want' may sound like all-too-rare architectural humility, it has with frightening rapidity, become no more than the pretty plaything of rampant capitalism."<sup>47</sup>

In spite of this deadly bombard, Post-Modernism in architecture continues to survive and is very much alive. However, more and more people have realised the superficiality of Post-Modernism. Here I would like to end the discussion of Post-Modernism with an illustration narrated from Richard Bender.

Marilyn says she makes boots and shoes rather than hats because "worn shoes tell you about how a person lives; hats tend to tell you how a person would like to be seen." Post-Modernism feels to me like a hat.<sup>48</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup> Jameson, Frederic. (1983), pp.124-125.

<sup>47</sup> E.M. Farrelly (1986), pp. 7 -12.

<sup>48</sup> *AIA Journal* May, 1983, p.243.

Post-Modern architects have so far produced many highly visible buildings without formulating a constructive and convincing strategy for dealing with the crucial problems of the Modernist built environment. The key problems of Modern architecture remain unsolved by Post-Modern architecture.

### 3-3 ALEXANDER'S PATTERN LANGUAGE

#### Background.

The theoretical approach of 'A Pattern Language' developed by Christopher Alexander and his colleagues over the past two decades or so is the second approach we would like to discuss.<sup>49</sup> Alexander's theory began to take form in the early 1960s when he was among those who severely criticised the Modern Movement in architecture. Initially, his main concern was the inhumanity of the built environment planned and constructed between the 1920s and 1960s. His criticism was that "modern cities and other man-made elements in the physical environment are becoming shapeless for lack of an informing principle. ... While failing to produce satisfactory new environments, we are losing the best of the old. Ancient, powerful symbols and images - unique and irreplaceable places, buildings, many memorials, and entire historic cities, man's most telling evidence of a communal way of life - are being neglected or totally destroyed."<sup>50</sup>

In the beginning, Alexander adopted a rather rationalist approach. The belief that the deterioration of the modern built environment was partly caused by designers' inability to solve the growing complexity of design problems led Alexander to develop a theory of efficient form-making which is expounded most clearly in *Notes on the Synthesis of Form* (1964), the book which made him internationally famous. His basic hypothesis is that a problem can be treated as an 'ensemble' consisting of the form and the context whose relationship is decided by 'fit' and 'misfit' between them.<sup>51</sup> Based on the

---

<sup>49</sup> The 'A' was suggested by Alexander. He explains that by emphasising the word 'A', we can imagine that there are many other languages to which A Pattern Language may be related.

<sup>50</sup> Christopher Alexander (1963), p.34.

<sup>51</sup> Alexander defines 'form', 'context', and 'fitness' in his book. He says that "the form is a part of the world over which we have control, and which we decide to shape while leaving the rest of the world as it is. The context is that part of the world which puts demands on this form. Fitness is a relation of mutual acceptability between these two." Christopher Alexander (1964), pp. 18-19.

assumption that "physical clarity cannot be achieved in a form until there is first some programmatic clarity in designer's mind and actions,"<sup>52</sup> Alexander therefore asserted that the task of a design is not to create "forms which meet certain conditions", but to use a systematic method to create 'an orderly condition' in a misfit-free ensemble.

According to Alexander, most sources of 'good fit' exist in so-called 'unselfconscious' cultures whereas those of 'misfit' are in 'selfconscious' ones.<sup>53</sup> He also points out that "unselfconscious cultures contain, as a feature of their form-producing systems, a certain built-in fixity – patterns of myth, tradition, and taboo which resist willful change. Form-builders will only introduce changes under strong compulsion where there are powerful (and obvious) irritations in the existing forms which demand correction."<sup>54</sup> But in the 'selfconscious' cultures, "each form is seen as the work of a single man, and its success is his achievement only."<sup>55</sup> Modern societies, in Alexander's opinion, are 'selfconscious' ones in which there exist a lot of 'misfits.' In order to eradicate all these 'misfits' which inform the building and design processes in modern societies, Alexander therefore proposed a highly mathematically analytical and synthetic process, or 'the program' as he calls it, by using the concept of 'sets' and by means of 'diagrams', as stated in *Notes*.

In 1965, there was a significant shift in Alexander's thinking and approach. The paper "A City Is Not a Tree," marked "a brief goodbye to his work with mathematical decompositions."<sup>56</sup> The paper "has not only been one of the classics in planning and design but has also launched an attack on most of the artificial, pseudo-scientific, tree-like structures of modern environmental projects."<sup>57</sup> Alexander points out that a natural city has the organisation of a

---

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p.15.

<sup>53</sup> Alexander defines 'unselfconscious' cultures as the ones whose form-making is learned "informally, through imitation and correction" while 'selfconscious' cultures are "taught academically, according to explicit rules." Ibid., p.36.

<sup>54</sup> Christopher Alexander (1964), p. 48.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 59.

<sup>56</sup> Tony Ward (1979), p. 15 and Chu-Joe Hsia (1987), p. 94.

<sup>57</sup> Chu-Joe Hsia (1987), p. 94.

semi-lattice, but that most new artificial cities are organised as trees.<sup>58</sup> According to him, the structural complexity of a city will be missing in cities organised as trees because of over-simplification, a phenomenon which cripples our conceptions of the city.<sup>59</sup> This paper was followed by a number of others such as "From a Set of Forces to a Form" (1966a), "Relational Complexes in Architecture" (1966b), and "The Atoms of Environmental Structure" (1966c). In these articles, Alexander went beyond the concepts in *Notes*. He tried to describe the 'atoms' which were the essential basis for the design process, as 'relations', like the nexus-geometries occurring in the environment at a more or less discreet level.<sup>60</sup> And he concluded that every design is then determined by these 'forces' and 'relations.'

In 1967, Alexander founded the Centre for Environmental Structure at Berkeley as a base bringing together colleagues to continue developing the new theory of design.<sup>61</sup> In some of the articles published during this period, such as "The City as a Mechanism for Sustaining Human Contact" (1967) and "Magic Changes in Environmental Form Required by Social and Psychological Demands" (1969), one can detect a subtle change in his attitude towards the relationship between man and the built environment. Alexander was then concerned with the missing of the 'intimate contact' in the modern built environment. He remarked on the distressing fact that modern urban society as a whole, has found no way of sustaining 'intimate contacts.' He commented that:

An individual can be healthy and happy only when his life contains three or four intimate contacts. A society can be a healthy one only if each of its individual members has three or four intimate contacts at every stage of his existence. Every

---

<sup>58</sup> Alexander defines those cities which have arisen more or less spontaneously over many years as 'natural cities', and those cities and parts of cities which have been deliberately created by designers and planners as 'artificial cities.' Christopher Alexander (1965a), p. 58.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 60.

<sup>60</sup> Tony Ward (1979), p. 15 and Christopher Alexander (1966a), p. 96.

<sup>61</sup> Tony Ward has pointed out the context of the establishment of the centre that "in 1967, Berkeley, the university city ten miles across the bay from San Francisco, was experiencing all the hallucinogenic euphoria of the flower movement, only one or two voices proclaimed the advocating tide of horror. One was Norman Mailer's in *Armies of the Night*. Another was R.D. Laing's in *The Politics of Experience and the Bird of Paradise*. In architecture, Bernard Rudofsky's *Architecture without Architects* cast the first lingering suspicion that ordinary people could, if left to their own devices, do it all very much better." Tony Ward (1979), p. 15.

society known to man, except our own, has provided conditions which allow people to sustain three or four intimate contacts. Western industry society is the first society in human history where man is being forced to live without them."<sup>62</sup>

By the term 'intimate contact', Alexander means the contact "between two individuals in which they reveal themselves in all their weakness, without fear. It is a relationship in which the barriers which normally surround the self are down. It is the relationship which characterises the best marriages, and true friendships. He further explains that it is what we usually call 'love.' And he calls this lack of 'intimate contacts' the autonomy-withdrawal syndrome. To remedy this syndrome, Alexander proposes a configuration in which a city must have twelve specific geometric characteristics."<sup>63</sup> However, such a configuration is hypothetical and highly problematic.

In order to improve the practicability of the theory, Alexander and his colleagues spent several years searching for a generative theory of architecture. Gradually, what are 'diagrams' in *Notes* become 'tendencies' in later articles, and emerge as 'patterns' in what they called 'A Pattern Language', which crystallised in a series of books, namely *The Oregon Experiment* (1975), *A Pattern Language* (1977), *The Timeless Way of Building* (1979), *The Linz Cafe* (1981), *The Production of House* (1985), and *A New Theory of Urban Design* (1987). This theoretical approach represents an attempt to use metaphors from language as a conceptual framework to understand and then produce buildings, towns, and cities. However, the approach, as pointed out by Joseph B. Juhasz, does not simply consist of "lessons in the applicability of linguistic models to the study of architecture and environmental design but addresses directly the problems of applicability itself."<sup>64</sup> *The Timeless Way of Building* and *A Pattern Language* are in fact two halves of a single work. The former outlines the philosophical basis for the latter. The other books are basically documentary descriptions of the theory at work in real projects.

To understand and be critical of this theoretical approach, one first has to

---

<sup>62</sup> Christopher Alexander (1967), pp. 67-68.

<sup>63</sup> Christopher Alexander (1967a), p. 87-102.

<sup>64</sup> Joseph B. Juhasz (1981), p. 241.

know why Alexander chose to use a linguistic format. Juhasz has pointed out that the similarities between language and architecture consist of the fact that "both constitute disciplined methods of infusing meaning into the environment; both employ rules for generating limitless possibilities from finite means; both reflect current preoccupations, fads, important tendencies, lasting concerns, special values and a range of other human entanglements; both have a private and public component whilst remaining essentially social in nature."<sup>65</sup> And he stresses that Alexander and his colleagues "have focused on one aspect of these similarities, naming the syntactic structure of language and the structure of the built environment. More specifically, they have been intrigued by the productivity of human expressive systems."<sup>66</sup> This is clearly shown in Alexander's own words.

An ordinary language like English is a system which allows us to create an infinite variety of one-dimensional combinations of words, called sentences.

A pattern language is a system which allows its users to create an infinite variety of those three dimensional combinations of patterns which we call buildings, gardens, towns.

Both ordinary languages and pattern languages are finite combinatory systems which allow us to create an infinite variety of unique combinations, appropriate to different circumstances, at will.<sup>67</sup>

According to Alexander and his colleagues, there is one 'timeless way of building', that can only be found through the understanding of 'the quality without a name',<sup>68</sup> which is determined by the interaction of 'patterns', the elements of the language. Alexander and his colleagues list 253 patterns which are laid out in sequence in a descending order of scale. They claim that these

---

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p. 242.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Christopher Alexander (1979), pp. 185-187.

<sup>68</sup> Christopher Alexander (1979), p.7. In his book, Alexander defines the 'timeless way of building' as "a process through which the order of a building or a town grows out directly from the inner nature of the people and the animals, and plants, and matter which are in it." It is also a "process which allows the life inside a person, or a family, or a town, to flourish, openly, in freedom, so vividly that it gives birth, of its own accord, to the natural order which is needed to sustain this life." He also defines "the quality without a name" as "the root criterion of life and spirit in a man, a town, a building, or a wilderness" which is "objective and precise", but cannot be named.



patterns "create a coherent picture of an entire region, with the power to generate such regions in a million forms, with infinite variety in all the details."<sup>69</sup> "Each pattern describes a problem which occurs over and over again in our environment, and then describes the core of the solution to that problem, in such a way that you can use this solution a million times over, without ever doing it the same way twice."<sup>70</sup> Alexander thinks that because all this is so clear, even a layman could use the language to design an ecologically appropriate, and harmonious environment of his own. People can use it for working with their neighbours, or to improve their town and neighbourhood. People can use it to design a house for themselves, with their family, or to work with other people on the design of an office or a workshop or a public building like a school.<sup>71</sup>

At this stage, Alexander diagnosed the ills of the modern built environment as being mainly due to the death of the language which creates 'the quality without a name.' Consequently, he suggested that if we hope to bring our towns and buildings back to life, we must begin to re-create our languages in such a way that all of us can use them. By establishing the theory of A Pattern Language, Alexander and his colleagues expect people to re-create a harmonious man-environment relationship by using patterns as guidelines as well as solutions. What they are looking for is the wholeness of a living environment. This is the condition in which men are alive. This is the condition in which 'the quality without a name' is achieved.

In order to achieve such a condition, Alexander thinks we should abolish 'system B', widely used in the design and construction of the built-environment today, and instead apply 'system A'.<sup>72</sup> He stresses that "in system A, each

---

<sup>69</sup> Christopher Alexander (1977), p. xxxv.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., p. x.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Alexander defines system A as what we might call 'the ordinary way.' It is the method of building in which the people who use a building take part in creating it. They take part in laying it out. The architect or person in charge of building is truly in charge of 'building', not of planning. Things are done according to the dictates of the human heart. System B is a system controlled by images. It is a system in which the control of the project is extremely indirect. It is a system in which the users rarely if ever have any measure of control over the actual layout or design of buildings. The architects who produce these images are concerned mainly with the buildings themselves. The success or failure of these images is defined by photographs in glossy magazines, not by the heartfelt approval of the users. Christopher Alexander (1985), p. 16.

building arises, in a natural way, from specific conditions of its location. It also arises from the cooperation and layout of the people who are going to use it." And in system B, "a building gets its character, first as an image, drawn on paper, by an architect's fantasy – which is then carried out in cardboard – or in whatever conventional system of construction the contractor has to hand, and the architect knows."<sup>73</sup>

During the past two decades, Alexander and his colleagues have constructed several buildings and carried out several projects according to the theoretical approach of *A Pattern Language*. They are: the design for a community of 1500 houses for Lima, Peru (1969, an invited competition entry), the master plan for the University of Oregon in Eugene (1971–1972), the Community Mental Health Centre, Modesto, California (1972), The Mexicali Housing Development in Mexicali, Mexico (1976), The Linz Cafe in Linz, Austria (1980), and the Eishin Higashino Highschool, Iruma, Japan (1985). (figs. 3–20 – 3–22)

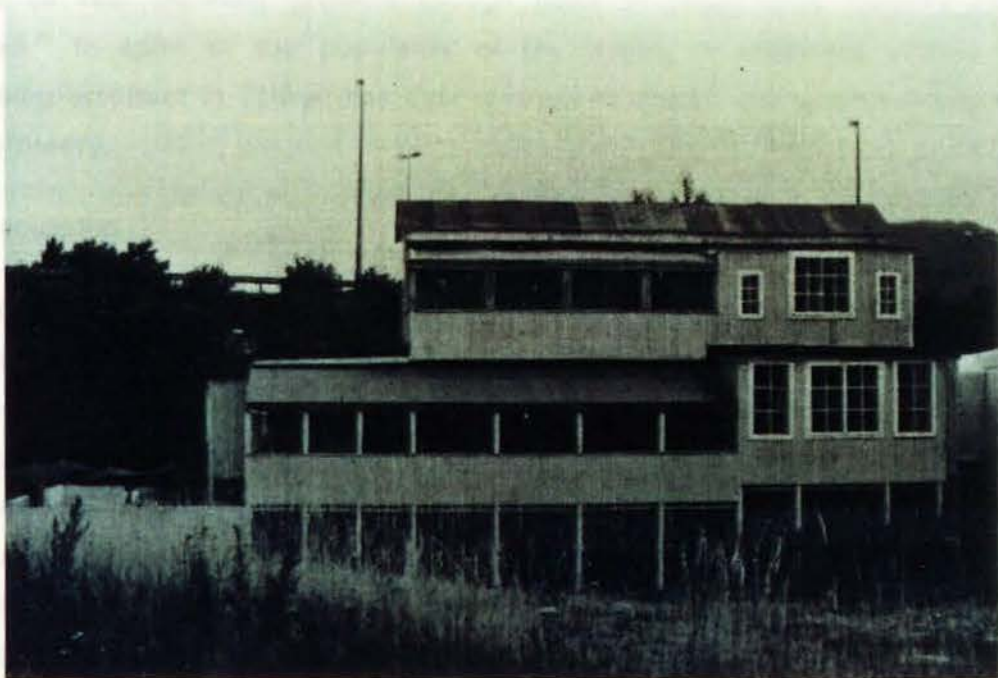
In Taiwan, there is hardly any Western architectural scholar whose theory has been so widely discussed and whose publications have been so broadly introduced to academic circles and translated into Chinese. Before the publication of *A Pattern Language* series, Alexander's writing had already been introduced to Taiwan by architectural teachers educated in the U.S.A. Articles such as "The City as a Mechanism for Sustaining Human Contact", "A City Is Not a Tree", "The Atoms of Environmental Structure" were translated into Chinese and discussed widely in the early 1970s. Soon after *A Pattern Language* series was published, the books were specified by many young teachers as textbooks which had to be read. The students were taught to use the book *A Pattern Language* as the 'checklist sourcebook' for their design projects.<sup>74</sup> Besides, many articles, both descriptive and critical, on Alexander and the theory have come out since the late 1970s. Among them, Wang Ming-Heng's *Alexander Chih Chan (The Zen of Alexander)* (1979), Kwan Hua-San's *Tan Alexander Te Mo-Shih-Yu-Yuan (On Alexander's A Pattern*

---

<sup>73</sup> Christopher Alexander (1985), p. 18.

<sup>74</sup> A Chinese translation of *A Pattern Language* appeared in Taiwan in 1981. Unfortunately, there are a lot of mistakes in both interpretation and translation due to misconception of the theory by the translators.

- fig. 3-21: Linz Cafe, Linz, 1980. Architect: Christopher Alexander. [Stephen Grabow (1983), p. 252]
- fig. 3-22: Eishin Higashino Highschool, Iruma, Japan, 1985. Architect: Christopher Alexander. [*The Architect's Journal*, November 4, 1987, p. 32]



3-21



3-22

*Language*) (1982) and Chu-Joe Hsia's *An Epistemological Critique of Pattern Language and the Informal Building System* (1989) are the most penetrating. In some schools, especially in the Graduate Institute of Building and Planning at National Taiwan University, the theory of A Pattern Language still plays a very important role in architectural education. There are even attempts to apply the theory to real planning projects though none of them have actually been realised.<sup>75</sup> In spite of the popularity of the theory in academic circles, no practising architect in Taiwan has ever claimed to design any project according to the theory.

### Discussion.

Since 1977, the theoretical approach of Alexander's Pattern Language has become one of the foci of debate within architectural circles. There are both proponents and opponents of the approach. Tony Ward, for example, praised it because it "fills a very large gap in the move towards a greater democratisation of the design process." He also called the book *A Pattern Language* "the most important book on architectural design published this century."<sup>76</sup> On the other hand, the difficulties of the approach may easily lead its opponents to claim that though *A Pattern Language* purports to be a working tool outlining a process to a better environment, "it is hopelessly impractical. It ignores and cannot even accommodate such basic constraints as planning controls and building regulations. There is no word on finance; and modern tools, materials and conveniences are shunned. The world it implies is paradoxically both too primitive and too utopian. It smacks of a shaggy, idealistic and unsustainable hippiedom."<sup>77</sup> However, such appraisals and criticisms are rather hasty since most of their conclusions are based on superficial phenomenon. None of them testify to its effectiveness or lack of it with regard to real situations.

<sup>75</sup> Galsho Highland Hotspring Resort project (1988) by the Graduate Institute of Building and Planning is a case in point.

<sup>76</sup> Tony Ward (1979), p. 17.

<sup>77</sup> Peter Buchanan (1981), p. 331.

In the following discussion, Alexander's Pattern Language will be reviewed against the backdrop of those problems related to the three primary ideas outlined in the last chapter. Let us begin with the problems associated with the idea of Heaven. Strictly speaking, Alexander has rarely expressed in an explicit way his attitude towards the idea of Heaven. Yet throughout different texts one can find the penetration of something transcendental: 'the quality without a name', 'being alive', 'self-maintaining fire', and 'eternal.' All these names, despite their different forms, in fact represent the same kind of objective and precise but nameless quality advocated by Alexander<sup>78</sup>. However, this quality resembles much more the notion of *Tao* in Taoist philosophy than the strict sense of 'Heaven.'<sup>79</sup>

By saying this, I do not mean that A Pattern Language ignores the aspects of 'sacredness' in the built environment. In Pattern (24) Sacred sites and Pattern (66) Holy ground, one can find Alexander's notion of 'sacredness' in the built environment.

In every region and every town, indeed in every neighbourhood, there are special places which have come to symbolise the area, and the people's root there. These places may be natural beauties or historic landmarks left by ages past. But in some form they are essential. People cannot maintain their spiritual roots and their connections to the past if the physical world they live in does not also sustain these roots. ... Traditional societies have always recognised the importance of these sites. Mountains are marked as places of special pilgrimage; rivers and bridges become holy; a building or a tree, or rock or stone, take on the power through which people can connect themselves to their own past. But modern society often ignores the psychological importance of these sites.<sup>80</sup>

The detailed organisation of the space around these place (sacred sites)... is so powerful, that to some extent it can itself create the sacredness of sites; perhaps even encourage the slow emergence of coherent rites of passages, what is a church or temple? It is a place of worship, spirit, contemplation, of course. But above all, from a human point of view, it is a gateway. ... In

<sup>78</sup> Christopher Alexander (1979), p. ix.

<sup>79</sup> In fact, Taoist philosophy is one of the bases of Alexander's thoughts. Hsia Chu-Joe, one of Alexander's students in Berkeley, has pointed out that Alexander's theory is "a mixture of Lao-Tze, Zen, psychology, Noam Chomsky's idea of deep structure, E.F. Schumacher's idea of intermediate technology, the progressive movement of Arts and Crafts in the late nineteenth-century and participatory populism etc." Chu-Joe Hsia (1987), p.98.

<sup>80</sup> Christopher Alexander (1977), p. 132.

all traditional societies, where these rites (the rites that accompany birth, puberty, marriage, and death) are treated with enormous power and respect, the rites, in one form or another, are supported by parts of physical environment which have the character of gates.<sup>81</sup>

Through these two patterns, one can understand Alexander's approach towards the 'sacred' aspects of the traditional built environment and his attempt, to some extent, to re-create them. The problem in modern societies is that neither the traditional idea of religion nor the associated meanings of Heaven can be fully restored. But if one accepts this as an irreversible fact, one can continue to have an optimistic view of Alexander's Pattern Language because what Alexander expect people to do is to make clear the sacred sites and holy ground in a way which intensifies their public meaning. Theoretically, if any built-environment can be created according to the suggestions in *A Pattern Language*, one might be able to see the most efficacious conditions under which spirituality (though not religion) could play its ideal role. Besides, there are other patterns such as Pattern (134) Zen view and Pattern (135) Tapestry of light and dark, which also contribute to reinforcing the nonhomogeneity of the environment.

However, two major difficulties remain in practice. The first is the fact that when compared with the patterns associated with the efficiency of a town, the function of an ideal family life, and the constructional method, the patterns related to the "higher level" are too few and too minor, which has results in them being ignored in real projects such as the Mexicali project in which none of the patterns used is related to the spiritual, let alone, religious aspects. The second is that since in Alexander's Pattern Language there is a strong emphasis on the design and constructional process, the sophisticated manipulation of final spatial organisation and formal expression (which are strongly related to the success of the spiritual atmosphere) tend as a result to be ignored, as is the situation in the Mexicali project.

The idea of Man is an issue with which Alexander has been highly concerned since the late 1960s. He suggests that the family is one of the three

---

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., p. 332.

principal groups which sustain so-called 'intimate contacts.'<sup>82</sup> He also points out that the only vestige of the primary groups which still remains in the modern world is the nuclear family in which each of the adults has at most one intimate contact within the family. Besides, many households in modern urban area contain only one adult (either unmarried, widowed, or divorced). In such circumstance, there is no intimate contact at all",<sup>83</sup> He argues that in modern societies, the intimate contacts of people are far below the standard of a harmonious society. This phenomenon happened because the majority of people today live in mass-produced houses or housing, which Alexander pinpoints as the source of the alienation and despair many people feel. He also diagnoses the problems of man-environment relationship as being lack of two kinds of recognition:

First, recognition of the fact that every family and every person, is unique, and must be able to express this uniqueness, in order to express and retain dignity.

Second, recognition of the fact that every family and every person, is part of society, requires bonds of association with other people – in short, requires a place in society, in which there are relationships with others.<sup>84</sup>

These two problems in fact are explicitly present in the impersonal form and ethnically meaningless space I outlined in previous chapter. But could A Pattern Language solve these problems? If one goes through 253 patterns, he will find many of them are supposed to sustain or enhance good relationships between the members of a family or among different families. Such patterns include (37) House cluster, (75) The family, (76) House for a small family, (77) House for a couple, (78) House for one person, (79) Your own house, (127) Intimacy gradient, (129) Common room at the heart, (136) Couple's realm, (137) Children's realm, and (143) Bed chamber. However, if one examine these patterns very carefully, he will also find that what Alexander has advocated is too idealistic to be put into practice in modern societies.

---

<sup>82</sup> Alexander defines a primary group as "a small group of people characteristised by intimate face to face association and cooperation." Christopher Alexander (1967), p. 63.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., pp. 65-66.

<sup>84</sup> Christopher Alexander (1985), p. 24.



Let us ask ourselves if it would be possible to have a settlement in real situation following the suggestions of these patterns. According to them, houses have to be arranged to form very rough, but identifiable clusters of 8 to 12 households around some common land and paths (Pattern 37); then each of them will be given different realms according to their composition (Pattern 76-78); all of these realms will be allocated so as to create a sequence which begins with the most public parts of the buildings and ends with the most private domains (Pattern 127). Furthermore, a single common area at the centre of gravity of all the spaces has to be provided (Pattern 129); and a special part of the house distinctly separated from the common areas and all the children's rooms, where the man and woman of the house can be together in private as well as a similar area for the children (Pattern 136-137) must all be created.

Paradoxically, it ought to be easy to achieve an harmonious relationship between people if any residential development following all these suggestions could be successfully carried out. But it could only happen in a rather isolated and less dense area where single-storeyed buildings still dominate and only a small number of families are involved. It is very unlikely to be acceptable in a urban setting where it is very difficult for any residential development to involve only 8 to 12 households, let alone 5 households like the situation in the Mexicali project. It is also impossible to construct single-storeyed houses in the highly urbanised cities which are very common today. The large number of families involved in residential developments makes the situation too complicated to apply a successful user-participation model. Besides, a communal household consisting of 8-12 people, which Alexander proposed as the best, seems unlikely to happen in the modern world. And the meaning of a traditional extended family finds no substitute in Alexander's advocated "large voluntary family."<sup>85</sup>

It is the limitations of Alexander's Pattern Language in these particular points which prevent it from being given a wider range of opportunities to be applied in practice except for in small projects like the Mexicali development. Such a situation really harms the credibility of the theory. For this reason, J.B. Juhasz

<sup>85</sup> Alexander borrows the idea from Aldous Huxley's *Island* in which there is "an inclusive, unpredestined and voluntary family. Twenty pairs of fathers and mothers, eight or nine ex-fathers and ex-mothers, and forty or fifty assorted children of all ages." Quoted in Christopher Alexander (1977), p. 378.

argues that “far more convincing would be an application (of Alexander’s Pattern Language) to a real-world situation, where the Centre (for Environmental Structure) collective could serve as consultants to a group of people wishing to improve their environment, rather than architecture students or mental-health-centre administration, or city fathers or University Boards of Trustees.”<sup>86</sup> In fact, since 1977, Alexander has escaped into his individual world<sup>87</sup>, a phenomenon clearly reflected in some of the more Utopian patterns such as (80) Self-governing workshop, (94) Sleeping in public, (147) Communal eating, and (186) Communal sleeping, which would be very difficult to accept in a modern society. Sometimes Alexander seems to live in an illusory world which no longer exists if, indeed, it ever did.

Finally, one could ask if Alexander’s Pattern Language can respond to regional idiosyncrasies. There is no doubt that Alexander does realise that “every culture has its own language, which defines the total environment for that culture. Every subculture in a culture and every institution in a culture has its own language which defines the total environment for that culture.”<sup>88</sup> And it is in Pattern (1) Independent regions, that Alexander makes manifest our need for a region as an independent sphere of culture.<sup>89</sup> Theoretically speaking, any design based on the language of a region should naturally include the characteristics of that region. But, in reality, regional characteristics are always absent in the projects designed and constructed according to it.

Here we would like to discuss a particular example which clearly illustrates this problem. The project is the High School in the Eishin University campus in Japan. The design, following the ideal patterns developed by Alexander and his colleagues, is one with an emphasis on the ‘main building’ which is mentioned in *A Pattern Language* as having to be ‘the soul of the group’ and to occupy a

<sup>86</sup> J.B. Juhasz (1981), p. 246.

<sup>87</sup> Hsia Chu-Joe has divided the development of Alexander’s thinking and approach into three important phrases: 1) Analytical Rationalism before 1964-65, 2) Community Design of Humanism after 1964-65, and 3) Metaphysical Idealism after 1977-78. Hsia Chu-Joe (1978), pp. 88-129.

<sup>88</sup> Christopher Alexander (1970), p. 53.

<sup>89</sup> The ideal region which Alexander advocates is the one with a population between 2 and 10 million; with its own natural and geographic boundaries; with its own economy; each autonomous and self-governing; and with a seat in a world government without the intervening power of larger states or countries. Christopher Alexander (1977), p. 14.

central position with a higher roof.<sup>90</sup> To fulfill the requirements of the patterns, a Western chapel-like 'great hall' is provided at the most prominent location as a 'main building.' The other buildings have all been designed in the same manner. Unfortunately, the result is not completely successful and has suffered many severe criticisms. For example, Richard Weston criticised it for "evoking memories of European, especially German, perhaps Scandinavian timber buildings."<sup>91</sup> He also pointed out that "in Japan, the hot, humid and not infrequently rainy summer days demand larger, sheltered openings characteristic of their traditional architecture, but despite all the theoretical subtlety Alexander ignores this most fundamental native feature."<sup>92</sup>

The factors causing this dissatisfaction can be explained from two points of view. First, although the patterns themselves are objective in character, the process of choosing and developing them is quite subjective. Consequently, the result might be totally topsy-turvy if the wrong patterns were chosen. More important is the lack of modification according to the particularity of a place in the application of the patterns. Basically speaking, most patterns used by Alexander and his colleagues in this project are archetypal elements of the built environment. These patterns were derived from the built environment in traditional societies and have been present in various societies over long periods of time. But a project developed out of archetypal patterns is also archetypal in character. It needs regional modification in order to be successfully imprinted with the sense of place. Alexander failed to grasp the regional characteristics of Japan. Instead, he modified the project with Western images. However, this does not mean that the theory of Alexander's Pattern Language is wrong. This was simply a false use of the language. The project should have been developed according to a Japanese pattern language by local architects and people. Alexander put himself in a false position by doing this job in Japan.

Based on the above discussion, it can be argued that the theory of Alexander's Pattern Language, in spite of the fact that theoretically it has the

<sup>90</sup> Christopher Alexander (1977), pp. 485-487., pattern (99).

<sup>91</sup> Richard Weston (1987), p.39.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid. p.38

potential to become an important alternative to architectural norms, still fails to meet many requirements of situations in the real world. Besides, there are other difficulties in the way of putting the theory into practice satisfactorily. The central one is that Alexander's proposals would only work if society were transformed, and architectural theories certainly do not have the power to transform society. Even architecture itself cannot do that. Society cannot be re-created through new forms of architecture and architects cannot solve the problems of disharmonious human relationships, mental illness and marital discord in the community merely through improved designs. "Their designs can make people's lives a little more comfortable or uncomfortable, but human behaviour, and social as well as political relationships, are shaped by many factors".<sup>93</sup>

Another disturbing tendency is Alexander and his colleagues' fetishistic obsession with the ideal efficacy of patterns. They believe that patterns are 'abstract and independent', and thus that people can apply them in an infinite variety of cases. They think patterns are ideal, orderly and self-sustaining. But in reality, the problems of architecture are highly idiosyncratic and mutually related to many other factors. After an experiment at Kansas State University in which students were asked to design according to the theory of Alexander's Pattern Language, students claimed that the patterns provided a good way of checking designs against the clients' desires, but it was very difficult to use patterns in the order as suggested by Alexander because when people design, they tend to work on various scales simultaneously.<sup>94</sup>

A further difficulty, and perhaps one of the most serious ones, is Alexander's strongly biased attitude towards the modern building process and the architectural profession. He preaches a return to a communal building process based on the occupants' labour force.<sup>95</sup> Certainly we do not mean to

<sup>93</sup> Herbert Gans (1975), p. 28.

<sup>94</sup> Thmoas Fisher (1986), p. 103.

<sup>95</sup> This tendency is partly because of the strong influence on Alexander of the bio-chemical model. On various occasions, he uses either the molecule or the cell to illustrate his theory, especially his idea of 'organic order' and 'piecemeal growth.' Both of them are principles in his Oregon Experiment. This is because an organism grows informally and gradually, which is very similar to the development of the built environment in a traditional (or, in Alexander's term, unselfconscious) society.

say that such a communal constructional process (without the intervention of 'professional architects') cannot incorporate the advances of modern technology. But Alexander and his colleagues insist that the development of the built environment must be piecemeal, the design must be carried out on the site, the scale of the project must be small, the building must be low-rise, thus confining the prospect of applying their theoretical approach to a very small proportion of cases, simply because of project-scales and the technologies involved, which certainly could not meet the demands of a growing modern society.

Besides, in modern societies, Alexander's demand that the person in charge of the design project should be an architect-developer, and the people dwelling in the building should construct, or at least contribute labour work during the construction stage, is most unlikely to happen. By arguing this, however, I do not mean that mass-production, super-scale, high-tech, and high-rise buildings are better alternatives. But architects should not exclude the possibility of carrying out different projects which might involve using modern technology, otherwise the gap between modern technology and traditional architecture will be further widened.

From the aesthetic and architectonic points of view, the beauty of the craftsmanship will be in doubt if projects follow only Alexander's construction patterns. Peter Buchanan criticises such construction patterns as being dubious not only in terms of impermeability to water and so on, but also because they seem to trivialise, even misunderstand the nature of craft.<sup>96</sup> He thinks it would be very difficult to imagine buildings slapped together by novices in the way proposed by Alexander in *A Pattern Language* as necessarily producing beauty as such, because "beautiful artefacts are the products of skill, discipline and honed visual judgement, or of a vernacular culture unselfconsciously applying forms and methods perfected over generations."<sup>97</sup> In short, the projects built according to Alexander's Pattern Language always ignore these critical aesthetic and architectonic issues. In such projects, though the application of patterns might result in the perfect configuration of spaces suited a particular

---

<sup>96</sup> Peter Buchanan (1981), p. 333.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

site, the proportion of the formal elements, the beauty of the joints of these elements, the beauty of the ornaments, all of which are important in the totality of a building's quality and can only be achieved with the help of sophisticated craftsmanship, are less well considered. Besides, this deficient point often becomes the excuse for the failure of an entire project. For example, Alexander and his colleagues attributed the failure of a clinic in California to the fact that it was taken out of their control at the end, being subjected to the drawing board and given mechanical 'drawn' detail and construction.<sup>98</sup>

To summarise, I must say that there do exist many serious limitations in applying Alexander's Pattern Language *in toto* to real projects. Yet the theory *per se* is almost completely convincing. What Alexander's Pattern Language aims for is "a process to generate a built environment of real and rich beauty that will feel good even to the depths of our being, and will be a setting for a saner, more deeply satisfying lifestyle."<sup>99</sup> And it can be seen as "an attempt to define all the relationships of a cultural/environmental ecosystem which has the richness of forms and relationships appropriate to a mentally and physically healthy" life.<sup>100</sup>

Although it cannot satisfactorily respond to all the problems related to the three primary ideas of Heaven, Man and the Earth, Alexander's Pattern Language does show the potential of a much more humane built environment. Its holistic approach enables architects to understand that culture and environment are virtually inseparable, and reciprocally reflect each other in all their forms. However, "there is no guarantee that a person reading this book will build a moving piece of architecture"<sup>101</sup>, as Tony Ward warns. Architects in favour of this theoretical approach must think cautiously about how patterns can be modified to suit particular projects in particular regions in the contemporary world rather than trying transform society into a state in which the patterns can be fulfilled.

<sup>98</sup> Christopher Alexander (1979), p.451.

<sup>99</sup> Peter Buchanan (1981), p. 331.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., p. 332.

<sup>101</sup> Tony Ward (1979), p. 17.

### 3-4 THE PHENOMENOLOGY OF ARCHITECTURE

#### Background.

The third theoretical approach to be discussed in this chapter is the Phenomenology of Architecture. Like A Pattern Language, the Phenomenology of Architecture has also gone through a process of continuous development over more than two decades. The chief protagonist of this approach is Norwegian architect Christian Norberg-Schulz. Before the theory became mature in *Genius Loci: Towards A Phenomenology of Architecture* (1980), Norberg-Schulz had published several books. Among them, *Intentions in Architecture* (1965), *Existence, Space, & Architecture* (1971), *Meaning in Western Architecture* (1975), revealed already a little of his phenomenological approach, which has subsequently been extended further in *The Concept of Dwelling* (1985) and *Architecture: Meaning and Place* (1988).

Phenomenology is a dynamic philosophy which was first developed by Franz Brentano (1838–1917) and Carl Stumpf (1848–1936). It reached its first peak in the thought of Edmund Husserl (1859–1938) during the first two decades of this century. The definition of the term 'Phenomenology' varies from one scholar to another. However, the philosophical notions that people in environmental research and architectural circles have adopted and developed come mainly from the ideas of Martin Heidegger (1889–1976).

The expression 'phenomenology' ... means to let that which shows itself be seen from itself in the very way in which it shows itself from itself. This is the formal meaning of that branch of research which calls itself 'phenomenology.' But here we are expressing nothing else than the maxim formulated above: 'To the things themselves!' Thus the term 'phenomenology' is quite different in its meaning from expressions such as 'theology' and the like. ... 'Phenomenology' neither designates the object of its researches, nor characterizes the subject-matter thus comprised. The word merely informs us of the "*how*" with which *what* is to be treated in this science gets exhibited and handled. To have a science 'of' phenomena means to grasp its objects *in such a way* that everything about them which is up for discussion must be treated by exhibiting it directly and



demonstrating it directly.<sup>102</sup>

To simplify, Heidegger does not consider phenomenology as a 'standpoint' or a 'school'. He interprets the word 'phenomenology' as made up of two components: 'phenomenon' and 'logos.' 'Phenomenon' is interpreted by him as "that which shows itself in itself, the manifest" and "that which looks like something, that which is 'semblant', 'semblance'."<sup>103</sup> 'Logos' is interpreted as "a method of making us see what is otherwise concealed, of taking the hidden out of its hiding, and of detecting it as 'unhidden'."<sup>104</sup> According to Heidegger, phenomenology plays a role preliminary to ontology, and is thus hermeneutic. In other words, with the establishment of phenomenology, man will be able to understand and interpret human existence as being-there, as being-in-the-world, and as being-with-others. From Heidegger's phenomenological thinking, the Phenomenological approach has been taken up by architects and people in many other related disciplines such as geography and environmental psychology.

Generally speaking, there are five central notions, namely 'existential foothold', 'being-in-the-world', 'dwelling', 'place', and 'design as place-making' in the phenomenology of architecture. We shall introduce them one by one below. But before doing so, we would like to point out that the phenomenological approach is not an isolated development in architecture. It has been widely adopted in related disciplines. Since the late 1970s, a number of journals, which have a strong emphasis of the notion of 'place' or on the phenomenological approach to man-environment relationship, have started to appear. *Places* (first published in 1983) is an example of the former and *Journal of Environmental Psychology* (first published in 1981) of the latter case. Books and papers with similar interests are also abundant. The following are some interesting examples: *Placeness and Placelessness* (E. Relph 1976), *The Psychology of Place* (David Canter 1977), *Space and Place* (Yi-Fu Tuan 1977),

<sup>102</sup> Martin Heidegger (1962), pp. 58-59. From the very beginning Heidegger made it clear that what he understood by 'phenomenology' in *Being and Time* was not identical with what Husserl meant by it, and that he claimed the right to develop it on his own beyond the stage it had reached with Husserl. For this, see Herbert Spiegelberg (1960), Vol. 1, p. 320.

<sup>103</sup> Martin Heidegger (1962), p. 51.

<sup>104</sup> Herbert Spiegelberg (1960), Vol.1, pp.320-322.

*Senses of Place* (John Eyles 1985), *Dwelling, Place and Environment – Towards a Phenomenology of Person and World* (David Seamon and Robert Mugerauer eds. 1985), *Home Environments* (Irwin Altman and Carol M. Werner 1985), and *The Power of Place* (John A. Agnew and James S. Duncan eds. 1989). Moreover, there has been a special section reserved for 'Phenomenologies of Place and Environment' at the annual meetings of the Society for Phenomenology and the Human Sciences (SPHS) since 1980, whose participants include philosophers, geographers, architects, psychologists, and urban designers.<sup>105</sup>

Now, I shall give a brief account of each of the five notions. The first is the notion of 'existential foothold'. Heidegger was the first one to illustrate the existential character of human space. In *Being and Time*, he says that "the 'above' is what is 'on the ceiling'; the 'below' is what is 'on the floor'; the 'behind' is what is 'at the door'; all 'where' are and discovered and circumspectively interpreted as we go our ways in everyday dealings; they are not ascertained and catalogued by the observational measurement of space."<sup>106</sup> Following the direction of Heidegger's thought, M. Merleau-Ponty, Otto Friedrich Bollnow, and Gaston Bachelard all developed similar concepts respectively in *The Phenomenology of Perception* (1963), *Mensch und Raum* (1963) and *The Poetics of Space* (1964).

The term 'existential foothold', however, was coined by Norberg-Schulz with a strong influence from Piaget. Norberg-Schulz distinguishes existential space from architectural space in *Existence, Space & Architecture*. He defines existential space as "a relatively stable system of perceptual schemata, or 'image' of the environment" and architectural space as "a concretisation of existential space."<sup>107</sup> Since man's existence is highly dependent on the establishment of a meaningful and coherent environmental image, the task of the architect, in Norberg-Schulz's opinion is "to help man to find an existential

<sup>105</sup> David Seamon and Robert Mugerauer (1985), p. 2 and p. 12.

<sup>106</sup> Martin Heidegger (1962), pp. 103-104.

<sup>107</sup> Christian Norberg-Schulz (1971), p. 17 and p. 37. In Norberg-Schulz's opinion, both existential space and architectural space contain various elements and levels. The elements of existential space include centre, place, direction, path, area, and domain while the elements of architectural space are place, node, path, axis, domain and district. The levels of existential space includes geography, landscape, urban, house and the thing while the architectural space has landscape, urban and house levels.

foothold by concretising his images and dreams."<sup>108</sup> In other words, architecture represents a means of giving man an 'existential foothold.'

Norberg-Schulz believes that only when an existential foothold is established can man experience the meaning of his living environment. But how can an existential foothold be gained? Norberg-Schulz suggests that man has to *orientate* himself; know *where* he is and to *identify* himself with the environment, that is, know *how* he is in a certain place. For him, the modern built environment has become meaningless and alienated because it has been developed during the last several decades only, and is therefore subject to a loss of those qualities which enable man to establish his own existential foothold.

After comprehending the basic notion of an existential foothold, we can come to the second notion: being-in-the-world. Being-in-the-world is the most important structural character of Heidegger's hermeneutic phenomenology, which specifies three basic components of the word: *in-the-world*, that *entity* which in every case has being-in-the-world, and *being-in* as such. And "emphasis upon any one of these constitutive terms signifies that the others are emphasised along with it; this means that in any such case the whole phenomenon gets seen."<sup>109</sup>

Based on Heidegger's thinking, Norberg-Schulz suggests that existential meanings are determined by the structure of our being-in-the-world.<sup>110</sup> He further explains that "man's being-in-the-world comprises a *how* as well as a *where*, while identification intends the qualities of things, orientation grasps their spatial interrelationship."<sup>111</sup> According to Norberg-Schulz's diagnosis, the monotonous and chaotic situation, or the loss of identity and order in the modern environment is caused by the extremity of the two faces of modern architecture, namely its scientific and artistic aspects. The restoration of man's being-in-the-world as a prescription will, however, provide modern man with

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., p. 114.

<sup>109</sup> Martin Heidegger (1962), p. 79.

<sup>110</sup> Christian Norberg-Schulz (1980), p. 6.

<sup>111</sup> Christian Norberg-Schulz (1985), p. 15.

an opportunity to re-identify his position in the environment and to re-orientate himself meaningfully in the world.

From another point of view, Geographer E. Relph argues that being-in-the-world "embraces the fact that there is always and already an environment for each of us before we become curious about the earth and the location and character of its different places."<sup>112</sup> On the other hand, Yi-Fu Tuan argues that "the phenomenologist studies neither 'man' in the abstract, nor the 'world' in the abstract but 'man-in-the-world.'"<sup>113</sup> Both Relph and Tuan, though expressing their concepts in a different tone from that of Norberg-Schulz, also derive their inspiration from Heidegger.

The third notion is 'dwelling.' In "Building Dwelling Thinking", Heidegger argues etymologically that in the Old English and High German the word for building, *buan*, means to dwell and this signifies: to remain, to stay in a place. But he also points out the real meaning of the verb *bauen*, namely, to dwell, has been lost to us.<sup>114</sup> Today we can only trace the implication of the word 'dwelling' in the German word *Nachbar*, neighbour and in Old English *neahgebur*, *neah*, near, and *gebur*, dweller. The neighbour is then the near-dweller, he who dwells nearby.<sup>115</sup> Heidegger suggests that we can see three things in the word *bauen*.

1. Building is really dwelling. 2. Dwelling is the manner in which mortals are on the earth. 3. Building as dwelling unfolds into the building that cultivates growing things and the building that excels buildings.<sup>116</sup>

What Heidegger implies is that "we do not dwell because we have built, but we built and have built because we dwell, that is, because we are *dweller*."<sup>117</sup> He further uses the Old Saxon *wuon*, the Gothic *wunian* (to be at peace, to be

<sup>112</sup> E. Relph (1985), p. 19.

<sup>113</sup> Yi-Fu Tuan (1971b). Quoted in E. Relph (1985), p. 17.

<sup>114</sup> Martin Heidegger (1971), pp. 146-147.

<sup>115</sup> Martin Heidegger (1971), pp. 146-147.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

brought to peace, to remain in peace) and the word for peace *Friede* (preserved from harm and danger, preserved from something, safeguarded) to reinforce the notion and concludes that "to dwell, to be set at peace, means to remain at peace within the free, the preserve, the free sphere that safeguards each thing in its nature. Another similar but more convincing suggestion is the relationship between 'to be', 'to inhabit', and 'dwelling.'

"I am, you are" mean: I inhabit, you inhabit. The way you are and the way I am, the way we humans are on the earth is ... the dwelling.<sup>118</sup>

For Heidegger, the true meaning of 'dwelling' is the sense of the stay of mortals on the earth.<sup>119</sup> And when he discusses this notion of "the manner in which mortals are on the earth", he reveals the fourth notion (earth, sky, divinities, and mortal) of his thought. He says that "'On the earth' already means 'under the sky.' Both of them also mean 'remaining before the divinities' and include a 'belonging to men's being with one another'".<sup>120</sup>

Drawing directly from Heidegger's ideas, Norberg-Schulz defines dwelling as belonging to a given place. It implies something more than 'shelter', i.e. "something more than having a roof overhead and a certain number of square meters at our disposal."<sup>121</sup> In other words, to dwell implies to establish a meaningful relationship between man and a given environment. Norberg-Schulz argues that "to dwell in the qualitative sense is a basic condition of humanity. When we identify with a place, we dedicate ourselves to a way of being in the world. Therefore, dwelling demands something from us, as well as from our places. *We* have to have an open mind, and the *places* have to offer rich possibilities for identification."<sup>122</sup>

---

<sup>118</sup> Martin Heidegger, quoted in Perla Korosec-Serfaty (1985), p. 69.

<sup>119</sup> Martin Heidegger (1971), p. 149.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid

<sup>121</sup> Christian Norberg-Schulz (1985), p. 7.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., p. 12. According to Norberg-Schulz there exist four modes of dwelling, namely, natural dwelling, collective dwelling, public dwelling and private dwelling, which are represented respectively by 'settlement', 'urban space', 'institution', and 'house'; the four constituents of the total environment. Norberg-Schulz thinks that if we want to understand the meaningful relationship between man and environment, we have to consider all these levels, taking the existential structures which determine the four modes of dwelling as our point of departure.

The notion of dwelling is also, though in a slightly different form, the concern of many other scholars. Richard Lang, for example, thinks the notion of dwelling is the most taken-for-granted aspect of human existence. He suggests that it is for this reason that habitation, a circumstance affecting us all – both familiar and enigmatic – has become the most obscure problem for us to reflect upon. He then uses the very similar concept of ‘inhabiting’ to illustrate his point. He says:

Inhabiting co-constitutes our primitive situation. Being an initiative of the active body, inhabiting is an intention and not merely a fact of nature; it is not just to be somewhere, to find oneself somewhere, but to *inhabit* a place. ... Inhabiting, the essential feature of subjective life, is an act of transformation where space becomes place. Inhabiting is an act of incorporation. ... Incorporation is the initiative of the active body, embracing and assimilating a certain sphere of foreign reality to its own body. In this sense, incorporation is essentially the movement from strange to the familiar. This commerce of strange and familiar, which forms a central dialectic of human existence, is instituted and embodied in our dwelling, our home.<sup>123</sup>

Bernd Jager holds a similar view. He argues that “a house or a city, when properly inhabited, not merely remains something seen; it itself becomes a source of vision and light according to which we see. Inhabitation and dwelling transform a world of *confronted* things, of objects inspected and judged into a realm that is supportive of vision. Dwelling sheds a light on unknown things and then slowing transforms these things into a light that radiates out to other things.”<sup>124</sup> Although Lang and Jager use the term ‘inhabiting’, what they imply is without doubt inspired by Heidegger’s notion of dwelling. All of them seek to address a meaningful man–environment relationship.

These three notions are in fact synonymous in spite of their different form. All of them, if achieved through ‘identification’ and ‘orientation’, will help man to embed himself more meaningfully in his environment. But, how can ‘identification’ and ‘orientation’ be satisfactorily realised in a concrete way? For the answer, the fourth notion, ‘place’, which I have already touched upon many times without explanation, has to be examined. Recent years have witnessed

---

<sup>123</sup> Richard Lang (1985), p. 202.

<sup>124</sup> Bernd Jager (1985), p. 219.

an increased interest in the idea of 'place' and *Genius Loci*, the spirit of place. The term 'place' is not unitary in its meaning. It brings with it different but related connotations from the disciplines of architecture, geography, environmental psychology and sociology. And it is this multidimensional character which "makes it uniquely suitable as one of the central concepts for bridging these various disciplines."<sup>125</sup> Even in architectural circles alone, there are many different notions of 'place.' Donlyn Lyndon defines:

Places are where we put things, where we go, where events become actual – where they take place. Places are space that can be imagined, that can be known, they are the opposite of the limitless void into which we were once meant to image our buildings. ... Places are space to which people can give the dimensions of their imaginations and which they can hold in their mind.<sup>126</sup>

Norberg-Schulz, on the other hand, defines a place as a qualitative, 'total' phenomenon, which cannot be reduced to its individual components without losing its concrete nature.<sup>127</sup> Being, thus, complex totalities, Norberg-Schulz suggests that places cannot be described by analytical and scientific means; they can only be described in terms of 'atmosphere', which is the most comprehensive characteristic of a place. Norberg-Schulz, however, uses the term 'character' to refer to 'atmosphere.' He points out that "since remote times man has recognised that different places have a different character. This character is often so strong that it in fact determines the basic properties of the environmental images of most people present, making them feel that they experience and belong to the same place."<sup>128</sup> For Norberg-Schulz, a place is 'space plus character', the existential purpose of building being therefore to make a site become a place – that is, to uncover the meanings potentially present in the environment.<sup>129</sup>

According to Norberg-Schulz, "in the past, human life was intimately related

<sup>125</sup> David Canter (1977), p. 6.

<sup>126</sup> Donlyn Lyndon (1987b), p. 9.

<sup>127</sup> Christian Norberg-Schulz (1980), p. 7.

<sup>128</sup> Christian Norberg-Schulz (1971), p. 27.

<sup>129</sup> Christian Norberg-Schulz (1980), p. 18.



to 'things' and 'places.' In spite of hardship and social injustice, man generally had a sense of 'belonging' and 'identity.'<sup>130</sup> What Norberg-Schulz really means is that *Genius Loci*, or spirit of place, has been recognised by men since ancient times as "the concrete reality man has to face and come to terms with in his daily life."<sup>131</sup> However, the qualitative totality of the world is today replaced by a more quantitative measure. The qualities which traditional settlements used to possess have been replaced, according to Norberg-Schulz, by the monotonous International Style buildings, open-up urban tissue, and spatially confused cities; all of these are the principal sources of "the loss of place." Norberg-Schulz points out:

Lost is the settlement as a place in nature, lost are the urban foci as places for common living, lost is the building as a meaningful sub-place where man may simultaneously experience individuality and belonging. Lost is also the relationship to earth and sky.<sup>132</sup>

Norberg-Schulz thus tries to persuade us that the emergence of human alienation today is due to the few possibilities of orientation and identification offered by the modern environment.<sup>133</sup> Modern man has lost his ability to dwell because *Genius Loci* is missing in the built environment. Donlyn Lyndon shares a similar view. He says that "all places, like all people, do differ. It's when we fail to attend to them, or when their particular qualities have been submerged within the abstractions of production that they become anonymous and we become weary, as at a party with too many guests."<sup>134</sup> Since architecture means to visualise the *Genius Loci*, Norberg-Schulz thus concludes that "the task of the architect is to create meaningful places, whereby he helps man to dwell."

---

<sup>130</sup> Christian Norberg-Schulz (1988), pp. 11-12.

<sup>131</sup> Christian Norberg-Schulz (1980), p. 5.

<sup>132</sup> Christian Norberg-Schulz (1980), p. 190.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., p. 180.

<sup>134</sup> Donlyn Lyndon (1987a), p. 2.

The notion of 'place' is not only discussed in architectural circles, it is also widely discussed in other related fields. Geographer Yi-Fu Tuan defines places as "centres of felt values where biological needs such as those for food, water, nest, and procreation, are satisfied."<sup>135</sup> Another geographer E. Relph, on the other hand, defines a place as "a whole phenomenon, consisting of the three intertwined elements of a specific landscape with both built and natural elements, a pattern of social activities that should be adapted to the advantages or virtue of a particular location and a set of personal and shared meanings."<sup>136</sup> Relph strongly criticises the destruction of the natural landscape by modern urban design. He has coined the term 'placelessness' to describe physical locales in which the identifiable 'sense of place' is lost.

I have examined the notions of 'existential foothold', 'being-in-the-world', 'dwelling' and their relationship with 'places'. But how can all these notions be embodied in a concrete built environment? One has to look at the fifth notion, 'design as placing-making', to receive the answer. In one article, Heidegger says that "the buildings bring the earth as the inhabited landscape close to man and at the same time place the nearness of neighbourly dwelling under the expanse of the sky."<sup>137</sup> What Heidegger implies is that buildings are means to realise man's existence, to make man dwell properly in a given place. According to him, buildings are things which gather up the world and allow for dwelling. The notion is picked up by Norberg-Schulz, who then defines 'architecture' as *the making of places*

The making of places we call architecture. Through building man gives meanings concrete presence, and he gathers buildings to visualise and symbolise his form of life as a totality.<sup>138</sup>

He suggests that "by means of the building the place gets extensions and delimitation whereby a holy precinct is formed. In other words, the meaning of the place is revealed by the buildings."<sup>139</sup> He explains that:

<sup>135</sup> Yi-Fu Tuan (1971), p. 4.

<sup>136</sup> E. Relph, quoted in J.D. Sime (1986), p. 55.

<sup>137</sup> Martin Heidegger, quoted in Christian Norberg-Schulz (1983), p. 65.

<sup>138</sup> Christian Norberg-Schulz (1980), p. 170.

<sup>139</sup> Christian Norberg-Schulz (1985), p. 117.

The inhabited landscape therefore is a manifestation of the fourfold, and comes into presence through the buildings which bring it close to man. ... This spatiality becomes manifest as a particular *between* of earth and sky, that is, as a *place*. A work of architecture is therefore not an abstract organisation of space. It is a concrete figure, where the plan (*Grundriss*) mirrors the admittance, and the elevation (*Aufriss*) the embodiment. Thus it brings the inhabited landscape close, and lets man dwell poetically, which is the ultimate aim of architecture.<sup>140</sup>

The view is shared by Bernd Jager who says that "to enter and come to inhabit a place fully means to redraw the limits of our bodily existence to include that place – to come to incorporate it and to live it henceforth as ground of revelation rather than as panorama. Our environment seen thus is transformed into a place which opens a perspective to the world."<sup>141</sup>

Ralph also suggests that the task of professionals such as designers and social scientists is to develop a sensitivity to the attributes of places. But he realises the danger of simply making place. He points out that design on behalf of other people, and merely through physical features is limited. He argues that the role of the professional should be like an 'environmental midwife' rather than 'the machine-driven arrogance of some landscape equivalent of a genetic engineer.'<sup>142</sup>

Based on the above five notions, Norberg-Schulz develops his version of a phenomenology-inspired language of architecture, which consists of morphology, topology, and typology as its three, interdependent, constituent elements. Morphology is concerned with formal articulation; topology with spatial organisation; and typology with the manifestation of the modes of dwelling. However, up to now, this language of architecture has mainly been used by Norberg-Schulz to describe the built environment in the past.

In Taiwan, it is only in recent years that the Phenomenology of Architecture has begun to attract the attention of the people in architectural circles. The appearance of the Chinese translation of Norberg-Schulz's books bears witness

---

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Bernd Jager (1985), p. 220.

<sup>142</sup> J.D. Sime (1986), p. 57.

to this tendency. And an increasing amount of research related to the phenomenology of architecture have been carried out. However, without a complete understanding of the real meaning of the notions in phenomenology, some architectural writers have started to abuse the term 'phenomenology' merely as a manifestation of fashion.<sup>143</sup> In spite of such worrisome developments, the phenomenological approach has begun to attract more and more architects and scholars into its camp. The first symposium on the phenomenology of architecture was held at Tunghai University in May 1990.

### Discussion.

Having understood the basic concepts of the phenomenological approach in architecture, we can now look at the prospects of their application. Looking at the last few years, most verdicts on this approach have been made on the theoretical level. By and large, phenomenology-inspired architects, geographers, and critics are united under the banner of anti-positivism in the design of the modern built environment; they value the phenomenological approach because it takes seriously human experience, meaning and intentionality. David Seamon, professor of architecture at the University of Kansas, asserts:

Before anything else, phenomenology is a way of working which fosters deeper and clearer seeing through efforts to direct intuitive insight toward one particular topic such as place, routine, architectural space, or landscape character. In this sense, phenomenology is a learning tool which can help us to discover more about ourselves, others, and the world in which we live. For research in environment and behaviour, phenomenology offers a sensitive attunement to the multidimensional experiential relationship between people and environment."<sup>144</sup>

On the other hand, Botond Bogner, basing his remarks on experiments in the design studio at the University of Illinois, suggests that architectural design should be a phenomenological inquiry.

A phenomenological approach to design challenges the recent impasse in architecture and is therefore a *critical* inquiry. Architectural schools must not only serve the too often narrow

<sup>143</sup> Chang Wen-Juei's "The Reformation of Chinese Architectural Phenomenology and a Hypothesis on Residential Magnetism" (*Chinese Architect* February 1983.) is a case in point. This is an article about the writer's personal views on architecture and has nothing to do with phenomenology.

<sup>144</sup> David Seamon (1987), p. 21.

interests of the profession, but also consistently challenge and lead it. In this regard, a phenomenological approach to design has much to offer.<sup>145</sup>

Similarly, Norberg-Schulz himself expresses an optimistic view of the application of the phenomenological approach in architecture.

By means of the phenomenological method, we may "think" about things and disclose their "thingness." ... Phenomenology ought to become the gathering middle of education, and hence the means which may help us to recover the poetic awareness which is essence of dwelling.<sup>146</sup>

It is therefore time to ask if the phenomenological approach can really help man to create a world which is free from the problems existing in the modern built environment, and in which man and the environment mutually mould and define each other. Here, we will once again be using the three primary ideas as the backdrop to an examination of the potential of this approach.

The critical attitude of phenomenology-inspired professionals towards homogeneous space and rational form, which constitute the major challenge to the idea of Heaven, is obvious. Theoretically speaking, any built environment inspired by a phenomenological approach should possess a sacred character. The notions of the existential foothold, being-in-the-world, and dwelling can only be fulfilled when the 'fourfold' is completely present. In other words, the place where dwelling can take place must provide space for an experience of the sacred. However, strictly speaking, not all of them are directly concerned with the idea of Heaven. Nevertheless, this conscious recognition of the difference between buildings as a human ontological manifestation and buildings as purely objective productions may bring people's attention back to the former aspect long missing from the modern built environment.

Alberto Perez-Gomez employs in *Architecture and the Crisis of Modern Science* Husserl's distinction between the 'formal' and the 'transcendental' dimensions of meaning in architecture. He argues that the formal (syntactic) dimension "corresponds to the structure of the system itself, that is, to the

---

<sup>145</sup> Botond Bogнар (1985), p. 195.

<sup>146</sup> Christian Norberg-Schulz (1985), p. 135.

relations among its elements" whereas the transcendental (semantic) dimension has to do with "the reference of each element to the reality of the *Lebenswelt*" i.e. the life world.<sup>147</sup> He criticises current developments in architecture and urban planning.

The poetical content of reality, the a priori of the world, which is the ultimate frame of reference for any truly meaningful architecture, is hidden beneath a thick layer of formal explanations. Because positivistic thought has made it a point to exclude mystery and poetry, contemporary man lives with the illusion of the infinite power of reason. ... For many architects, myth and poetry are generally considered synonymous with dreams and lunacy, while reality is deemed equivalent to prosaic scientific theories. In other words, mathematical logic has been substituted for metaphor as a model of thought.<sup>148</sup>

According to Perez-Gomez, modern architectural development has suffered from the influence of a positivist epistemology following on the revolutionary discoveries of Galileo and philosophy of Descartes. And he sees in contemporary phenomenology the greatest potential for remedying this tendency because only its rediscovery of the primacy of perception is capable of overcoming so fundamental a dilemma.<sup>149</sup> Although Perrez-Gomez bases his discussion on the issue of geometry and number, his arguments do support the endeavours of phenomenology-inspired architects to restore the transcendental dimension, or in other words, the poetic, symbolic, and mythical aspects of achitecture.

To those who, with a phenomenological approach in mind, space should be regarded as an existential rather than a merely mathematical dimension. Karsten Harries' argument that "to domesticate space is to tame it, to construct boundaries that wrest place from space. ... It is homelessness that lets man build: the terror of space provokes him to creation,"<sup>150</sup> clearly reveals the transcendental dimensions of the environment in terms of space. What he means is that "we demand heterogeneity and boundaries, periods and regions,

<sup>147</sup> Alberto Perez-Gomez (1983), p. 5.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., p. 325.

<sup>150</sup> Karsten Harries (1982), p. 59.

sacred events and central places" because they "can gather a manifold into a meaningful whole."<sup>151</sup>

To achieve such meaningful wholes, people inspired by phenomenology know that we have to reject the homogeneous space prevailing in the modern built environment. They advocate a return to a built environment which makes a clear distinction between inside and outside as well as defining its centres.

As far as the built form is concerned, Norberg-Schulz has more than once emphasized that the built form embodies the very essence of that which is between earth and sky. He criticises modern architecture for being 'non-figurative', reducing form to the juxtapositions of abstract elements. As a result, the symbolic types of the past have been abolished and substituted by the functionalist credo that form should "follow from" function.<sup>152</sup> Deprived of transcendental dimension in the built form, man will lose his 'identification', i.e., not know 'how' to dwell. He advocates a return to the "powerful figures that build the world." Norberg-Schulz explains the term 'figure' which is taken from Gestalt psychology.

The word "figure" suggests that the architectural image appears as a concrete shape or volume, and that is therefore belongs to the category of things. A figure possesses concrete presence and participate in the constitution of the environment. We could also say the figures represent a reconquest of the lost archetypes, and bring permanence into movement and change. The meaning of a work of architecture, therefore consists in its gathering the world in a general typical sense, in a local particular sense, in a temporal historical sense, and finally, as *something*, that is, as the figural manifestation of a mode of dwelling between earth and sky.<sup>153</sup>

Any building built according to the phenomenological approach will have a clear silhouette reflecting the relationship between the sky and the earth. Its figurative quality will stress those elements such as roof and foundation which contribute to the concrete image of the building. Theoretically speaking, any built environment provoked by the phenomenological approach will embody a

<sup>151</sup> Karsten Harries (1975), p. 14.

<sup>152</sup> Christian Norberg-Schulz (1985), p. 88

<sup>153</sup> Christian Norberg-Schulz (1985), p. 30.

sense of the cosmos. This sense is well expressed by Karsten Harries' words.

*Cosmos* implies order that assigns to man and to things their proper places. The interpretation of what is as constituting a cosmos allows the individual to feel at home in the world. Building can help to establish or reinforce such interpretation; a building that presents itself as an imitation of divine buildings can claim to give temporal existence its proper measure and foundation.<sup>154</sup>

However, the difficulties, like those associated with A Pattern Language, lie in practicability. What Norberg-Schulz and others try to restore – the transcendental dimension – has in fact always been a characteristic of traditional societies. Their emphasis tends to be on the preservation of an existing but threatened wholeness rather than offering clear suggestions for the creation of a new built environment.

As far as problems related to the idea of Man are concerned, there exist no direct strategic suggestions in the phenomenological approach. The phenomenological approach concentrates more on the house (and the settlement) as an existentially meaningful dwelling place than on the reflections of human relationships. Let us begin the discussion with the house.

Gaston Bachelard defines the primary meaning of the house:

Our house is our corner of the world. As has often been said, It is our first universe, a real cosmos in every sense of the word.<sup>155</sup>

Norberg-Schulz describes the function of the house:

By means of the house we become friends with a world, and gain the foothold we need to act in it. As an architectural figure standing forth in the environment, the house confirms our identification and offer security. When we enter inside, we are finally "at home." In the house, we find the things we know and cherish. We have brought them with us from the outside, and live with them because they present "our world."<sup>156</sup>

---

<sup>154</sup> Karsten Harries (1982), p. 61.

<sup>155</sup> Gaston Bachelard (1964), p. 4.

<sup>156</sup> Christian Norberg-Schulz (1985), p. 91.



Obviously, what Bachelard and Norberg-Schulz mean by the term 'house' is more a 'home' than a physical shelter. Some scholars inspired by phenomenology have distinguished the idea of a 'home' from that of a 'house.' V. Vycinas makes this very clear when he articulates his frustration with the contemporary home. He says that:

The phenomenon of home ... used to be an overwhelming and inexchangeable something to which we were subordinate and from which our way of life was oriented and directed. ... Home nowadays is a distorted and perverted phenomenon. It is identical to a house; it can be anywhere. It is subordinate to us, easily measurable in numbers of money value. It can be exchanged like a pair of shoes.<sup>157</sup>

Vycinas' argument is supported by a number of teachers in architectural schools. Botond Bogнар suggests that "home is a place that people inhabit it; it is a place capable of providing dwelling for the biological functions of the body, the capacity and comprehension of the intellect, and the needs of emotion and spirit. Home is both a repository and witness of one's life – it is human life itself."<sup>158</sup> Kimberley Dovey, on the other hand, defines 'order', 'identity', and 'connectedness' as the major properties of a 'house.' She concludes that home is "an integrative schema that is at once a bonding of person and place and a set of connections between the experience of dwelling and the wider spatial, temporal, and sociocultural context within which it emerges. Home orientates us and connects us with the past, the future, the physical environment, and our social world."<sup>159</sup>

The most important contribution of this phenomenological re-interpretation of the meaning of the house and home is that it can help people to emancipate themselves from the Modernist notion of a house as a living machine. Certainly, ontological meanings should not be excluded from the house. A house should be treated as a microcosmos if it wants to become a 'home.' The phenomenological perspective on the house opens up a new way for people to think of their house as a venue where life takes place. However, it leaves all of

<sup>157</sup> V. Vycinas (1961), p. pp. 84-85.

<sup>158</sup> Botond Bogнар (1985), p. 189.

<sup>159</sup> Kimberley Dovey (1985), p. 44.

the social and ethnic problems related to the fact that a house is also a reflection of its owner untouched. The phenomenological approach is unable to tackle the problems of the relationships between people despite its power to establish the relationship between buildings and their surroundings.

Throughout their writings, Norberg-Schulz and other phenomenology-inspired scholars rarely mention human relationships inside the house and settlement. This tendency is manifested in the illustrations in Norberg-Schulz's books where most pictures concerning living space contain no people, a contrast to Alexander's books where the activities of people play a major role. Human behaviour and human relationships are less foregrounded in the phenomenological approach. This is one of its major weaknesses. The meaning of a house begins when its construction starts and it becomes mature only after people have moved in and actually dwell in it. In other words, the idea of a home is not self-contained; it depends on the characteristics and relationships of its occupants. On the ontological level, a house is a totality. But on the sociocultural level, it is a combination of many differentiated spaces and forms reflecting human relationships both socially and ethnically. The same situation applies to a settlement – not only the centre of the world of its inhabitants but also a subtle organism which echoes its social structure – a point which phenomenology-inspired architects have failed to stress.

By arguing in this way, I do not mean to suggest that the phenomenological approach is wrong in itself. The approach manifests itself according to the things it wants to stress. What I like to stress is that the phenomenological approach alone can not solve all the problems related to the intricacies of human relationships in a real situation. Other tactics must be taken into consideration on this particular point.

As far as attitude towards the characteristics of a region goes, the phenomenological approach places far more emphasis on them than either Post-Modernism or A Pattern Language. As explained previously, 'place' and 'design as place-making' are two of the most crucial notions in this approach. What phenomenology-inspired architects are really concerned about is the preservation of the *Genius Loci*, or spirit of place, and the enhancement of the sense of place. This concern with *Genius Loci* rather than *Zeitgeist* makes this approach essentially a critique of Modernist ideas.

*Genius Loci* is not an invention of contemporary phenomenologists. It is an

ancient Roman concept. And for centuries, the *Genius Loci* has been an idea inseparable from man's living reality. In regional character, both physical and metaphysical, architects, artists, and others have found their inspiration and embodied them in their works. Since *Genius Loci* is more than the summation of a place's various components, being also the complex interplay among them, a better understanding of it will lead architects and planners to pay more attention to the totality of the environment rather than the style and the built form of any single building.

But how should we respond to the *Genius Loci*? On this point, Norberg-Schulz suggests:

The *Genius Loci* becomes manifest as location, spatial configuration and characterising articulation. All these aspects to some extent have to be preserved; as they are the objects of man's orientation and identification, what has to be respected are obviously their *primary* structural properties, such as the type of settlement and the way of building ("massive", "skeletal" etc.) as well as characteristic motifs.<sup>160</sup>

However, Norberg-Schulz warns us that:

"To respect the *Genius Loci* does not mean to copy old models. It means to determine the identity of the place and to interpret it in ever new ways. Only then we may talk about a living tradition which makes change meaningful by relating it in a set of locally founded parameters."<sup>161</sup>

But, how can architects and designers preserve the primary structural properties of the *Genius Loci* without imitating or copying them? Norberg-Schulz and other phenomenologists seem unable to propose more concrete alternatives. Nevertheless, the phenomenological approach makes explicit the key role that the *Genius Loci* plays in the built environment in spite of specific difficulties of application.

So far, I have been focusing on both the positive and negative aspects of the phenomenological approach. It is full of potential and offers many

---

<sup>160</sup> Christian Norberg-Schulz (1980), p. 180.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

informative clues for the further development of architecture. But there are also many difficulties, which have been diagnosed by scholars from various backgrounds. One of the most critical views comes from D.N. Livingston and R.T. Harris<sup>162</sup> on, who have identified four tensions which phenomenology has to reconcile if it is to be effective in application: 1) subjective and intersubjective, 2) unique and general, 3) the thing-in-itself and language, and 4) individual and society.<sup>162</sup> I shall not go through these difficulties one by one due to the scope of the thesis. What I would like to stress is that the theoretical bases of the phenomenological approach are convincing in every sense. The only problems lie in its application. Until it can inspire some concrete solutions, the phenomenological approach will remain hermeneutic in character. And the things it defines, describes, and makes manifest will remain a 'condition' of the build environment rather than a 'solution' to it.

### 3-5 CONCLUSION

In reviewing these theoretical approaches, I have now come to the conclusion that Post-Modernism, if it embodies any theory at all, is about buildings – principally as objects; Alexander's Pattern Language is about spatial structure and activities; and the Phenomenology of architecture is a philosophical theory of human ontology and its concrete realisation through architecture. They are different theoretical approaches to different things rather than alternative approaches to the same thing. There is therefore no reason for us to suppose that they will be supportive or contradictory to one another in any comprehensive way. But in certain cases, a theoretical basis is shared by two of the approaches, and thus the protagonists of one approach might be sympathetic to another.<sup>163</sup>

<sup>162</sup> D.N. Livingston and R.T. Harrison (1983).

<sup>163</sup> For example, while a lot of people strongly criticise Post-Modernism, Norberg-Schulz is sympathetic to it. He praises the basic aim of Post-Modernism to recover the figural dimension of architecture and thinks that Post-Modernism is not dangerous. He thinks it only becomes dangerous in the hands of uneducated architects. See Norberg-Schulz (1988), pp. 238-245. Similarly, Alexander's Pattern Language is interpreted by the phenomenologists as containing a strongly phenomenological perspective. David Seamon and Robert Mugerauer suggest that Alexander's theory is "a crucial complement" to many phenomenology-inspired researches because in one sense Alexander's Pattern Language can be described as "an implicit phenomenology of design elements supporting a sense of place." See David Seamon and Robert Mugerauer (1985), p. 72.

In general, Post-Modernism, as I have argued, is the most superficial approach of all; it has developed in many divergent directions and is now in an extremely fragmented state. It is not only inadequate to mitigate existing problems, but also frequently contributes to the worsening condition of modern mass-societies. In the beginning, the critical category of Post-Modernism did offer an important alternative for some frustrated architects. But it soon became a fashion overtly concerned with this or that 'style.' In most cases, Post-Modern buildings are devalued into mere consumer commodities.

In spite of the fact that Alexander's Pattern Language is comprehensible on a theoretical level, it is very difficult to apply it in real situations. Yet I still think it could be used more positively by concentrating on the idea that what Alexander is proposing is "A" Pattern Language, a single language and one appropriate to a particular place and culture rather than a 'universal' pattern language. This then allows a clear connection with other theories concerning the sense of place. The Japanese example is a good illustration of this. It does not – to my mind – demonstrate the failure of Alexander's Pattern Language as such, but rather the consequences of not developing a language appropriate to local traditions.

The value of Alexander's Pattern Language is that it emphasizes the relationship between architecture and the repeated patterns of activities and events which go to make up life as it is lived. It rescues architecture from the realm of objects (the obsession of Post-Modernism and its precursors) and embeds it in the pattern of existence of a society. And it provides some useful clues on the issue of tradition/modernity in terms of the built environment and activities.

The Phenomenology of Architecture displays an entirely different approach, in that it changes the way in which people interpret their environment. Its contribution lies in its concern with *Genius Loci*, a factor which, despite being so important to human dwelling, has been suppressed as a result of scientific and technological development. Currently, the phenomenological approach is being regarded rather passively. People only become concerned with *Genius Loci* when their sense of place is threatened. I think that this approach ought to be applied in a more positive way so as to have a direct influence in the development of contemporary architecture.

Comparing Alexander's Pattern Language and the Phenomenology of

Architecture, it is impossible not to find similarities between them. Generally speaking, Alexander's notion of "Being alive" is related to that of "being-in-the-world", or "existential foothold" in Norberg-Schulz's theory. It is reinforced by the notions of "feeling" and "stimmung" or "atmosphere" mentioned respectively in the books of Alexander and Norberg-Schulz. We can distinguish the characteristics of a place by our feelings only when the atmosphere of that particular place touches us. And the *Genius Loci* is akin to "the quality without a name."

All of these three approaches are critical of current architectural development. However, none of them can alone provide a single solution to the problems of this development. What we need is an approach which can at the same time, and on both the theoretical and practical level, treat architecture as objects with formal properties, and places where 'dwelling' can take place. Both of these would then have to be strongly rooted in the culture of a particular region. None of the three approaches just discussed can do more than partially solve the problem. In the next two chapters, I shall turn to another approach, Regionalism, which has been under discussion since the 1930s in the field of architecture but only re-gained its importance recently. Regionalism is a concept as well as an approach conceived in response to the characteristics of a particular region. But it also has a strong emphasis on the practical level. I shall first review its background and development in the next chapter.

# CHAPTER FOUR

## REGIONALISM IN ARCHITECTURE: AN APPROACH REVITALISED

### 4-1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter Three, three theoretical approaches currently prevailing in contemporary architecture were discussed. There is no doubt that there are many valuable lessons to be learnt from these approaches. But the feasibility of a thorough application of any of them is dubious because all of them fail to fulfill, in one way or another, the requirement that architecture should be the manifestation of the worldview of the people. As has been pointed out in earlier chapters, the central elements of the worldview of a people are the idea of Heaven, the idea of Man, and the idea of the Earth, which differ greatly from one region to another. An architectural approach has to be comprehensive in essence and rich in tactics in order to meet this requirement.

In this chapter, I shall look at 'Regionalism', which treats architecture as an inseparable part of the region and as the manifestation of aspects of that region. As the title of the chapter suggests, Regionalism is not a new invention. The general idea has been widely discussed since the second half of the nineteenth century. And, in the field of architecture, it first became apparent in the late 1930s. However, with most attention being paid to Modernism, Regionalism was ignored for a long time and was only been resurrected in the last two decades. The primary proposition of Regionalism is that there are different peoples and cultures in the world and we must recognise that "mankind must have some place on which to stand and move as the eternal drama of humanity unfolds itself; that this action is not spread evenly over the surface of the earth but tends to cluster about certain spots and in certain areas, varying from one to another by greater or less degree."<sup>1</sup>

Generally speaking, Regionalism seeks to address the differences between different regions, which all contribute to the richness of the world's culture. This chapter will conduct an inquiry into this approach. First, I shall review the

---

<sup>1</sup> Howard W. Odum and Harry Estill Moore (1938), p. 278.

notion and the meaning of the region and Regionalism in a broad way. Then I shall focus the discussion on Regionalism in architecture, especially Critical Regionalism, which I consider as the most potentially valuable approach for contemporary architectural development.

As will be discussed later in this chapter, Regionalism should not be considered as an approach developed in isolation. In fact, the Regionalist approach has made use of aspects of the other theories which I have already discussed, but it does not fit into any one of them. Other approaches may contain vital components of the Regionalist approach, but none subsumes completely the multitude of its concerns.

The reasons why I have chosen Regionalism as the foundation of my argument are by no means purely subjective. Rather, it is an objective response to the fact that other approaches have failed to solve the problem of the loss of the sense of place – a source of frustration to the majority of people. My use of the term 'Critical Regionalism' does not imply the intention of supporting or legitimating any particular form of Regionalism. It only indicates an exploration and a recommendation of a longstanding idea in the light of recent developments.

## **4-2 REGION AND REGIONALISM**

### **The Notion of the Region**

Before examining the Regionalist approach in architecture, it will be helpful to understand the notion of the term 'region', which, for more than half a century, has been defined diversely and often contradictorily by people of different backgrounds. Etymologically speaking, the term 'region' implies political control (its Latin root *regere* means to rule or to govern). When the term is applied to other disciplines, a region may be described "loosely as an area of which the inhabitants instinctively feel themselves a part"<sup>2</sup>, or as "an assemblage of such forms as have interdependence and is functionally

---

<sup>2</sup> V.B. Stanberg, quoted in Howard W. Odum and Harry Estill Moore (1938), p. 2.



differentiated from other areas.”<sup>3</sup> A region can also be defined as “any portion of the earth’s surface that stands apart in terms of characteristics.”<sup>4</sup> or as “a definable unit in space, characterised by relative internal homogeneity in regard to certain criteria, by some system of internal movement coextensive with it, or by interaction among elements within its limits.”<sup>5</sup>

In contrast to the above notions, which are defined in general terms, regions are viewed differently by regional planners as “spaces which are larger than any single urban area, that is, as supra urban space.”<sup>6</sup> or as the “organically developed environment of settled man and his society.”<sup>7</sup> The architectural historian William Curtis, on the other hand, is in favour of treating the term ‘region’ as a hazy concept which may “refer to the distribution of racial or ethnic groups; to common geographical or climatic features, to political boundaries de-limiting a tribe or some other federation.”<sup>8</sup>

Certainly, there are many other definitions besides those already mentioned. It is not the aim here to explore all of them, a task which has been undertaken by a number of writers since the 1930s.<sup>9</sup> Since a region, whether as a concrete entity or as a notion, involves people and the areas in which they live, it can be basically treated as an environmental totality modified by the multi-dimensional forces by which political regions, geographic regions, climatic regions, economic regions, and cultural regions are classified.<sup>10</sup> Two types of region might be completely identical. But in most cases they are different, although there is a certain degree of overlap between them. Among these classifications, the ‘cultural region’, first used by human geographers, is the

---

<sup>3</sup> Carl O. Sauer, quoted in Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> W. Zelinsky, quoted in Amos Rapoport (1990), p. 274.

<sup>5</sup> Philip L. Wagner and Marvin W. Mikesell (1962), p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> J. Friedmann, quoted in Jeremy Alden and Robert Morgan (1974), p. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Artur Glikson (1955), p. 24.

<sup>8</sup> William Curtis (1986b), p. 25.

<sup>9</sup> Howard W. Odum and Harry Estill Moore’s *American Regionalism* is one of the early studies of region and Regionalism, and includes various definitions and meanings of the term ‘region’.

<sup>10</sup> Harm J. De Blij and Peter O. Muller define these as ‘formal regions’ which is in contrast to another type of the region, ‘functional regions’, which are conceptualised spatial systems such as those centred on an urban core, a node, or a focus of regional interaction. Harm J. De Blij and Peter O. Muller (1985), p. 3.

most widely-used one and therefore the one we shall adopt.

A cultural region is one based on the congruence between the use of a certain language, place-names, religion, ethnicity, architecture, art expression, food, and econo-political systems. Within a cultural region, "there is a relative uniformity of cultural traditions and practices" that results in its distinctiveness.<sup>11</sup> And the more congruent these factors are, the more distinctive the region and its boundaries will be. Certainly, the stress on the idea of a cultural region does not mean that other factors enforcing the sense of a region should be ignored. This stress is due to the fact that the socio-cultural system plays the most important role in shaping a region.

Generally speaking, there are several 'cultural realms' in the world, each of them consisting of an assemblage of 'cultural regions.' By the term 'cultural realm', we mean that which identifies the largest and most complex area which can still be described as being united by common cultural traditions. For example, Latin America is a cultural realm while Mexico is a cultural region within it. Mainland China and Taiwan as a whole is a cultural realm while Taiwan is itself a cultural region. However, a cultural region and a country are not necessarily identical. In spite of the decisive pressures which geographical features exert in the formation of a cultural region, a cultural region usually develops beyond a distinct geographical boundary.

People may argue that the importance of the 'cultural region' is decreasing because the world is becoming 'de-culturalised' and 'de-regionalised.' But it can be argued that it is exactly such phenomena of the homogenisation of cultures and regions that help people to realise the importance of their own cultures and regions.

Although the idea of the region recognises and respects the idiosyncrasy of each region, it does not imply isolationism. A region should not be conceived as an isolated and completely self-sufficient unit but as a cell in a large organism. Each region depends, to a greater or lesser extent, on exchange with neighbouring regions. The notion of the region implies the existence of other identifiable cultural groups occupying other areas. Since the

---

<sup>11</sup> Amos Rapoport (1990), p. 273.

characteristics contributing to a cultural region are so strongly rooted in that region's traditions, the notion of 'regionality' to some degree implies the idea of 'tradition.'

### **The Meaning and the Development of Regionalism**

Like the term 'region', the expression 'Regionalism' has also been defined and adopted in different ways. Amos Rapoport identifies two basic ingredients of Regionalism, i.e. "the intellectual concept of 'region' and the concrete manifestations of distinctive areas differing on the attributes that characterise them."<sup>12</sup> Regionalism, first emerging in the 1850s, is a concept as well as an approach aiming to resist the uniformisation of a culture caused by external forces. Lewis Mumford pinpointed 1854 as the beginning point of Regionalism as an idea – the date of the first meeting of the "Felibrigistes," who gathered together for the purpose of restoring the language and the independent cultural life of Provence.<sup>13</sup> Ever since Regionalism has been continuously but slowly developing in the realms of economy, politics, geography, sociology, and regional planning.

One of the important inspirations of Regionalism in the early twentieth century was Patrick Geddes's trilogical "Notation of Life" in which he demanded the unification of Folk, Work, and Place into a living whole.

The study of Place grows into geography; that of Work into Economics; that of Folk into anthropology. ... Place studied without Work or Folk is a matter of atlases and maps. Folk without Place or Work are dead – hence anthropological collections and books contain too much of mere skulls and weapons. So too for Economics, the study of Work, when apart from definite Place and definite Folk, comes down to mere abstractions.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Amos Rapoport (1990), p. 274.

<sup>13</sup> Lewis Mumford (1928), p. 135. Mumford pointed out that "the Provence language had been destroyed by the Albigensian crusades; Provence had been, so to say, a Province conquered by the church through the use of the secular arm, and although an attempt had been made by the Seven poets at Toulouse in 1324 to revive the language, the movement had not succeeded, and the speech of Ronsard and Racine had conquered Provence. In their consciousness of the part played by language as a means of establishing and helping to build up their identity with their region, a group of literary men started to institute the regionalist movement."

<sup>14</sup> Patrick Geddes (1949), p. 196.

Such recognition of the mutual influences between people, their work and the location where they live and work became one of the ideological bases of the Regionalism which developed later. This regional consciousness is also clearly shown in Geddes's concept of the "Valley Section" which is a survey of different occupations in a valley. In a speech made in New York City in 1923, Patrick Geddes explained the value of such surveys:

First as a general and introductory outline towards fuller anthropological and historical studies, region by region and age by age, up to our own land and day. But next as the very essence of the social survey that is needed for every region and every city if we are to understand it at all; much more if we seek to work our way towards regional betterment and development, towards town improvement and city design. ... From an understanding of our regions and our cities, we cannot but come to vitalising and evolving them in place, work and people; and with in every case their own people creating the best from their own place.<sup>15</sup>

Although Geddes's pioneer thinking did not directly lead to the re-emergence of Regionalism in the twentieth century, its influence was profound, and can be clearly seen in the writings of some of his followers, especially Lewis Mumford. Lewis Mumford, who continued to employ much of the Geddesian phraseology and developed many aspects of Geddes's thinking – most notable in *Technics and Civilisation* (1934) and *The Culture of Cities* (1938) – spoke out against the increasingly ruthless exploitation of the land and its people for purely monetary ends during the period between the two World Wars. Already in 1927, he expressed his optimistic attitude towards Regionalism.

To recognise regional wholes is the business of the geographer and the sociologist; to plan for their development and better relationship is the task of the regional planner; to live in and through the region itself; to make the most of its possibilities and to bring it up to the highest pitch of appropriate culture – this is the effort of Regionalism.<sup>16</sup>

Mumford supported a Regionalist approach so as to "begin again with the elemental necessities of life, to provide for these on a modern economic basis,

---

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., pp. xxvi–xxviii.

<sup>16</sup> Lewis Mumford (1927), p. 279.

and begin again that renewal of cities and regions which will bring about a new springtime in culture."<sup>17</sup> He argued that Regionalism is an effort to create a new mould for life as a whole.

From another point of view, the regional sociologists Howard W. Odum and Harry Estill Moore, use the ecological principles of harmony, balance, and equilibrium as the basis for their understanding of the ideal social order, suggested that Regionalism is a key to balancing many of the conflicts in the world.

The significance of Regionalism as the key to equilibrium is reflected in an extraordinary wide range of situations, such as the conflict between nationalism and internationalism, between sectionalism and federalism, and the imbalance between agrarian and urban life, between agriculture and industry, between individuation and socialisation in governmental trends, between a quantity civilisation of standarding forces and a quality world, between machines and men.<sup>18</sup>

Mumford's view addresses the crucial responsibilities of different profession, while the argument of Odum and Moore illustrates the role Regionalism plays as a stabilizer in an unstable world. Odum and Moore saw society as an organic unit of diverse, yet interrelated parts. The progressive and stable development of an organism is directly related to harmony among its parts. Regionalism may, in some sense, be treated as the antithesis of false cosmopolitanism, as described by C.S. Ascher.<sup>19</sup> But it should not be identified with narrow nationalism. Regionalism is multidimensional in its aspects; it is "a clustering of geographic, economic, sociological, and governmental factors to such an extent that a distinct consciousness, the recognition of a separate identity within the whole and the desirability of autonomous planning, cultural peculiarities and administrative freedom are theoretically recognised and actually put into effect," as pointed out by Marshall E. Dimock.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Lewis Mumford (1928), p. 133.

<sup>18</sup> Howard W. Odum and Harry Estill Moore (1938), p. 5.

<sup>19</sup> C.S. Ascher says that "Regionalism is the antithesis of false cosmopolitanism; the genius of the community symbolised by Patrick Geddes' trilogy of Place, Work, Folk." C.S. Ascher, quoted in Howard W. Odum and Harry Estill Moore (1938), p. 276.

<sup>20</sup> Marshall E. Dimock, quoted in Ibid.

Although the term 'Regionalism' has been continuously used, the concept and meaning of Regionalism has changed quite significantly since its inception. The centre of gravity has shifted gradually from the geographical and econo-political dimensions in the first half of the twentieth century to the psychological and socio-cultural dimensions of today. Politically and economically speaking, Regionalism recognises and affirms the unity of a region. But it sometimes involves an enforcement of ideology and policies perceptible only by a limited number of intellectuals. The shift of emphasis from econo-political to geographical and then to other socio-cultural dimensions has broadened Regionalism's concerns to a much wider scope.

Arguing for the importance of the socio-geographical dimensions of Regionalism, Artur Glikson stated that:

Regionalism means the creation of socio-geographical nuclei – the regional communities – practicing good neighbourliness and looking first of all for rational commodity exchange and mutual socio-cultural relationships with well-defined geographical units. Each region will try to develop its activities according to given natural and human factors. Thus Regionalism becomes a realistic way to educate the population towards peaceful productivity, mutuality and self-administration, and to inculcate understanding of the efforts and ways of life of other regional communities and the nations.<sup>21</sup>

Raymond Breton also points out the socio-psychological dimension of Regionalism as that which "refers to a set of attitudes and feelings: an identification with an area; a sense of a certain distinctiveness from other areas; an attachment to a territory, its people, and institutions. It is the result of the process whereby a particular geographical space is transformed into a *social space* – that is, a space imbued with meanings and emotional connotations not attributed to other spaces."<sup>22</sup> Regionalism, therefore, is an approach responsive to all people in the region; it should not become identified with the ideological mentality of a small number of the elite. In the words of A. Rawlyk et al., Regionalism is "a response within people to their surrounding."

However, the notion of the region is also a comparative one. One of the

---

<sup>21</sup> Artur Glikson (1955), p. 24.

<sup>22</sup> Raymond Breton (1981), pp. 58-59.

very important notions of Regionalism is that one's regional consciousness only becomes apparent when it is compared to that of people in other regions. Therefore, "Regionalism can only be defined as the expression of the values, interests and concerns of people living in a particular area to others who do not live in the same region."<sup>23</sup> That is to say, the concept of Regionalism is not self-contained. By employing the term Regionalism, there is no assumption of an absolute homogeneity of styles and identifications within a region. Rather, it represents the fact that by comparison with those in other regions, each region has its own distinctive identity.

### **Catalysts of Regionalism**

Although Regionalism is a self-conscious concept and approach motivated by external forces, there exist indigenous factors which facilitate its formation and spread. In this section, an attempt is made to identify some of these important factors which can function as catalysts.

#### **Geographical Features.**

A distinctive set of geographical features is the basic factor which distinguishes one region from another. The concept of 'Place' in Geddes's trilogical 'Notation of Life' had already placed the locality as one of three most important elements of human life. The distribution of the settlement, the availability of resources and the allocation of commodities are all determined, in varying degrees, by the geographical features of the region. Within the boundary of two regions of distinctive geographical features, not only the actual appearance of the regions – as seen in geology, topography, climate, vegetation, animals and buildings – varies, but also the mentality and the life-style show significant changes. Howard W. Odum and Harry Estill Moore have pointed out clearly that:

Whatever else Regionalism may or may not be, its first essence is to be found in the geographic factors. The mudsill of the idea of Regionalism is that social phenomenon may best be understood when considered in relation to the area in which they occur as a cultural frame of reference. ... This idea that men in different, and differing, portions of the earth's surface behave in

---

<sup>23</sup> George A. Rawlyk, Bruce W. Hodgins, and Richard P. Bowles (1979), p. 7.

distinct manners is one of the oldest of man's notions.<sup>24</sup>

Strictly speaking, there is no sharp line separating two cultural regions, nevertheless, the geographical features still play one role, though not the only determining one, in Regionalism. In contrast to the physical characteristics of the region, there are equally important ethno-anthropological features such as language, religion, ritual, and the family system which strongly reinforce the Regionalist consciousness.

### Language.

Language is the expression, produced by men, of their feelings and the world view that guides them. Therefore, it is natural that people speaking different languages will think and behave differently, a phenomenon contributing to the formation of Regionalism. Ronald L. Watts explains that:

Linguistic identity has been a particularly potent force for Regionalism. This is not surprising since language differences often serve as barrier to communication. Moreover, a shared language provides a means of expression and communion, which is a most important ingredient in one's awareness of a social identity and a treasures heritage of a common past.<sup>25</sup>

It is true that language might in some sense be treated as a negative force. The fact that few people can speak more than two or three languages, and most people speak only one may seem frustrating. But it is this wealth of languages which contributes to the diversity of the world's culture. Many terms used in religious and ritual practices are strongly rooted in language. So are many expressions used in building construction.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Howard W. Odum and Harry Estill Moore (1938), pp. 277-278.

<sup>25</sup> Ronald L. Watts (1981), p. 7.

<sup>26</sup> The Swiss philologist Jacob Hunziker in his six-volume work published at the beginning of this century illustrated a close relationship between the syntax of language and the spatial organisation and construction of houses built in six different regions of Switzerland. This little-known contribution is perhaps the first and still one of the most important attempts to show the importance of the association between human space and language. See Jacob Hunziker (1902-13). *La maison suisse d'après ses formes rustique et son développement historique* (Lausanne: Payot). Reviewed by Roderick J. Lawrence (1987), p. 29.



## **Religion and Ritual.**

Religion is one of the most important aspects of human society. All traditional societies have their systems of belief in supernatural forces, accompanied by a system of rituals, and the range of variation is vast. To express these beliefs, there exists ritual – which in every society forms a system integrated into the total cultural pattern. The rituals performed by people can develop feelings of group unity on the basis of collectively shared sentiments and values. Lewis Mumford points out the important role of ritual.

Ritual promoted a social solidarity that might otherwise have been lost through the uneven development of human talents and premature achievements of individual differences. Here the ritual act established the common emotional response that made man ready for conscious cooperation and systematic ideation.<sup>27</sup>

The variety of rituals performed on different occasions is so diverse in different cultural regions that it becomes one of the most powerful factors shaping Regionalism. And the various festivals performed throughout the year in many cultures are the basic manifestations of these cultures themselves.

In fact geographical features, language, religion and ritual, all of which are indigenous factors of a region, can be treated as parts of the concept of Regionalism. By contrast, there are also forces which facilitate Regionalism from outside the region. Such forces may be called 'reactive' catalysts, since their contribution to Regionalism is not autochthonous.

## **Econo–Political System.**

In many cases, the rise of Regionalism is directly linked to the econo–political condition of the region. This situation is especially evident in the developing countries where the economic and political systems are often constructed on models imported from the West. The lack of rootedness of such systems means that local cultural traditions have to be sacrificed or suppressed in order to guarantee their success. As a result, Regionalism may emerge after regional models having been suppressed for a long time. In some cases, it may develop side by side with a nationalist movement. The Catalanian

---

<sup>27</sup> Lewis Mumford (1967), p. 63.

Nationalist Movement in Spain is a case in point.

### Tourism.

The relationship between tourism and Regionalism has only been recently appreciated. This affinity can be discussed on two levels. The rise of the tourist industry after the Second World War has made people understand the importance of regional characteristics. For tourists, the essence of tourism is being away from home. Tourists do not go abroad to see something similar to their homeland; they want to see different things. Tourism thrives on regional cultures. The enormous number of foreign visitors who are attracted to a place is an indication of why tourism and Regionalism are mutually dependent on each other. Amos Rapoport points out that:

Because it becomes useful to preserve the distinctive attributes of areas, the needs of tourism and Regionalism tend to coincide. The former may help the latter by giving it a *raison d'être* that is culturally and politically appropriate and acceptable.<sup>28</sup>

On the other hand, tourism may also lead to the loss of regional identity. Modern growth for the sake of tourism may result in a homogenising culture. E. Relph points out that "tourism is an homogenising influence and its effects everywhere seem to be the same – the destruction of the local and regional landscape that may often initiated the tourism, and its replacement by conventional tourist architecture and synthetic landscapes and pseudo-places."<sup>29</sup> The phenomenon may result in what J.B. Jackson called "other-directed architecture" – that is "architecture which is deliberately directed towards outsiders, spectators, passers-by, and above all consumers." Consequently a conservationist approach may emerge. For example, Bhutan, the remote Himalayan kingdom, has placed a virtual ban on outsiders in the hope of preserving its Buddhist culture. The authorities of this small kingdom have decided that the profits brought by tourism in the past are not worth the accompanying problems.<sup>30</sup> In other words, in spite of the fact that tourism is a

---

<sup>28</sup> Amos Rapoport (1990), p. 281.

<sup>29</sup> E. Relph (1976), p. 93.

<sup>30</sup> Michael Hough (1990), pp. 151–152.

catalyst for Regionalism, it may also lead it to retreat into a self-protection approach. And in many ways, regional identity and the ways of traditional culture stand in conflict with the obvious benefits of tourism.

#### 4-3 REGIONALISM IN ARCHITECTURE

##### Historical Review

After having explained in general the main aspects of Regionalism, I shall now focus my discussion on architecture. Once again, we immediately face the problem of defining Regionalism in architecture. In addition to the general attributes of Regionalism mentioned before, Arthur Drexler defines Regionalism in architecture as “an architecture of local characteristics – like Cape Cod Cottages or Mexican patio houses – promoted by climate and available materials.” He also points out that “where it makes few or no references to classical styles, it is usually called vernacular building, implying that it can be handled by craftsmen without an education in art history.”<sup>31</sup> Drexler’s definition, which confuses Regionalist architecture and vernacular architecture of a region, represents the first type of interpretation as opposed to the second type exemplified by Kenneth Frampton’s definition distinguishing Regionalism from Vernacularism. Frampton argues that Regionalism should not imply any specific style, any form of vernacular revival, or any kind of unreflected so-called spontaneous grass-roots culture. Rather, it identifies those Regional ‘schools’ whose aim has been to represent and serve particular constituencies.<sup>32</sup>

In my discussion, I shall follow the second type of definition of Regionalism in architecture, and make a distinction between regional architecture and Regionalist architecture. While the former might be in some sense identified with vernacular architecture, the latter is the product of a distinctly self-conscious approach. Regionalist architecture attempts to manifest its significance by relating its built form, spatial organisation, aesthetics, technical assembly and materials to a certain region in the context of the contemporary world.

---

<sup>31</sup> Arthur Drexler (1979), p. 13.

<sup>32</sup> Kenneth Frampton (1982), p. 77.

Like the situation in other realms, the emergence of Regionalism in architecture is motivated by a recognition of the perils to the identity of man and his built environment which is offered by the processes of contemporary architectural development, and functions as a reaction to these perils. That is to say, Regionalism in architecture has appeared as a defence against the powerful homogenising forces of the International Style and universalised technological developments since the 1930s.<sup>33</sup> It is an attempt to pursue consciously, with the appropriate means, the development of a new architecture based on the resources and heritages of a cultural region.

Generally speaking, the development of Regionalism in architecture has been relatively slow when compared with its development in other realms. Regional characteristics were borne in mind by only a very few architects in the 1930s when most people were fascinated by Modernism and buildings of the International Style. Regionalism was ignored even though "it seemed to be a better way to go" because "there were no established leaders", as has been pointed out by Buford L. Pickens.<sup>34</sup> Those who supported the International Style felt afraid that the concern with the regional architecture might become a symbol of narrow-mindedness: a tendency witnessed by Nikolaus Pevsner's warning that "there is in the American concentration on local, regional, and national architecture the danger of Parochialism."<sup>35</sup>

If <sup>the</sup> concept of Regionalism did not spread widely, neither did it completely die out. During the 1940s and 1950s, a steady amount of theory relating to Regionalism was expounded. In a series of lectures delivered at Alabama

---

<sup>33</sup> By stating this, we confine our definition of Regionalism to that which has responded to the rise of Modernist architecture. Different points of view posit Regionalism in different historical structures. For example, Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre point out that in Greece there are three phases in the development of Regionalism in architecture. The first phase emerged in the eighteenth century in opposition to what is then perceived as the exaggerated uniformity, regularity, regimentation of Renaissance and seventeenth century neo-platonism, Vitruvianism and classicism, as well as their claims to universal validity. The second phase of so-called Historical Regionalism emerged at the end of the eighteenth century. It belonged to the neo-classical tradition and sought to provide a utopia for the Greek - a utopia belonging to a concrete region and to a specific group who saw in neo-classical iconography an act of faith in a future all their own. The third phase was developed along with the yearning for a new national identity and was expressed by the development of a new Historical Regionalism with its populist character focusing on contemporary folk architecture. It is also some kind of 'Critical Regionalism' which we will be discussing in detail later.

<sup>34</sup> Buford L. Pickens (1990), p. 239.

<sup>35</sup> Nikolaus Pevsner (1960), p. 79.

College in 1941, Mumford used the term 'Regionalism' to describe the works of H. H. Richardson in contrast to the 'Universalism' of the works of Thomas Jefferson. He characterised Richardson as a user of regional resources and as an interpreter of regional characteristics. He thought that "both in his choice of materials and in his development of certain parts of the native New England tradition, Richardson was the first Regionalist architect of American."<sup>36</sup> Although Richardson did apply many regional resources in his buildings, what Mumford emphasized was more on his role as an alternative to Jefferson's classicist approach.<sup>37</sup>

On the other hand, S. Giedion in 1954 in an article called 'New Regionalism' – a developing trend. He pointed out that New Regionalism "has as its motivating force a respect for individuality and a desire to satisfy the emotional and material needs of each area."<sup>38</sup> Giedion suggested the term 'New Regionalism' as the most proper name for "the method of approach employed by the best contemporary architects when they have to solve a specific regional problem."<sup>39</sup> He argued that this new approach could satisfy both the cosmic and terrestrial conditions of a region and met its greatest problems in the so-called "technically underdeveloped areas such as India, Cuba and other tropical countries."<sup>40</sup> However, Giedion did not suggest any concrete solution for this "New Regionalism". What he did was to illustrate the "regional contributions to a universal architectural conception" rather than call for more constructive suggestions.<sup>41</sup>

In the same year, Harwell Hamilton Harris revealed a different viewpoint on Regionalism in the speech "Regionalism and Nationalism." He argued that

---

<sup>36</sup> Lewis Mumford (1941), p. 102.

<sup>37</sup> Mumford argued that Jefferson was a man of reason while Richardson was a man of feeling and emotion. Both of them were great in their own particular way, "and each succeeded in embodying a particular moment of American life and culture – Jefferson, that of the humanistic and classical inheritance which came to life pre-eminently on the Southern plantation; Richardson, newer romantic and utilitarian currents, now impersonal and mechanical, now sentimental and burgeoning with insuppressible vitality, which characterised the nineteenth century." See: Ibid., p.110.

<sup>38</sup> S. Giedion (1958), p. 145.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p. 148.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., pp. 148–149.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p.147.

Regionalism "is the manifestation of a region that is *especially in tune with the emerging thought of the time*. We call such a manifestation 'regional' *only because it has not yet emerged elsewhere*. It is the genius of this region to be more than ordinarily aware and more than ordinarily free. Its virtue is that its manifestation has *significance for the world outside itself*. To express this Regionalism architecturally it is necessary that there be buildings – preferably a lot of buildings – at one time. Only so can the expression be sufficiently general, sufficiently varied, sufficiently forceful to capture people's imaginations and provide a friendly climate long enough for a new school of design to develop."<sup>42</sup>

Giedion and Harris's arguments did pave the way to a further development of Regionalism in architecture in the latter half of the twentieth century. The atmosphere was reinforced by the increasing re-appreciation of vernacular architecture which became the main source of inspiration for Regionalist architects from the 1960s onwards. In 1964, the exhibition *Architecture Without Architects* organised by Bernard Rudofsky held at the Museum of Modern Art marked an important event in the appreciation of the beauty and significance of vernacular architecture by the general public. The contents of the exhibition were subsequently published as a book of the same title, which, as Rudofsky points out, "attempts to break down our narrow concepts of the art of building by introducing the unfamiliar world of non-pedigreed architecture."<sup>43</sup> The exhibition received a warm response, witnessed in the increasing amount of research and publications on vernacular architecture.

Yet the spread of Regionalism did not become rapid until the 1980s, when people gradually began to find out that most new approaches in architectural development have weaknesses either in their practical application, or their theoretical basis, or both. More and more people started to express their optimistic hopes of Regionalism.

---

<sup>42</sup> Harwell Hamilton Harris, quoted in Kenneth Frampton (1985), p. 320. Harris seems to have seen the East Coast Bauhaus Modernism and the Ecole des Beaux-Arts as two equally restrictive manifestations, as opposed to the liberative Regionalism of the Southern Californian School of Wright, which took the forms of European rationalism and constructivism and passed them through filters which had already been laid in place in Los Angeles by Irving Gill, and Greene and Greene. Also see: Kenneth Frampton (1987), p. 24.

<sup>43</sup> Bernard Rudofsky (1965), preface.

The launch of the Aga Khan Awards for Architecture (AKAA) in 1977 contributed immensely to a consciously Regionalist approach in the Islamic world. The most important aspect of this award is the degree to which judgements are based not only on the aesthetic quality but also the socio-cultural implications of the culture of a region.<sup>44</sup> Its influence has been felt not only in the Islamic world but also in other parts of the world. The appearance of *MIMAR* (first published in 1981) is an example of a journal which has completely devoted its pages to exploring the built environment in the developing world with an unprecedented emphasis on both regional and Regionalist architecture. In addition to a special issue entitled "Regionalism and Architectural Identity," *MIMAR* also publishes a number of books on related interests.<sup>45</sup> In the West, *The Architectural Review* has also continuously supported the idea of Regionalism. From around 1950, the aspects of vernacular traditions and the possibility of creating a contemporary vernacular became the subject of repeated exploration and study in this magazine in which many writers "sought out and illustrated examples of a vernacular architectural language from many parts of the world, writing enviously of the easy acceptance of a common vocabulary in the days before popular judgement of architecture was as confused as it had been from the mid-nineteenth century onwards."<sup>46</sup> Since 1983, it has published four special issues on the theme Regionalism: "Regionalism: Search for Identity" (May 1983), "Regional Identity" (October 1984), "Anatomy of Regionalism" (November 1986), and "Regionalism in the Developed World" (May 1988).

This advocacy of a Regionalist approach is also echoed by many individual figures with differing viewpoints, and who apply different qualifying adjectives to imply their points. The most notable ones are the "Authentic Regionalism"

<sup>44</sup> In the first brochure of the AKAA in 1977, His Highness the Aga Khan stated the objective of the award: The Aga Khan Award for Architecture intended to encourage an understanding and awareness of the strength and diversity of Muslim cultural traditions which, when combined with an enlightened use of modern technology for contemporary society, will result in buildings more appropriate for the Islamic world of tomorrow.

<sup>45</sup> Examples of such books include *Architecture and Identity* (1986), *Regionalism and Architecture* (1986), *Geoffrey Bawa: Architecture in Sri Lanka* (1986, Brian Brace Taylor), *Charles Correa: Architecture in India* (1987, Hasan-Uddin Khan), *Tropical Urban Regionalism* (1987, Ken Yeang), *MIMAR Houses* (1987, Brian Brace Taylor ed.), and *Hassan Fathy: Architecture in Egypt* (1985, J.M. Richards, I. Serageldin, and D. Rastorfer).

<sup>46</sup> J.M. Richards, I. Serageldin, and D. Rastorfer (1985), p. 12.

suggested by William Curtis and "Critical Regionalism" first coined and mentioned by Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre, and then developed by Kenneth Frampton. Curtis argues that Authentic Regionalism "stands out against all hackneyed and devalued versions of culture whether these stem from the international economic order, from nationalist propaganda or, more recently, from Pan-Islamic clichés."<sup>47</sup> Tzonis and Lefaivre argue that Critical Regionalism "is a bridge over which any humanistic architecture of the future must pass, even if the path may lead to a completely different direction."<sup>48</sup> Frampton, on the other hand, asserts that Critical Regionalism "self-consciously seeks to deconstruct universal Modernism in terms of values and images which are locally cultivated while at the same time adulterating autochthonous elements with paradigms drawn from alien sources."<sup>49</sup>

The emergence of Curtis's argument is strongly related to his role in the Aga Khan Awards for Architecture (AKAA). However, he has been very selective in his interpretation of extant buildings, and his efforts have been seen more on interpreting how certain masters such as Le Corbusier, Louis Kahn and Balkrishna Doshi have incorporated regional (in many cases historical) forms into their design, rather than how the advantages of regional architecture in general can be applied widely to new buildings. This is shown clearly in his books, especially *Modern Architecture since 1900* (1983), *Le Corbusier: Ideas and Forms* (1986), and *Balkrishna Doshi: An Architecture for India* (1988).

The idea of Frampton's Critical Regionalism first appeared in his speeches in the beginning of the eighties, including one in the RIBA on December, 1982. The content of this speech has been revised several times, and subsequently published as "Prospects for a Critical Regionalism" (*Perspecta*, Vol.20, 1983), "Modern Architecture and Critical Regionalism" (*Transactions*, 1983), "Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance" (*Anti-Aesthetic. Essays on Post-Modern Culture*, 1983), "Critical Regionalism: Modern Architecture and Architectural Identity" (*Modern Architecture, A Critical History* 1985.), "Some Reflections on Postmodernism" (*Postmodernism*, 1986),

---

<sup>47</sup> William Curtis (1984), p. 24.

<sup>48</sup> Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre (1981), p. 178.

<sup>49</sup> Kenneth Frampton (1983), p. 18.



"Ten Points on an Architecture of Regionalism: A Provisional Polemic" (*New Regionalism*, 1987), and "Intimations of Tactility: Excerpts from a Fragmentary Polemic" (*Architecture and Body*, 1988). Just like William Curtis, Frampton is also selective in his choice of buildings for discussion, though his scope is far wider than that of Curtis.

Besides 'Authentic Regionalism' and 'Critical Regionalism' there are different terms used by other architects and critics to qualify 'Regionalism.' For example, Rifat Chadirji described his approach as 'Regionalist International' and Wayne Attoe used the terms 'Physical Regionalism', 'Interpretive Regionalism', and 'Social Regionalism' to describe different trends in Regionalism. In 1986, the term 'New Regionalism' was re-introduced as the theme of a symposium held at the University of Texas at Austin. And Ken Yeang used the term 'Tropical Urban Regionalism' to refer to the attempt to generate a nationalistic identity, and the reaction against Modernism in the various Asian countries lying along the Equatorial belt where more than thirty-five percent of the population live in urban areas.

Basically, Regionalism of all types is speaking against the universalising characteristics of contemporary architecture, especially those which are conditioned by optimised technology, since under such circumstances the potential of any architect to create an appropriate and humane architecture will become extremely limited. For those who are in favour of Regionalism, the schism in today's architectural practice is increasingly polarised between "on the one hand, a so-called 'high-tech' approach predicated exclusively upon production and, on the other, the provision of a 'compensatory facade' to cover up the harsh realities of this universal system."<sup>50</sup> The best way to bridge this gap is through a Regionalist approach.

Such views are supported by many people. In 1960, the Indian architect Balkrishna Doshi, in a paper on "regionality" delivered in Japan, bemoaned the "rootless expression of mere industrial functionalism" and argued that "the antidote must lie in a correct reading of region, including climate, geography,

---

<sup>50</sup> Kenneth Frampton (1983), p. 17.

social habits and patterns of buildings.”<sup>51</sup> Chris Abel expresses his confidence in Regionalism by stressing that “Regionalism has the power to bring back into architecture what Modernism has taken out, namely, continuity in a given place between past and present.” He argues that Regionalism has a special meaning in the countries of the Third World where the negative effects brought by modern architecture have been profound.<sup>52</sup>

The value of Regionalism is appreciated by Peter Buchanan as being “rooted in the specifics of situations and the mystiques of local culture”, and as constituting “the dialectical counter-trend to the rational and universalising force of modern architecture.”<sup>53</sup> According to his opinion, the most serious and visible evidence of modern civilisation is ubiquitous commercial trash of curtain-wall office blocks, tacky and monotonous housing, fast-food chains, and world-wide identical entertainment. Therefore, he advises architects to follow the Regionalist approach to forestall such cultural developments which have already produced so much homogeneity and mediocrity in our environment, despite the many undeniable benefits it has given us.<sup>54</sup>

However, Regionalism is by no means perfect. There are still a number of problems with it. The most dangerous is that, if it is misused or abused, it may turn into a reactionary approach. As early as in 1934, Mumford warned us that:

The besetting weakness of Regionalism lies in the fact that it is in part a blind reaction against outward circumstances and disruptions, an attempt to find refuge within an old shell against the turbulent invasions of the outside world, armed with its new engines: in short, an aversion from what is, rather than an impulse toward what may be. For the merely sentimental Regionalist, the past was an absolute. His impulse was to fix some definite moment in the past, and to keep on living it over and over again, holding the “original” regional costumes, which were in fact merely the fashion of a certain country, maintaining the regional forms of architecture, which were merely the most

---

<sup>51</sup> Balkrishna Doshi (1960), quoted in William Curtis (1988), p. 18.

<sup>52</sup> Chris Abel (1986), pp. 37-43. In an article in *The Architectural Review* Abel suggests that regional architecture has almost always accepted imported models and that it is in the transformation of both model and type that the specific nature of Regionalism can be discovered.

<sup>53</sup> Peter Buchanan (1983), p. 15.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

convenient and comely constructions at a certain moment of cultural and technical development; and he sought, more or less, to keep these "original customs and habits and interests fixed forever in the same world: a neurotic retreat. In that sense Regionalism, it seems plain, was anti-historical and anti-organic; for it denied both the fact anything of value could come out of it.<sup>55</sup>

A similar view is shared by Tzonis and Lefaivre who point out that "on the one hand, Regionalism has been associated with movements of reform and liberation, it has helped to foster a new sense of identity among groups and to cement new unities; on the other, it has proved a power too, for repression and chauvinism, splitting people into separate enclaves and enclosing them behind walls of prejudice and intolerance."<sup>56</sup> Curtis makes the same point. He says that "at its best Regionalism penetrates to generating principles and symbolic substructures of the past then transforms these into forms that are right for the changing social order of the present." But, "at its worst it may degenerate into a skin-deep instant history in which ersatz images of the vernacular are combined with pastiches of national and cultural stereotypes."<sup>57</sup>

These warnings reinforce the distinction between two different forms of Regionalism. One is reactionary and the other liberal. In fact, Harwell Hamilton Harris already made such a distinction between "the Regionalism of Restriction" and "the Regionalism of Liberation" in 1954. The former can be seen in a lot of pastiche Post-Modern buildings while the latter is what Tzonis, Lefaivre, and Frampton call 'Critical Regionalism'. Apparently, the number of buildings which adhere to the former is much larger than those which follow the latter trend, because it is much easier to copy external forms and ornaments than to find out all that relates to the geological, social, climatic, and working conditions, and social customs of the neighbourhood for which a building is designed.

The Regionalism of Restriction, or reactionary Regionalism, should certainly not be encouraged, because buildings designed in such a manner tend to become mere museums of the past in today's world. Buildings of such a kind

---

<sup>55</sup> Lewis Mumford (1934), pp. 292-293.

<sup>56</sup> Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre (1981), p. 164.

<sup>57</sup> William Curtis (1984), p. 24.

are always executed without any realisation of how empty a form is without the life which once sustained it. The buildings of other cultures or in other periods of one's own culture are an intimate part of the whole structure of their lives. If one attempts to reproduce such buildings in our own day, "every mark on it will betray the fact that it is a fake, and the harder the architect works to conceal that fact, the more patent will the fact itself be."<sup>58</sup> Therefore we shall be focusing in the following discussion on further aspects of Critical Regionalism.

### **Critical Regionalism in Architecture**

Behind any theoretical approach, there are always many causes and influences. The contemporary emergency which calls for Critical Regionalism manifests itself in many ways, the most prominent ones being the re-appreciation of vernacular architecture, the application of Critical Theory and the reception of the influence from phenomenology. In the following section, we shall explore these phenomena to see how they are related to the formation of Critical Regionalism.

#### **Re-appreciation of Vernacular Architecture.**

There is a close relationship between Regionalist architecture and the vernacular architecture of a region. As has been argued above, one of the most serious crises modern man has ever faced is the homogenisation of the cultural landscape throughout the world. Everywhere, whether in the developed or in developing worlds, buildings, settlements, and cities are becoming more and more similar to one another. This phenomenon threatens the richness of the human culture in terms of its expression in societies and dwellings. The emergence of Regionalism is largely due to its role as a remedy for such a disturbing situation. Vernacular architecture, in this sense, can function as a repository for the inspiration of Regionalist architects.

Most buildings in the past (and still in some parts of the world today) were not designed and constructed by architectural professionals. Rather, they were the collective expressions of the people living in that cultural region.

---

<sup>58</sup> Lewis Mumford (1941), p. 15.

'Vernacular architecture' is the most common term used to describe these buildings while 'architecture without architects', 'tribal', 'traditional' 'anonymous', 'popular', 'primitive', 'pre-technological', 'aboriginal', 'domestic', 'non-pedigreed', 'non-formal non-classical', 'spontaneous', and 'indigenous' are all terms used to denote these buildings, although each of them has a slightly different emphasis.<sup>59</sup> In order to avoid confusion, we shall in this thesis, adopt the term 'vernacular architecture' to describe all of these buildings, no matter what styles or functions they employ and no matter how sophisticated or humble they may be. Vernacular architecture is an embodiment of the world view of the people in the cultural region *in tota*. It is that sort of building which is "traditional rather than academic in its inspiration."<sup>60</sup>

Up to the 1950s, the emphasis in the realm of architecture was on buildings designed by professionals. Less attention was paid to vernacular buildings which might look quite simple or even humble when compared with the complicated and sophisticated modern houses we are accustomed to today. The simplicity of the forms of vernacular architecture by no means implies that the meaning embedded within them are also simple. Vernacular architecture presents "a spectrum of rites, customs, superstitions, religious practices, signs, two and three-dimensional symbols, hierarchies of spaces, patterns of behaviour, expressions of built form and other aspects of symbolic usage which centre upon the building; the village or settlement."<sup>61</sup> In other words, vernacular architecture is an authentic reflection of the socio-cultural system of a region. Vernacular architecture mirrors the world view of men and their way of orientating themselves within the universe.

For a long time in human history, vernacular architecture has been the victim of colonisation, universal exploitation and technological development. In the West, in the eighteenth century, when the revival of the classical architectural heritage was at its peak, vernacular architecture was one of the many things which were devalued. Mumford described the situation:

---

<sup>59</sup> Both Amos Rapoport and Paul Oliver have discussed the usage of these terms. See Amos Rapoport (1969), especially Chapter One and Paul Oliver (1969), especially Part One.

<sup>60</sup> R.W. Brunskill (1981), p. 243.

<sup>61</sup> Paul Oliver (1975), p. 8.

The living tissue of customs and traditions, the vernacular architecture, the folk-ways and the folk-tales, the vulgar languages and dialects which were spoken outside of Paris or London – all these things were looked upon by the intelligent eighteenth century gentlemen as a mass of follies and barbarism.<sup>62</sup>

The reaction to this was the rise of National Romanticism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in many parts of Europe.<sup>63</sup> However, this movement was largely confined to political and literary circles. The ubiquitous debasement of vernacular architecture did not improve. In the early twentieth century only a small number of architects and architectural historians began to appreciate vernacular architecture. Frank Lloyd Wright was a case in point, saying of vernacular architecture in 1910 that:

The true basis of any serious study of the art of Architecture still lies in those indigenous, more humble buildings everywhere that are to architecture what folklore is to literature or folk song to music and with which academic architects were seldom concerned. In the aggregate of these simple buildings lie traits which make them characteristically Italian, French, Dutch, German, Spanish, or English as the case may be. These many folk structures are *of the soil*, natural. Though often slight, their virtue is intimately related to environment and to the heart-life of the people. Functions are usually truthfully conceived and rendered invariably with natural feeling. Results are often beautiful and always instructive.<sup>64</sup>

Wright's views were not followed by any immediate repercussions. Before the 1960s vernacular architecture, generally speaking, continued to be ignored by most people in architectural professional circles. The exhibition *Architecture without Architects* held in 1964 organised by Bernard Rudofsky revived many people's interest in vernacular architecture. Rudofsky argued that "skipping the

---

<sup>62</sup> Lewis Mumford (1928), p. 134.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid. Lewis Mumford describes how a group of writers and poets came into existence who, in the eighteenth century, began to enter into the life and spirit of the folk and of the medieval past which still lingered in many customs and manners. He says this Romantic approach was taken absurdly by Walpole, coldly by Robert Adam, graphically by Walter Scott, faithfully by von Scheffel, piously by Pugin, moralistically by Ruskin and imaginatively by Victor Hugo.

<sup>64</sup> Frank Lloyd Wright (1910), reproduced in Edgar Kaufmann and Ben Raeburn (1960), p. 85. Other studies devoted to vernacular architecture at the turn of the century include Sidney Addy's *The Evolution of the English Home* (1898) and Charles Innocent's *The Development of English Building Construction* (1916).

first fifty centuries, chroniclers present us with a full-dress pageant of 'formal' architecture, as arbitrary a way of introducing the art of building as, say, dating the birth of music with the advent of the symphony orchestra."<sup>65</sup>

In spite of the fact that Rudofsky criticises the over-emphasis of 'formal' architecture on a 'discriminative approach' and attributes it mainly to the parochialism of architectural historians, his own interpretations are still photographic and descriptive – concentrating simply on the 'formal' character or decoration of the buildings of diverse non-industrial cultures. Less attention was paid to how and why such vernacular buildings were built. This weakness has been remedied by other scholars such as Paul Oliver, Amos Rapoport, Colin Duly and Vincent Scully, all of whom are very sympathetic to vernacular architecture, though from different points of view. Oliver points out the fundamental difference between the products of the architect as form-giver in a modern society, and as symbol-giver in a vernacular setting.

The architect determines the forms that seem appropriate to the needs of a particular building or building complex within a society, which in the case of an indigenous society, the form of its dwellings is symbolic of its self-image. Vernacular shelter takes the form that is seen as appropriate to a society's nature, organisation, family structure, aesthetic.<sup>66</sup>

On the other hand, Rapoport argues that "the high style buildings usually must be seen in relation to, and in the context of, the vernacular matrix, and are in fact incomprehensible outside that context, especially as it existed at the time they were designed and built."<sup>67</sup> And Duly suggests that "the force of tradition provides the stabilising element binding one generation to another. The (vernacular) house plays an intermediary role between man and his world, and everywhere deserves recognition as a powerfully revealing cultural and aesthetic phenomenon."<sup>68</sup>

A concern with vernacular architecture is not a trend occurring merely among writers and scholars. Many practicing architects have also expressed

<sup>65</sup> Bernard Rudofsky (1965), preface.

<sup>66</sup> Paul Oliver (1975), p. 12.

<sup>67</sup> Amos Rapoport (1969), p. 1.

<sup>68</sup> Colin Duly (1979), p. 6.

their appreciation of vernacular architecture. Since the 1960s when the spread of criticism of Modernist architecture became rapidly, vernacular models have once again become a major source of inspiration. Curtis points out the trend that "in the search for new inspirations and primal signposts, peasant vernaculars once again came into vogue. They evoked a reassuring, pre-industrial world in which men, things, and natural forces seemed to work in unison. They also suggested keys for adapting to local environments, climates, and traditions, and were a good antidote to the diluted International Style."<sup>69</sup> The Egyptian architect Hassan Fathy, a leader amongst those who spoke for the significance of vernacular architecture. He remarks that:

Every people that has produced architecture has evolved its own favourite forms, as peculiar to that people as its language, its dress, or its folklore. Until the collapse of cultural frontier in the last century, there were all over the world distinctive local shapes and details in architecture, and the buildings of any locality were the beautiful children of a happy marriage between the imagination of the people and the demands of their countryside."<sup>70</sup>

Certainly the spread of the re-appreciation of vernacular architecture is closely related to the rise of cultural anthropology. It was the cultural anthropologist Claude Lévi-Straus who first articulated the theory of relativity of culture, stressing the importance of the symbiosis of different cultures. When architects realised that no single, universal ideal, architectural icon can exist, they know the richness of vernacular architecture can help them to manage to enclose the cultural tradition within their work. The aim of Critical Regionalism is thus to address the cultural vitality and expression of a region, by treating the aspects of vernacular architecture as the first priority to learn, given its natural role as a reservoir of regional heritage.

However, in spite of this extreme importance, "Regionalism should not be sentimentally identified with the vernacular", as Frampton argues.<sup>71</sup> The reason is obvious: architects who provide solutions directly modelled on 'vernacular'

---

<sup>69</sup> William Curtis (1983), p. 296.

<sup>70</sup> Hassan Fathy (1973), p. 19.

<sup>71</sup> Kenneth Frampton (1987), p. 22.



imitations of the past, (examples of 'architecture without architects') are only producing kitsch and pastiche solutions. The vernacular cannot be copied – it ceases to be meaningful on the drawing board. Yet there exists a state of confusion in the use of the terms 'vernacularism' and 'neo-vernacularism' by some writers. For example, Suha Ozkan identifies 'vernacularism' as one form of Regionalism.<sup>72</sup> But we, shall, in our discussion, make a distinction between them.

### **The Application of Critical Theory.**

The association between Critical Theory and Critical Regionalism is made self-evident by their relative terminologies. When the term was first coined by Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre, Critical Regionalism denoted those critical efforts directed against ailing Modernism, in an attempt to sustain the humanistic spirit of modern architecture.<sup>73</sup> The idea has been followed up and furthered by Kenneth Frampton, who wishes the use of the term will be able "to evoke a real and hypothetical condition in which a critical culture of architecture is consciously cultivated in a particular place, in express opposition to the cultural domination of hegemonic power."<sup>74</sup>

Although Frampton did not use the term 'Critical Regionalism' until 1983, the influence of Critical Theory on him was already shown in the publications such as *'Criticism': Five Architects* (1972), "Apropos Ulm: Curriculum and Critical Theory" (1974) and *Modern Architecture: a critical history* (1980). In *Modern Architecture* Kenneth Frampton explicitly states that "my affinity for the Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School has no doubt coloured my view of the whole period and made me acutely aware of the dark side of the Enlightenment which, in the name of an unreasonable reason, has brought man to a situation where he begins to be as alienated from his own production as from the natural world."<sup>75</sup> This statement reveals that the issue of the Enlightenment has served as a bridge linking Critical Theory to the problems in architecture that

---

<sup>72</sup> Suha Ozkan (1989), pp. 279–281.

<sup>73</sup> Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre (1981), p. 178.

<sup>74</sup> Kenneth Frampton (1986), p. 27.

<sup>75</sup> Kenneth Frampton (1985), p. 9.

Critical Regionalism seeks to solve. I shall come back to explore this relationship later in this section. But before doing so, I shall first explain what is Critical Theory.

'Critical Theory' is a term which loosely refers to the writings of so-called 'Western Marxism'. The theory caught the imagination of students and intellectuals in the 1960s and early 1970s when the student movement and consequent political turmoil in many Western countries were at their peak. It soon became a major force in the formation and self-understanding of the New Left. Many of those committed to new radical protest movements found in the works of Critical Theory an intriguing interpretation of Marxist theory and an emphasis on issues and problems which had rarely been explored by more orthodox approaches to Marxism. The critical theorists "directed attention to areas such as the state and mass culture, areas which are only just beginning to receive the study they require. Their engagement with orthodox Marxism on the one hand, and with conventional approaches to social science on the other, provided a major challenge to writers from both perspectives." Because they are critical of both capitalism and Soviet socialism, "their writings pointed to the possibility – a possibility often sought after today – of an alternative path for social development."<sup>76</sup>

Strictly speaking, Critical Theory and the Frankfurt School are not completely identical and the term 'Critical Theory' does not imply a unity among those associated with it. David Held points out that under the label 'Critical Theory' there are at least two branches; the first centred around the *Institut für Sozialforschung* (The Institute of Social Research) founded in Frankfurt in 1923, and the second around the more recent works of Jürgen Habermas.<sup>77</sup> The thought of the main figures of the Frankfurt School was

<sup>76</sup> David Held (1980), pp. 13-14.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., p. 14. The institute was founded as a result of an initiative by the son of a wealthy grain merchant, Felix Weil. Its key figures were Max Horkheimer (philosopher, sociologist and social psychologist), Friedrich Pollock (economist and specialist on the problems of national planning), Theodor Adorno (philosopher, sociologist, musicologist), Erich Fromm (psychoanalyst, social psychologist), Herbert Marcuse (philosopher), Franz Neumann (political scientist), Otto Kirchheimer (political scientist), Henryk Grossmann (political economist), Arkadij Gurland (economist, sociologist), and Walter Benjamin (essayist and literary critic) as a member of the outer circle of the Institute. However, not everyone in the Institute spoke in the same tone and it is misleading to equate the Frankfurt School with Critical Theory. Only Horkheimer, Adorn, and Marcuse in particular, together with Habermas, can be treated as central figures in Critical Theory.

strongly influenced by, and attempted to learn from and synthesize aspects of the works of, not only Hegel and Marx but also Kant, Weber, Lukács and Freud.

Although Critical Theory identified itself closely with the Marxist legacy, and Marx's political economy can be treated as one of the foundations of Critical Theory<sup>78</sup>, its influence on the critical category of Regionalism in architecture is less apparent. So, in spite of the fact that Frampton admits that "like many others of my generation, I have been influenced by a Marxist interpretation of history", he argues that "even the most cursory reading of this text will reveal that none of the established methods of Marxist analysis has been applied."<sup>79</sup>

In fact, the most influential factor on Critical Regionalism is that of Habermas, especially his attitude towards the Enlightenment. And it is certainly not a coincidence that the time at which Frampton proposed 'Critical Regionalism' was after 1982, when two articles related to modern architecture written by Habermas became widely known. The first of these articles is "Modernity – An Incomplete Project", originally a speech delivered in September 1980 when Habermas was awarded the Theodor Adorno prize. It was subsequently delivered as a James Lecture of the New York Institute for Humanities at New York University in March 1981 and published under the title "Modernity Versus Postmodernity" in *New German Critique* (No. 22 Winter 1981). The second is "Modern and Post-Modern Architecture", originally an inaugural speech presented in December 1981 at the exhibition "The Other Tradition – Architecture in Munich from 1800 up to Today." The text was published in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (December 5–6 1981) and in *Der Architect* (No.2 1982).

Habermas points out that "the project of modernity formulated in the eighteenth century by the philosophers of the Enlightenment consisted in their efforts to develop objective science, universal morality and law, and autonomous art according to their inner logic." He thinks "the Enlightenment philosophers wanted to utilise this accumulation of specialised culture for the enrichment of everyday life – that is to say, for the rational organisation of

---

<sup>78</sup> David Held (1980), especially Chapter 2.

<sup>79</sup> Kenneth Frampton (1985), p. 9.

everyday social life.”<sup>80</sup> However, the expectation of the Enlightenment philosophers that “the art and sciences would promote not only the control of natural forces but also understanding of the world and of the self, moral progress, the justice of institutions and even the happiness of human being” was shattered in the twentieth century. The differentiation of the disciplines has resulted in “the autonomy of the segments treated by the specialist and their separation from the hermeneutics of everyday communication.”<sup>81</sup> Thus, Habermas argues that the project of modernity has not yet been fulfilled. He denounces antimodernism (neoconservative) as reactionary and calls for a critical reappropriation of the modern project. Habermas attempts to “develop a theory of society with a practical intention; the self-emancipation of people from domination.”<sup>82</sup>

The issue of the Enlightenment has been widely discussed since the nineteenth century. For Max Weber, the growth of the legacy of the Enlightenment, the triumph of *Zweckrationalität* – instrumental rationality – which affects and infects almost every aspects of life, does not lead to the concrete realisation of universal freedom, but to the creation of an “iron cage” of bureaucratic rationality from which there is no escape.<sup>83</sup> From the 1920s to 1960s, there was a shift of Critical Theory from the old concern with working out a substantial critique of political economy to a more generalised critique of instrumental rationality – culminating in Adorno’s “negative dialectics.” But from Habermas’s perspective, such change threatened the explanatory–diagnostic function of Critical Theory. Habermas argues that “Critical Theory had distinguished itself from traditional social theory by virtue of its ability to specify those real potentialities in a concrete historical situation which could further the processes of human emancipation and overcome domination and repression.” But if this promise was to be fulfilled, “one could not avoid the task of a scientific understanding of the dynamics of contemporary society.”<sup>84</sup>

---

<sup>80</sup> Jürgen Habermas (1985), p. 9.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> David Held (1980), p. 250.

<sup>83</sup> Richard J. Benstein (1985), p. 5.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

According to Horkheimer and Adorno's argument based on the critique of instrumental rationality, the character and the fate of the social sciences were part of the "problem" of modernity, not a way of "solving" the problem. But for Habermas, the task was "to appropriate the most promising developments in the social sciences and integrate them into a critical social science."<sup>85</sup> Habermas sees the threats to social rationality in culture and social life; he breaks decisively with the historical pessimism of the later Adorno and Horkheimer who interpreted the development of Western rationality as the totalisation of reification, domination and repression – desiring, rather to defend the positive advancements of the Enlightenment, modernity and Western rationality.

Habermas's attitude towards the Enlightenment echoes that of Critical Regionalists who do not want to reject the thrust of modernisation, yet nonetheless resist being totally absorbed and consumed by it. Kenneth Frampton argues that:

Critical Regionalism has to be understood as a marginal practice, one which, while it is critical of modernisation, nonetheless still refuses to abandon the emancipatory and progressive aspects of the modern architectural legacy. At the same time, Critical Regionalism's fragmentary and marginal nature serves to distance it both from normative optimisation and from the naive utopianism of the early Modern Movement.<sup>86</sup>

There is no doubt that there were strong political notions in the minds of those who originally supported the idea of 'Critical Regionalism' to evoke an approach which would emancipate architecture from cultural domination of any style associated with hegemonic power. (For people in many non-Western countries, both the Western style and the International Style buildings are symbols of political achievement.) Critical Regionalism, depends, as Frampton puts it, "by definition, on an explicit or implicit rapport between the body politic and the architectural profession. Thus, among the pre-conditions for the emergence of a regional expression is not only local prosperity but also a strong sense of identity. The main-spring of Regionalism is an anti-centrist

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>86</sup> Kenneth Frampton (1985), p. 327.

sentiment – a discernible aspiration for some kind of cultural, economic and political independence.”<sup>87</sup>

The relationship between Critical Regionalism and political development can also be revealed in Frampton’s adoption of “Architecture of Resistance” as a synonymous term for Critical Regionalism. And it is in the developing world (such as Asian countries and Middle Eastern countries) and the marginal areas of the developed world (such as Scandinavian countries) that Critical Regionalism has received its strongest support. In spite of its initial political connotations, Critical Regionalism should not be emphatically interpreted as a political movement. Rather, the stress should be on its critical potential.

Since the Enlightenment, the development of modern architecture has simultaneously followed two distinct lines. One is the utopianism of the avant-garde, first formulated at the beginning of the nineteenth century and epitomised in the latest hi-tech architecture. The other is the anti-classical, anti-rational attitude stemming from Christian reformism such as Pugin’s *Contrasts* (1836), to present-day nostalgic Post-Modern kitsch. If the former follows the spirit of the Enlightenment, the latter is its counter-force. The sole hope for a healthy architecture in the future is to have a critical appreciation of both. For this, Critical Theory offers a firm foundation for Critical Regionalism to build upon.

### **The Influence of Phenomenology.**

As mentioned before, in addition to Critical Theory which has roots in Hegel and Marx and culminates in the Frankfurt School, the formation of Critical Regionalism has also been strongly influenced by phenomenology which stems from the writings of Husserl and Martin Heidegger. The conjunction of Marxist thought in Critical Theory and phenomenology may seem uncomfortable to some people. But Frampton uses Donald M. Lowe’s argument to illustrate their possible unification.

Both phenomenology and Marxism are anti-positivist. Both derive their concepts of reason from the world. However each proposes a different ‘reason’ for a different world configuration. What the life world is to phenomenology, totality is to Marxism.

---

<sup>87</sup> Kenneth Frampton (1982b), p. 77.

Phenomenologists use the concept of intentionality to describe the life world, whereas Marxists use the concept of dialectic to analyse totality. If dialectic is the structure of totality in transformation, intentionality is the subjectisation of that dialectical structure.<sup>88</sup>

I shall at this moment lay the verdict on such conjunction aside and focus the discussion on what aspects that Critical Regionalism has learnt from phenomenology. If Critical Regionalist architecture is an architecture of resistance, which resists the 'rootlessness' of the Modernist built environment, the remedy it must search for should be the aspect of 'rootedness.' Rootedness can mean objectively a long inhabitation at one locality, or subjectively a state of dwelling in a meaningful world and an insensitivity toward the flow of time. In order to be rooted, one has to have the sense of place and the sense of belonging to a locality.

For any critique of a state of rootlessness and placelessness, phenomenology offers many valuable points. As has been expounded in the last chapter, 'place' and 'design as place-making' are two crucial notions that the Phenomenology of Architecture derives from phenomenology. Critical Regionalism shares the same concern with the sense of place. In its essence, Critical Regionalism is, as Frampton argues, "a position dedicated to place creation and the sustenance of an intimate and continuous relationship between the architecture and local society it serves."<sup>89</sup> Ken Yeang also argues that the Regionalist approach "requires a sensing beneath the surface of those memories, myths and aspirations of the place that give the society coherence and energy."<sup>90</sup>

In order to be deeply rooted in the culture of a place, Regionalism must be introverted and place-bounded in its character. Frampton has coined the concept 'place-form' to describe this idea. He attributes this concept to Heidegger's notion of space as "a boundary is not that at which something

---

<sup>88</sup> Donald M. Lowe, quoted in Kenneth Frampton (1986), p. 27. Philippe Lacoue-Labarthe also associates Adorno and Heidegger within the tradition of resistance. See Philippe Lacoue-Labarthe (1986).

<sup>89</sup> Kenneth Frampton (1983), p. 16.

<sup>90</sup> Ken Yeang (1987), p. 23.

stops, but as the Greeks recognised, the boundary is that from which something begins its presencing. ... Spaces receive their being from locations and not from 'space'".<sup>91</sup>

The influence of phenomenology on Critical Regionalism is not confined to this single point. Phenomenological interpretation proves to be a powerful device for seeing the 'lifeworld'.<sup>92</sup> Lifeworlds associated with the vernacular, or as they are described by Seamon, 'vernacular lifeworlds', which are supposed to function as the source of the inspiration of architects with the Regionalist approach in their mind. are the issues that phenomenologists have shown great interest in. There are critical aspects that phenomenology attempts to present things and experiences thoughtfully and thoroughly. If these can be taken up by Critical Regionalism, they will enrich it with the critical concerns of the totality of the built environment. Including phenomenological contents as part of its foundation, Critical Regionalism is, therefore, able to indicate that various dimensions of the natural world support and reflect the dimensions of people's emotional, psychological, socio-cultural, and spiritual worlds. A holistic phenomenological consideration enables Critical Regionalism to manifest all of these aspects in its work.

Besides Critical Theory and phenomenology, the Regionalist favouring of 'place-form' and its critique of the alienation of the world and the universalisation of the built environment are also indebted to the writings of Hannah Arendt, especially the book *The Human Condition*. Arendt is a political theorist. But her critique of totalitarianism, a world state, and modernity also contributes to the theoretical bases of Critical Regionalism. One of the important points she made about the state of the modern world in *The Human Condition* is that that "modern natural science owes its great triumphs to having looked upon and treated earth-bound nature from a truly universal viewpoint, that is, from an Archimedean standpoint taken, wilfully and explicitly,

---

<sup>91</sup> Martin Heidegger (1954), p. 154. We will not repeat here a discussion of Heidegger's idea which has already been pursued in Chapters One and Chapter Three.

<sup>92</sup> David Seamon defines the lifeworld as a person or groups' everyday taken-for-granted world, which includes surrounding, artifacts, gestures, behaviours, events, meanings, and forth. See David Seamon (1979) and (1987).



outside the earth.”<sup>93</sup> She says that “the most radical change in the human condition we can imagine would be an emigration of men from the earth to some other planet.”<sup>94</sup> “Without actually standing where Archimedes wished to stand *dos moi pou sta* still bound to the earth through the human condition,” Arendt argues, “we have found a way to act on the earth and within terrestrial nature as though we dispose of it from the outside, from the Archimedean point.”<sup>95</sup> The way in which modern science has been forced to adopt the universe rather than the earth as its true standing point and frame of reference, as Arendt suggests, is the root of ‘earth alienation.’

The loss of the sense of belonging to the earth and of a sense of place is intensified when the action and the thinking of people can no longer be earth-bound. The development of modern technology enables men to leave the earth for indefinite space. But all of such technology, as Arendt argues, “make it more unlikely every day that man will encounter anything in the world around him that is not man-made and hence is not, in the last analysis, he himself in a different disguise.”<sup>96</sup> In fact, Arendt’s argument coincides with something suggested by Heidegger who, in one essay, points out that “meanwhile man, precisely as the one so threatened, exalts himself to the posture of lord of the earth. In this way the impression comes to prevail that everything man encounters exists only insofar as it is his construct. This illusion gives rise in turn to one final delusion: It seems as though man everywhere and always encounters only himself.”<sup>97</sup>

In another occasion, Arendt questions the universalisation of the world. She points out the very idea of being a citizen of the world is a dangerous thing to human dignity.

Just as man and woman can be the same, namely human, only by being absolutely different from each other, so the national of every country can enter this world history of humanity only by remaining and clinging stubbornly to what he

---

<sup>93</sup> Hannah Arendt (1958), p. 11.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., p. 262.

<sup>96</sup> Hannah Arendt (1968), p. 227.

<sup>97</sup> Martin Heidegger (1977), p. 27.

is. A world citizen, living under the tyranny of a world empire, and speaking and thinking in a kind of glorified Esperanto, would be no less a monster than a hermaphrodite.<sup>98</sup>

Although her point, motivated by political resistance, is to argue against succumbing to the notion of a unitary world state as a solution to the nuclear danger, it coincides with the concern of regional identity of Regionalism. The fact that Arendt has defined as the root of world alienation, is the loss of group differentiation. To be in the world one must be in only part of it, and a part is what it is only because there are distinct other parts. Every identity requires otherness. This finds echoes in Paul Ricoeur's argument about national cultures and universal civilisation which is crucial to the Critical Regionalist approach.<sup>99</sup>

Arendt also stresses the *res publica* as the political space for public appearance. She emphasizes the concentration of public appearance that:

The only indispensable material factor in the generation of power is the living together of people. Only when men live so close together that the potentialities for action are always present will power remain with them and the foundation of cities.<sup>100</sup>

Such an argument has been taken up by those who support Regionalism as a foundation on which they build up their criticisms of homogenising suburbs. Frampton criticises Melvin Webber's ideological conceptions of *community without propinquity* and the *non-place urban realm* as "nothing if not slogans devised to rationalise the absence of any adequate realm of public appearance within modern suburbia."<sup>101</sup> The disappearance of the public realm means the isolation of the people. The situation is similar to that of when a table is taken away, those sitting around it will no longer related to one another because the table, around which they build up their relationship, is gone. The public space which used to bring people together is missing in the modern built environment. Understanding this situation, Regionalists seek to bring back

<sup>98</sup> Hannah Arendt (1968), p. 89. Arendt raised this question first in an essay prepared for a volume to honour her teacher, *Karl Jaspers: Citizen of the World?* (1957). She spelt out the significance of the question mark in the title.

<sup>99</sup> Paul Ricoeur's argument will be discussed in Chapter Five.

<sup>100</sup> Hannah Arendt (1958), p. 201.

<sup>101</sup> Kenneth Frampton (1982a), p. 7.

meaningful public appearance in the built environment. On this point, Frampton thinks there is a certain perceivable affinity between Arendt and Habermas, particularly Habermas's essay 'Technology and Science as Ideology.'<sup>102</sup> Arendt also proposes a relation between politics and the built form.

Power preserves the public realm and the space of appearance and as such it is also the life blood of the human artifice, which, unless it is the scene of action and speech of the web of human affairs and relationships and the stories engendered by them, lacks its ultimate *raison d'être*. Without being talked about by men and without housing them, the world would not be a human artifice but a heap of unrelated things to which each isolated individual was at liberty to add one more object; without the human artifice to house them, human affairs would be as floating, as futile and vain as the wandering of nomadic tribes.<sup>103</sup>

In this argument, Arendt gives significance to the human artifice. She opposes the house to the nomadic tent.<sup>104</sup> Such recognition of the house as a place of dwelling is, as Frampton suggests, fundamentally Heideggerian, and certainly has exerted a great influence on the nuclear thought of Critical Regionalism.

#### 4-4 CONCLUSION

Over the last decade, Critical Regionalism seems to have offered an optimistic forecast of a marriage of traditional culture and modern civilisation in the modern built environment. Critical Regionalism attempts to evoke a condition of authenticity in which a new architecture can be consciously originated out of the characteristics of a given place in order to withstand the domination and arbitrariness of Modernism in architecture. Critical Regionalism is, therefore, an approach which involves both product and process rather than something arbitrarily fabricated as a panacea for the symptoms of the built environment. It is so comprehensive an approach, that it attempts only an approximate direction of the sum total of achievement – recognising itself,

<sup>102</sup> Kenneth Frampton (1986), p. 28.

<sup>103</sup> Hannah Arendt (1958), p. 204.

<sup>104</sup> Also see her article 'Thinking and Moral Consideration', quoted in Kenneth Frampton (1982a), p. 19. Arendt states that "we can use the word house for a great number of objects – for the mud hut of a tribe, the palace of a king, the country home of a city dweller, the cottage in the village, or the apartment house in town – but we can hardly use it for the tents of some nomads. ... It (the house) implies 'housing somebody' and being 'dwelt in' as no tent could house or serve as a dwelling place which is put up today and taken down tomorrow."

always, as an inseparable part of the environment it seeks to influence.

The review of Post-Modernism, Alexander's Pattern Language, and the Phenomenology of Architecture in Chapter Three and the discussion in this chapter leads us to believe that Critical Regionalism has a greater potential than all the others to heal the schism existing in contemporary architectural development. In the past, Regionalism had been too often conceived solely in terms of local materials and climates. This is a restrictive approach although such factors are critical to the expression of a regional character. Victor Olgyay's subtitle 'Bioclimatic Approach to Architectural Regionalism' for the book *Design with Climate* is incomplete, if not misleading. My concern set out to place Critical Regionalism in a wider context. I wish to open – or accelerate the opening of – a debate about the role of Critical Regionalism has played in the past and might play in the future in different socio-cultural backgrounds.

I believe that Critical Regionalism can pave a way to a new dialogue between oppositions such as regional culture and universal civilisation. However, so far I have only gone through the discussion on the historical and theoretical levels. How successfully such approach can be tested in real situations is an issue not yet touched upon. In the next chapter, I shall concentrate the discussion on how the practicability of Critical Regionalism might emerge from the interaction of a series of dialectics.

# CHAPTER FIVE

## DIALECTICS OF

### CRITICAL REGIONALISM

#### 5-1 INTRODUCTION

In the last chapter, a review was made of the background and development of Regionalism in architecture, with an emphasis on Critical Regionalism. At the end of the discussion, the conclusion that Critical Regionalism has the potential to open a genuine dialogue between opposite characteristics of architecture was reached. In this chapter, an inquiry will be made into the manner and degree of the potentialities emerging from a dialectical interaction along a set of binary oppositions. The term *dialectic* in our discussion implies the tension between these binary oppositions, and at the same time, expresses a dynamism which lends a certain progression to their interaction.

The dialectical characterisation of architecture is of course not an invention of this thesis. Both Kenneth Frampton and Juhani Pallasmaa have used a set of opposites in their discussions of Regionalism. On several occasions, Frampton proposed slightly different polarities which can be generalised as follows. The first term of each pair represents the characteristics of tradition-oriented architecture while the second term represents those of its modern counterpart.

**Traditional --- Modern**  
culture --- civilisation  
experience --- information  
place --- space  
myth --- reality  
topography --- typology  
architectonic --- scenographic  
natural --- artificial  
tactile --- visual

(Dialectical characteristics proposed by Kenneth Frampton.)

Frampton thinks that good architecture should constitute the interstitial middle ground between such oppositions. He believes that Regionalism should be "as critical of the one as it is of the other and while it may as a theoretical position be as full of *aporias* as the other two, it does nonetheless offer a

critical basis from which to evolve a contemporary architecture of resistance.”<sup>1</sup> Pallasmaa proposes a similar dialectical analysis of architecture. However, his argument is made from the point of view of a Modernist. He defines these two sets of opposites as the attributes of ‘First Modernism’ and ‘Second Modernism.’ The First Modernism was a utopian, idealist, and purist movement while the Second Modernism has relearned a way of seeing architecture as part of a cultural tradition.

**Second Modernism ---- First Modernism**

situational --- universal  
individual --- collective  
unique --- standardised  
subconscious --- conscious  
realistic --- idealistic  
history-oriented --- future-oriented  
form-oriented --- structure-oriented  
emotional --- rational  
relativist --- absolutist  
pragmatic --- theoretical, orthodox  
inclusive --- exclusive

(Dialectical characteristics proposed by Juhani Pallasmaa.)

Pallasmaa calls these opposites “mental orientations” and argues that “an architectural style is defined, both on individual and collective levels, by a combination of certain mental orientations, stylistic evolution seems to take place in a pendulum fashion as priorities shift from one polarity to the other.”<sup>2</sup>

There is no doubt that the arguments and analyses of both Frampton and Pallasmaa have contributed greatly to the understanding of contemporary architectural development. However, what they have argued is more analytical of existing buildings than constructive as a bridge to a new architecture. The biggest problem is that they seem to have used these dialectics as a kind of ‘checklists’ or a set of ‘criteria’ with which to examine existing buildings in order to find out which can be labelled ‘Regionalist’. Besides, they do not place the dialectics in the context of the worldview of the people that an authentic architecture should manifest.

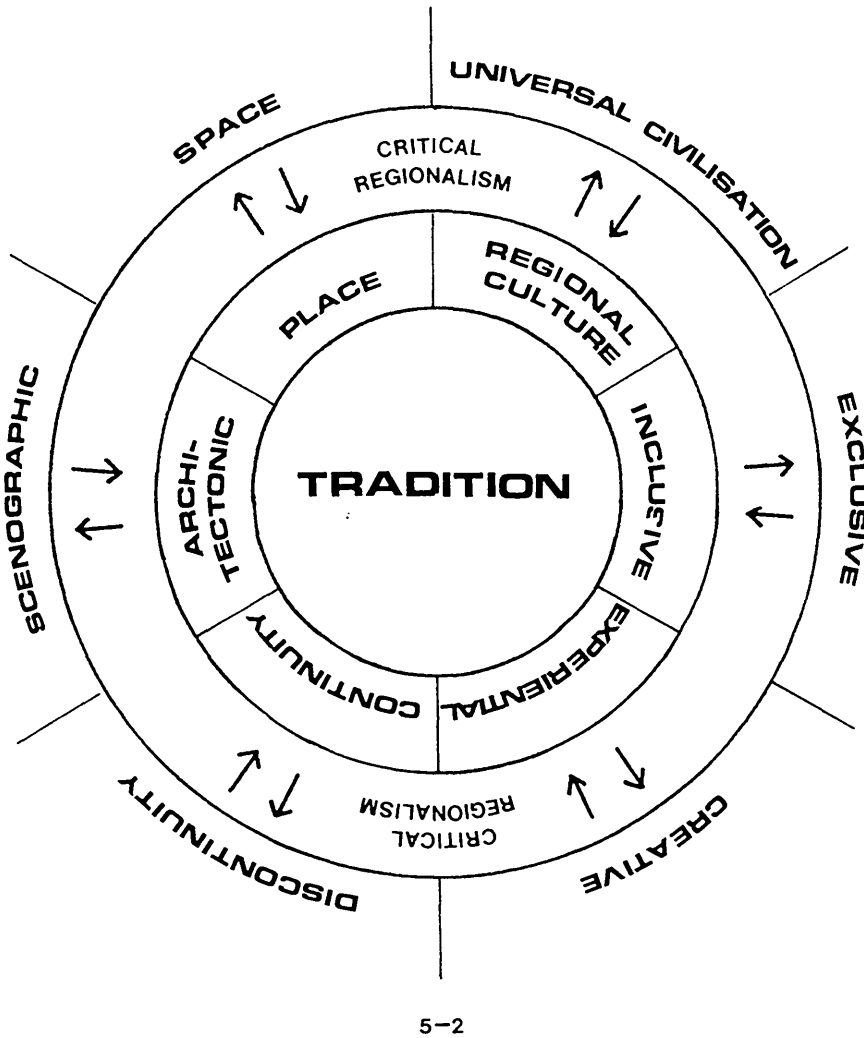
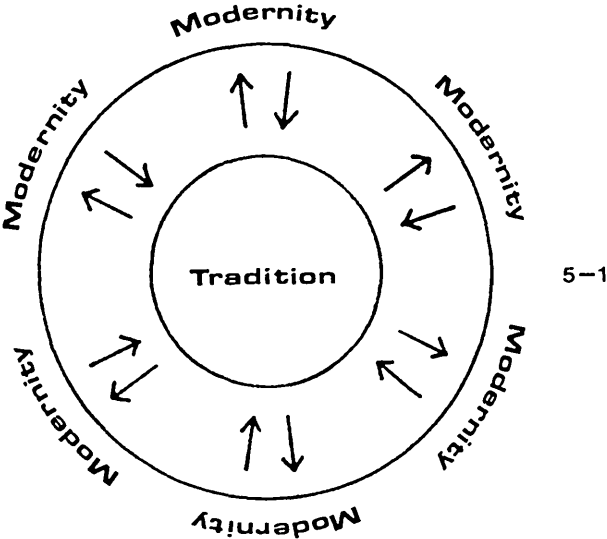
<sup>1</sup> Kenneth Frampton (1987), p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Juhani Pallasmaa (1988), p. 32.

Having accepted the fact that contemporary architectural development cannot be isolated in either one of these opposites but owes its success to a balance between the two, I continue to construct my argument on the basis of the dialectics that Frampton and Pallasmaa have proposed. However, I shall not follow them blindly. Rather, an attempt is made to further their ideas and propose a new kind of dialectics. The built environment, a complete entity with tradition at its core, the centre, can be represented by a circle (fig. 5-1). The process of modernisation is a centrifugal, outward force, leading society from tradition to modernity. At the centre of the circle are the attributes of traditional society and architecture while congregated at the outskirts of the circle are those of modern society and architecture. The awareness of modernisation's negative effects activates a counter-force which brings people centripetally and inwardly back to the centre. To confine oneself to tradition or indulge oneself in plagiarising traditional elements might turn people into isolationists or historicists. On the other hand, to move blindly outwards without acknowledging the existence of one's cultural heritage may result in people adopting a new avant-garde or becoming believers in pure high-tech. The Critical Regionalist approach seeks a balance between these two forces.

Both the theoretical foundation and the practical tactics are main themes to be expounded in this chapter. A number of buildings will be used to illustrate my points. By doing so, however, I do not mean to imply that all architects and buildings I choose to discuss are 'Critical Regionalist'. In fact hardly any architect in the contemporary world can be labelled a pure 'Critical Regionalist'. The examples are used simply to support my argument that possibilities already exist which an architect might follow. Throughout the discussion, a distinction is made between 'conceptual' dialectics and 'tactical' dialectics. Both Frampton and Pallasmaa have failed to point out such a distinction. Their factual analyses are very helpful as far as they go, but the reason and the objective behind them are rarely touched upon. Such a distinction is important because it will help us to illustrate the metaphysical notion as well as the concrete strategy upon which Critical Regionalism builds its theory and practicality.

- fig. 5-1: Concept of modernisation and counter-modernisation
- fig. 5-2: Conceptual dialectics of Critical Regionalism





## 5-2 CONCEPTUAL DIALECTICS OF CRITICAL REGIONALISM

Conceptual dialectics consists of the 'theoretical' core which together with the 'practical' core, that is, tactical dialectics, forms the complete framework of Critical Regionalism. Regional culture/Universal civilisation dialectics addresses the equal importance of regional culture and universal civilisation. A balance between them is an aim to be achieved. Inclusive/Exclusive dialectics encourages regional culture to develop relatively with others; it emancipates Critical Regionalism from isolationism. Experiential/Creative dialectics stresses the nature of the approach as one based on human experience and at the same time values the creative ability of the architect. Continuity/Discontinuity dialectics reassures the provision of a link between the past, the present and the future. It helps architects to resist the treatment of the past as a merely haphazard collection of images and to defend themselves against a wholesale absorption by the future. Architectonic/Scenographic dialectics stresses the necessity of an explicit composition of the elements in architecture since only so can architecture be prevented from becoming merely the production of pure form. Place/Space dialectics reveals the phenomenological nature of Critical Regionalism; it reinforces the sense of place and emphasizes the importance of the *Genius Loci* (fig. 5-2)

### **Regional Culture/Universal Civilisation.**

Mankind as a whole is on the brink of a single world civilisation representing at once a gigantic progress for everyone and an overwhelming task of survival and adapting our cultural heritage to this new setting. To some extent, and in varying ways, everyone experiences the tension between the necessity for the free access to progress and, on the other hand, the exigency of safeguarding our heritage. – Paul Ricoeur.<sup>3</sup>

As has been pointed out, the most irrevocable destruction brought about by Modernist architecture is the negation of its traditional counterparts. The situation is especially serious in the developing world where the importation of architectural styles based on universal ideologies has transformed many cities into places that deny their cultural roots. Very often the essence of regional

<sup>3</sup> Paul Ricoeur (1965), p. 271.

models has been usurped by the use of technology that is expensive, not only in terms of construction cost but also with respect to the cost of subsequent maintenance and upgrading. Variety and complexity of traditional settlements and buildings have been removed and replaced by buildings with no identity or context. Skylines, cityscapes, even the landscape of rural areas, have been becoming more and more universal.

An emotional attachment to regional culture, characteristic of some of the isolationists and narrow-minded nationalists, is certainly not a positive way out. Some traditional models, which regional culture used to grow out of, are no longer suitable for the contemporary world. Practicing cultural isolation in order to achieve a regional character is by no means an appropriate architectural solution because it can only help architects to become parochialists who design nothing but pastiches with a veneer of local colours. On the other hand, the wholesale spread of the International Style which is so destructive should also be rejected because its universally oriented character is so negative towards the heritage of a people that even those who support the Modern Movement in architecture may attack it. Therefore it should come as no surprise that S. Giedion in 1954 chose the International Style as the target of bitter criticism.

The word "style" when used for contemporary architecture is often combined with another password label. This is the epithet "international." ... But the use of the word "international" quickly became harmful and constantly shot back like a boomerang. International architecture – the International Style – so went the argument, is something that hovers in midair, with no roots anywhere.<sup>4</sup>

Giedion then emphasized the importance of respect for regional character by calling for a 'New Regionalism.' While New Regionalism tries to legitimate modern architecture by identifying its concealed regional attributes, (if there are any), Critical Regionalism seeks to provoke a dialogue between regional culture and universal civilisation. Regional cultural and universal civilisation are two ends of the continuum. The former should resist the onslaught of the latter whilst at the same time trying to manifest itself through it. The central

---

<sup>4</sup> S. Giedion (1954), pp. 140.

proposition, thus, is that people should not totally and emotionally oppose the benefits of modernisation; they should try to take advantage of the universal civilisation if it can become complementary to regional culture. In this regard, "a healthy Regionalism is not a regressive return to the forms of the past; nor is it camouflage – mere fitting in or fancy dress. ... It is an authentic synthesis of what is most commonsense, dignified and enriching – sensually and symbolically – from tradition with freedom, comforts and securities offered by industrial civilisation."<sup>5</sup>

The predicament "how to become modern and to return to sources; how to revive an old, dormant civilisation and take part in universal civilisation", pointed out by Paul Ricoeur, is at the root of this dialectical attitude of Critical Regionalism. In the article "Universal Civilisation and National Cultures", he argues that:

The phenomenon of universalisation, while being an advancement of mankind, at the same time constitutes a sort of subtle destruction, not only of traditional cultures, which might not be an irreparable wrong, but also. ... of the creative nucleus of great civilisations and great culture, that nucleus on the basis of which we interpret life ... the ethical and mythical nucleus of mankind. ... In order to get on to the road toward modernisation, is it necessary to jettison the old cultural past which has been the *raison d'être* of a nation?<sup>6</sup>

Critical Regionalism recognises that both regional culture and universal civilisation are important, because everybody is undeniably tied to both of them, whether he likes it or not. Theoretically speaking, a marriage between regional culture and universal civilisation is not so difficult a task. But could it be successful in practice? If one goes through the history of modern architecture, he shall find out that although the domination of Modernism has made the survival of any attempt at highlighting regional culture very difficult, there are some architects who do find a way to exercise a kind of Regionalism within the parameters of Modernism. Alvar Aalto is a case in point. In much of his work, there is a strong self-awareness of attempting to blend the universal principles of Modern Movement with regional traditions of Finland.

---

<sup>5</sup> Peter Buchanan (1983), p.15.

<sup>6</sup> Paul Ricoeur (1965), p. 271 and p. 277.

Aalto's reluctance to be absorbed into reductionist Modernism was already shown in some of his early work. But it is in Villa Mairea (1938–39), at Noormarkku, Finland, that Aalto was able to amalgamate in a single house many ideas that he had only been allowed to experiment with episodically in his other buildings. The initial sketches of the design show the inspiration Aalto had drawn from Frank Lloyd Wright's Fallingwater<sup>7</sup> (fig. 5-3). But Aalto soon escaped from this imitation and developed a design based on regional references. The spatial layout of the completed villa is L-shaped with the entrance situated at the joint of two wings. This was then incorporated with a L-shaped stone wall to create a half-open, half-enclosed space in which the swimming pool and the lawn are located. Such spatial layout, as William Curtis points out, has its root in typical Finnish farms, where a semi-courtyard was used to protect livestock from the severity of the northern European winter, and to define an inward-looking community<sup>8</sup> (fig. 5-4). It is not only the general layout of Villa Mairea that echoes traditional Finnish farms; the flexible living room inside, which is located on the ground floor where various activities may take place simultaneously, is also an experimental return to the rural *tupa* (a combined dining room, living room and kitchen). Aalto's appreciation of the *tupa* was shown in an article published in 1930.

The Finnish farmers's *tupa* ... is a combination of various functions and was never comparable with the concept of 'a room' until its decadence. No family can live in one room, not even two if it has children. But any family can live in an area of the same size, if that area is distributed with an eye to the life and interests of the members of the family.<sup>9</sup>

The main theme of the Villa Mairea's built form is a juxtaposition of whitewashed plaster surfaces similar to those of the International Style, and walls clad with vertical wooden louvre boards of regional traditions. The

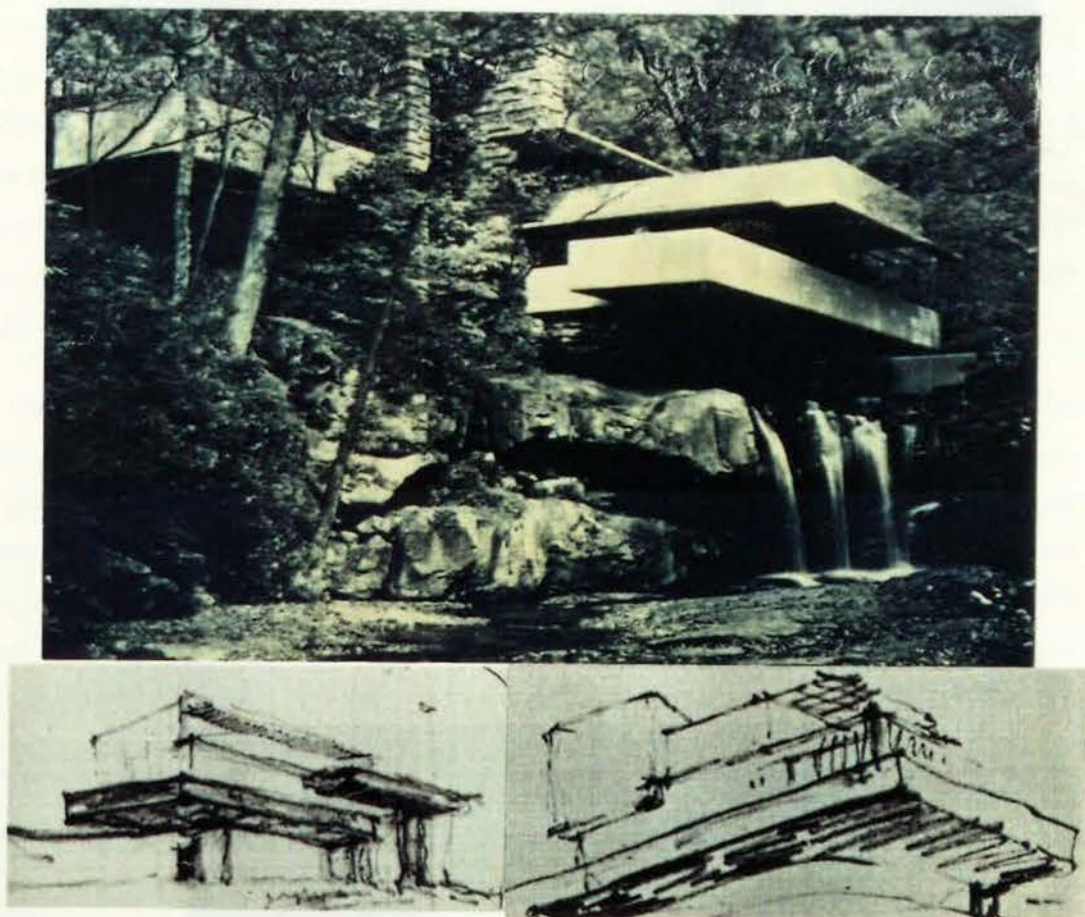
---

<sup>7</sup> Fallingwater's international fame became widespread in January 1938 through simultaneous publicity in *Architectural Forum*, *Life*, and *Times* and an exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. In fact, according to Maire Gullishsen, the villa owner, Aalto tried to persuade her and her husband to build the villa in the middle of a stream on Ahlstrom's land on the outskirts of Noormarkku. They even went together to see the site. But the plan was refused by her husband because he wanted the villa to be built within the walking distance of his office. See Goran Schildt (1986), p. 154.

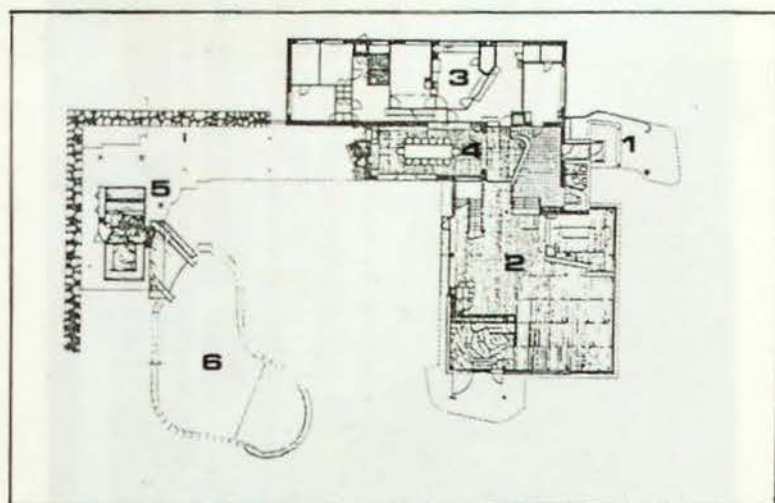
<sup>8</sup> William Curtis (1983), p. 232.

<sup>9</sup> Originally in an article entitled 'Our Dwelling as a Problem' in *Domus*. Quoted in Goran Schildt (1986), p. 160.

- fig. 5-3: Comparison between Aalto's early sketches of Villa Mairea and Wright's Fallingwater. [Goran Schildt (1986), p. 153 and Donald Hoffmann (1978), p. 4]
- fig. 5-4: Villa Mairea, Noormarkku, Finland, 1938-39. Architect: Alvar Aalto. Ground floor plan. (1. entrance, 2. living room, 3. kitchen, 4. dining room, 5. sauna, 6. swimming pool) [Vilhelm Helander and Simo Rista (1987), p. 151]



5-3



5-4



- fig. 5-5: Villa Mairea, Noormarkku, Finland, 1938-39. Architect: Alvar Aalto. Exterior View, [Vilhelm Helander and Simo Rista (1987), p. 159]
- fig. 5-6: Villa Mairea, Noormarkku, Finland, 1938-39. Architect: Alvar Aalto. Interior view of the living room, [Vilhelm Helander and Simo Rista (1987), p. 158]



5-5



5-6

oxymoron of regionality and universality can also be seen in the whitewashed wall itself which is pierced by wooden sashed windows. Similarly, the wooden wall is pierced by big glass panels. The heavy Norwegian beech floor which abuts the tile floor in the living room demonstrates another synthesis of two conflicting elements. Furthermore, the thin wooden poles are a reflection of the verticality of the forest outside, and the open fireplace inside also has a folklore accent. The thatch roof of the sauna room, the pergola to the stone fence, and the rustic wooden gate at the back of the inner courtyard are all 'quotations' from the idiom of Finnish vernacular architecture. Villa Mairea is a 'melting pot' in which Aalto's intention to blend universal and regional elements, modern and local concerns is actualised. Regional and universal elements are skilfully combined to produce "an amazingly well ordered and richly orchestrated whole."<sup>10</sup> (figs. 5-5, 5-6)

The sensitivity to both regional and universal conditions is also seen in the work of another Scandinavian architect, Jørn Utzon from Denmark. His design of the church at Bagsvaerd (1969-1976) outside Copenhagen is an example which similarly illustrates the possibility of a synthesis of regional culture and universal civilisation. In this church, the concrete frame with precast infill units of silver-grey colour, which may be seen as a gesture to embrace the universal civilisation since the system has been widely used all over the world, are adopted together with the *in-situ* shell vault spanning the main interior space, which manifests a idiosyncratic character; and the use of the vault has been a tradition in Western religious architecture (figs. 5-7, 5-8).

Frampton thinks that this combination does not merely mean the integration of two concrete construction systems but also implies a dialogue between two opposed values. He argues that "prefabricated modular assembly not only accords with the values of universal civilisation but also 'represents' its capacity for normative application, whereas an *in-situ* shell vault is a 'one-off' structural invention into a unique site."<sup>11</sup> Based on the similarity between sketches made by Utzon and the section of the church, Frampton suggests that the configuration of the shell vault spanning the nave has its root in the

---

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 161.

<sup>11</sup> Kenneth Frampton (1985), p. 314.

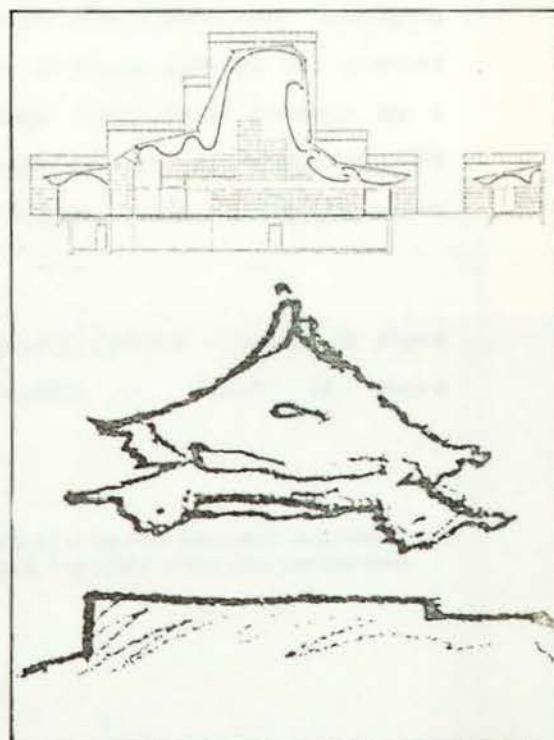
- fig. 5-7: Bagsvaerd Church, outside Copenhagen, 1969-76. Architect: Jørn Utzon. Exterior view. [*Architectural Design*, December 1982, p. 107]
- fig. 5-8: Bagsvaerd Church, outside Copenhagen, 1969-76. Architect: Jørn Utzon. Interior view. [*Architectural Design*, December 1982, p. 108]
- fig. 5-9: Comparison between the section of the Bagsvaerd Church and the sketch of an oriental pavilion made by Utzon. [*Architectural Design*, December 1982, p. 106 and Jørn Utzon (1962), p. 116]



5-7



5-8



5-9



oriental buildings<sup>12</sup>. Even though we may be sceptical of this association, we cannot deny that such a vault has been deliberately selected for its symbolic capacity in contrast to the secular prefabricated panels of the exterior (fig. 5–9). The sense of the distinction between regional and universal characteristics is felt in both built form and spatial organisation when going from outside to inside.

The Arab World Institute (1988) in Paris designed by Jean Nouvel, Gilbert Lezenes and Pierre Soria with Architecture Studio successfully shows another possibility of how regional traditions can be manifested through modern technology. Compared with I.M. Pei's pyramid at the Louvre, and Piano and Rogers's Centre Pompidou, the Arab World Institute is "itself intrinsically French", as one critic says.<sup>13</sup> Not only is the building's urban form properly adjusted to its specific Paris location, but its imagery has also been adapted from high-tech to evoke the confluence and contrast between Arab culture and modern civilisation in an expression entirely in tune with contemporary Paris.

However, the most striking feature of this Institute is the south wall of iris diaphragms which, occupies the entire length of the garden front, is designed by CGEE-Alsthom. Such design is obviously a resonance of the Muslim *mashrabiya*. The diaphragms, operated by computers, open and close like camera irises to control the intake of sunlight into the building. The diaphragms are not merely aesthetically beautiful from the outside; the effect is equally significant within the building, where, as Charlotte Ellis points out, "changing patterns of light and shade are highly evocative of those cast by the pierced screen traditional to Arab cultures – an analogy consciously created, as a symbol of the present-day Western technology chosen as much for its geometric similarities with Arabic decorative motifs as for its efficiency in controlling sunlight."<sup>14</sup> (figs. 5–10, 5–11)

The realisation of a synthesis between regional culture – which is more tradition-oriented – and universal civilisation – which is more

---

<sup>12</sup> Utzon in 1962 in an article "Platforms and Plateaus: Ideas of a Danish Architect" expressed his influence by oriental pagodas. And it was based on this article Frampton made this comparison.

<sup>13</sup> Charlotte Ellis (1988), p. 92

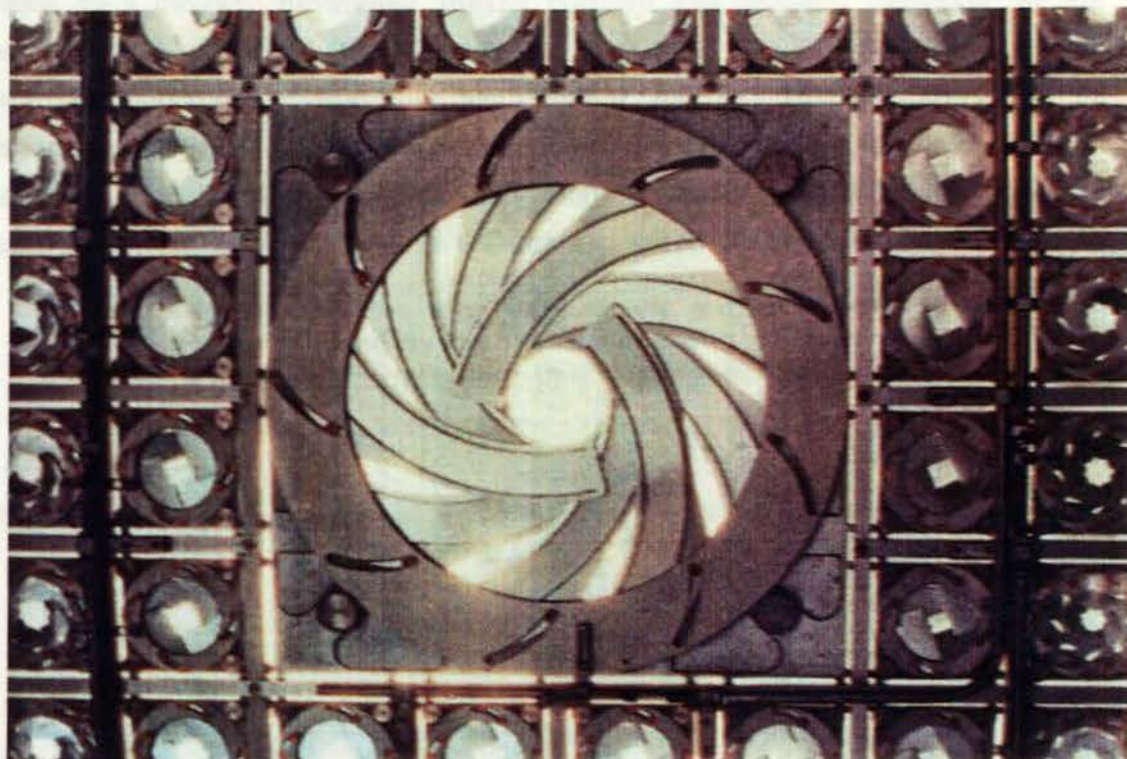
<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

- fig. 5-10: Arab World Institute, Paris, 1988. Architects: Jean Nouvel, Gilbert Lezenes, Pierre Soria, and Architecture Studio. Exterior. [*Architecture*, September 1988, p. 93]

- fig. 5-11: Arab World Institute, Paris, 1988. Architects: Jean Nouvel, Gilbert Lezenes, Pierre Soria, and Architecture Studio. Iris diaphragms. [*Architecture*, September 1988, p. 93]



5-10



5-11

modernity-oriented – is by no means simple. And any attempt to follow such directions is not automatically a success. However, the examples I have just reviewed assure us of the existence of the potential of the Critical Regionalist approach.

#### **Inclusive/Exclusive.**

There has never been a human culture that was entirely self-contained in both time and space. ... It (every regional culture) is steadily open to influences which come from other parts of the world, and from other cultures, separated from the local region in space or time or both together. ... To make the best use of local resources, we must often seek help from people or ideas or technical methods that originate elsewhere. These outside influences must usually be modified; they must always be assimilated. – Lewis Mumford.<sup>15</sup>

One of the most illusory ideas of the modern world projected by Modernists is that people can pursue a standardised way of life and live in a house constructed according to universal principles. The ideal image of modern architecture, the International Style, was conceived by its believers as a universal creation that transcended all differences of culture; this was imposed enthusiastically by Modernists upon many countries regardless of its suitability. For people in the developed world, International Style buildings were easy to accept because both the ideas and the elements were consciously adopted. But for people in the developing world, where the International Style has no roots, buildings in such a style are considered as foreign objects. But surely this was often deliberated and valued as a sign of progress and development since, to a degree, 'developed' means Western and modern. However, in the non-Western world, the problem is not the Westernisation or internationalisation of the built environment *per se*. The Westernisation or internationalisation of the built environment often implies the exclusion of regional models. This situation has worried many people in the field of architecture. As early as 1954, S. Giedion expressed his concern that:

Western Man has now, very slowly, become aware of the harm he has inflicted by his interference with the way of life of other civilisations – whether this has been interference with

---

<sup>15</sup> Lewis Mumford (1941), pp. 30-31.

those natural rhythms in the lives of primitive peoples, which have been the cause of their bodily and mental persistence since prehistoric times; or whether it has been an injection of rational Western mentality into the oldest existing civilisations, without simultaneously presenting some worthy antidote.<sup>16</sup>

Yet Giedion still tried to defend Western civilisation. He pointed out that "experience is slowly showing us that the rationalist and exclusively materialist attitude, upon which the latest phase of Western civilisation has been grounded, is insufficient. Full realisation of this fact can lead us slowly toward a new hybrid development – a cross between Western and Eastern civilisation."<sup>17</sup> However, Giedion was right in the recognition of the fact that two cultures can be mutually influenced by one another and co-existent. In fact before the emergence of the consciousness of the loss of regionality in the field of architecture, a similar concern had already existed in the sociological and anthropological realms. The breakup of Western ethnocentrism is an important factor which facilitates the re-appreciation of regional cultures all over the world. As current anthropologists have indicated, the seminal social organisations from which modern civilisation emerged were not homogeneous; there were a variety of "cultures" in the pre-modern era. However, this has been consciously ignored or suppressed by Western ethnocentrists, either for political or for economic reasons, for many years.

The recognition of the co-existence of many cultures enabled Lévi-Strauss to establish the structuralist theory of anthropology. He asserts that the human ego is never by itself and indeed every 'I' is a member of many 'We.' Similarly, Paul Ricoeur tells us that the encounter of other cultures is unavoidable. He points out that "suddenly it becomes possible that there are just others, that we ourselves are an 'other' among others."<sup>18</sup> He suggests that sustaining any kind of authentic culture in the future will depend ultimately on our capacity to generate vital forms of regional culture while appropriating alien influences at the level of both culture and civilisation. Only when a culture is capable of assimilating other cultures can it survive and revive, and no nation should be

---

<sup>16</sup> S. Giedion (1958), p.141.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Paul Ricoeur (1965), p.278.

afraid of encountering others because "when the meeting is a confrontation of creative impulses, then it is itself creative."<sup>19</sup>

These views of Lévi-Strauss and Ricoeur are shared by Frampton who stresses that "all cultures, both ancient and modern, seem to have depended for their intrinsic development on a certain cross-fertilisation with other cultures."<sup>20</sup> Rarely can any architect in the contemporary world isolate himself from the application of ideas and aspects of other parts of the world. Even conservative architects have difficulties in producing self-contained projects. In order not to become isolationist, a critical synthesis of indigenous and imported elements should be attempted by architects. The possibility exists, through symbiosis, for aspects of architecture of different cultures to mutually influence each other and to engage in a dialogue.

Modern Japanese architecture is one of the best examples demonstrating the possibility of a fusion of indigenous and foreign elements. Unlike their Chinese neighbours, the Japanese have always been curious about the world beyond their geographically isolated islands. The careful importation of Western architectural education and architects after the Meiji Restoration in the second half of the nineteenth century resulted in the appearance of many Western style buildings in Japan. And when modern architecture was introduced into Japan in the 1920s, it was accepted without any resistance, and then transformed. It is a very superficial interpretation of Charles Jencks when he argues that the most convincing explanation of this easy acceptance of modern architecture by Japanese people is that "it was nothing new. The traditional architecture of Shinto and Katsura were themselves 'modern'; they used materials in a natural, unfinished state: they emphasized joints, construction and geometry; even at Katsura the delicate asymmetries were carried through in black and white. The whole 'International Style' was there for four hundred years including standardisation, flexibility, modular co-ordination, grid planning and the cherished value of anonymity."<sup>21</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 283.

<sup>20</sup> Kenneth Frampton (1985), pp. 314–315.

<sup>21</sup> Charles Jencks (1980), p. 98.

Jencks' interpretation is derived merely from visual point of view. There is another, and more important factor, i.e., Japanese culture as one inherently capable of dealing with opposing forces.<sup>22</sup> Such attributes endows Japanese people with the ability to accept contradictory conditions as the norm; this in turn allows them to remain conservative yet to take up a very avant-garde position, and to accept different elements simultaneously.

However, modern Japanese architecture, in most cases, is far more than a collection of buildings based on a mixture of indigenous and foreign influences. Many buildings have gone beyond derivation and imitation and have achieved a critical synthesis of various sources, generating a new vitality in architecture. One of the most remarkable results is that Le Corbusian exposed concrete elements are re-interpreted as to express the traditional aesthetics of the wooden structure. The Administration Building of the Izumo Shrine in Shimane (1963) and the Tokoen Hotel in Kaike (1964), both designed by Kiyonari Kikutake, are such examples.

In the Tokoen Hotel, four styles, including the traditional Japanese and Modernist styles, are successfully combined. The hyperbolic parabola of the roof-top restaurant and the slight curves, bracket construction, and entrance gate all provoke a sense of Japanese identity which is never explicit but is discernible (fig. 5-12). In the Administration Building of the Izumo Shrine, Kikutake shows his skill at reproducing the beauty of a wooden structure in concrete – a task attempted by many Japanese in the 1960s. In this case, two pairs of piers support two 40-meter long pre-stressed concrete beams, against which a series of precast concrete columns lean. Horizontal precast concrete members are set between the columns. The structure itself is an expression of the building as in traditional buildings. The interior is simple, and can be looked upon as a cage enclosed by screens, which provides a view out and allows light to enter.<sup>23</sup> At night the light gleaming faintly behind the screen-like horizontal members illuminates the surrounding area in a way of the traditional stone lantern does on the one hand and resembles the light coming through

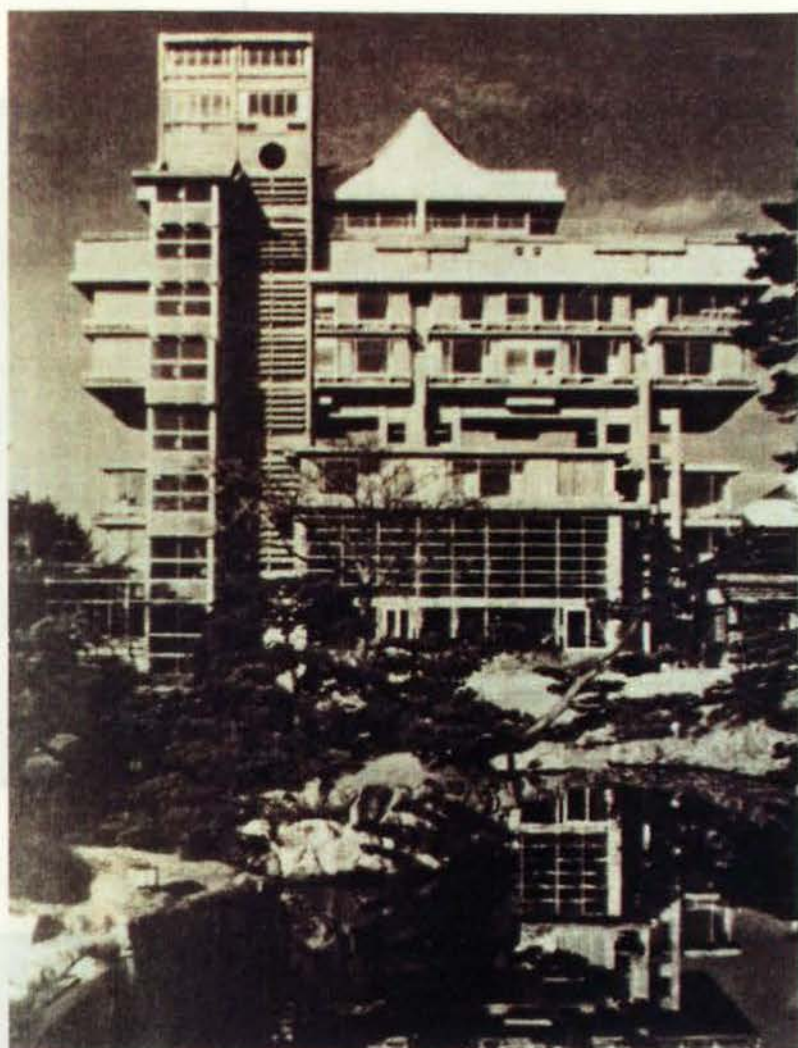
---

<sup>22</sup> Ruth Benedict in *The Chrysanthemum and Sword* describes in detail the cultural attributes of Japanese people as "both aggressive and unaggressive, both militaristic and polite, rigid and adaptable, submissive and resentful of being pushed around, loyal and treacherous, brave and timid, conservative and hospitable to new way." See Ruth Benedict (1946), p. 2.

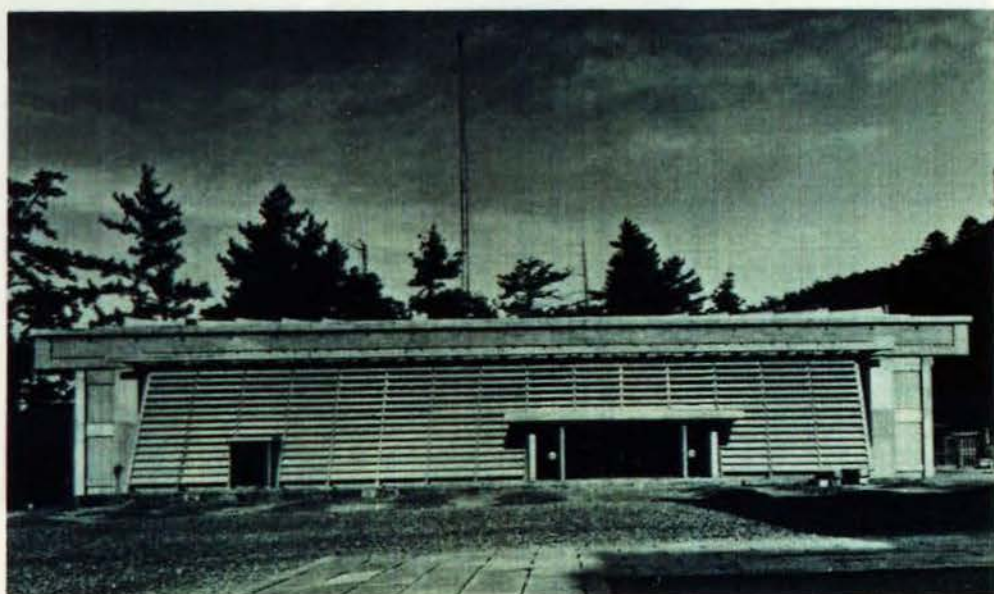
<sup>23</sup> Hiroyuki Suzuki, Reyner Banham, and Katsuhiko Kobayashi (1985), p. 91.



- fig. 5-12: Token Hotel, Kaike, Japan, 1964. Architect: Kiyonari Kikutake. [Charles Jencks (1980), p. 102]
- fig. 5-13: Administration Building of Izumo Shrine, Taisha, Shimane, Japan, 1963. Architect: Kiyonari Kikutake. [Hiroyuki Suzuki, Reyner Banham, and Katsuhiro Kobayashi (1985), p. 91]



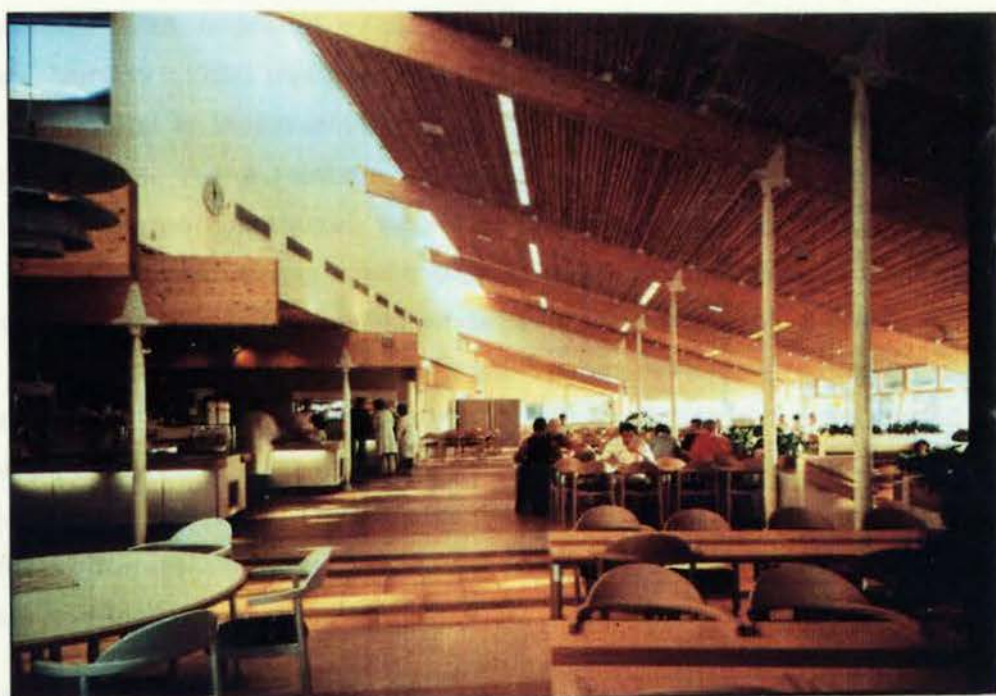
5-12



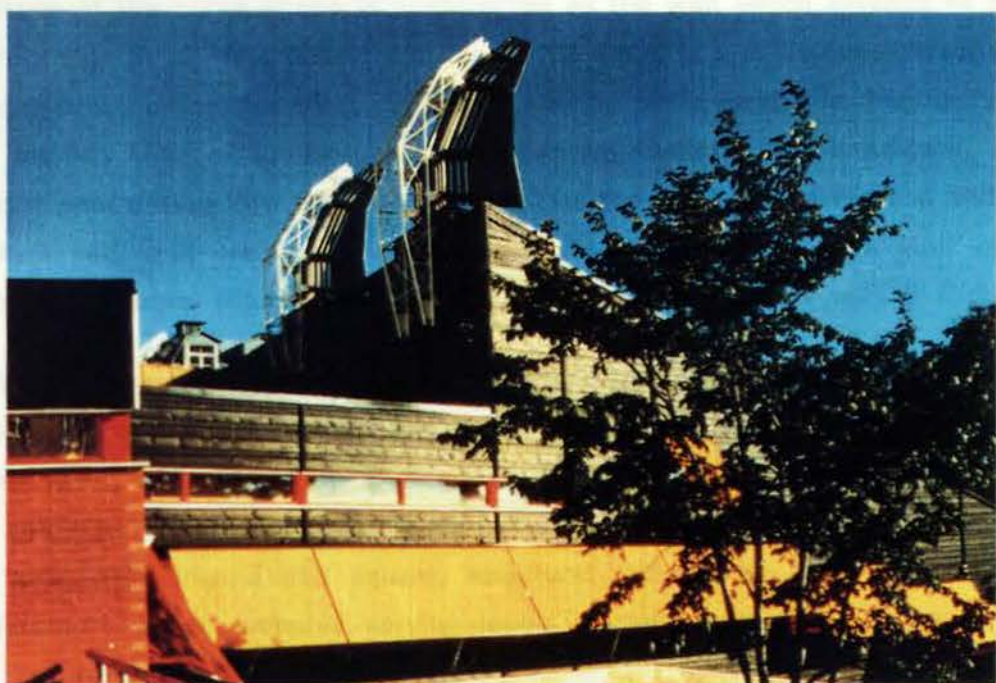
5-13



- fig. 5-14: Refectory, St Goran's Hospital, Stockholm, 1986. Architect: Ralph Erskine. Interior view. [*The Architectural Review*, March 1988, p. 62]
- fig. 5-15: Refectory, St Goran's Hospital, Stockholm, 1986. Architect: Ralph Erskine. Exterior view. [*The Architectural Review*, March 1988, p. 62]



5-14



5-15



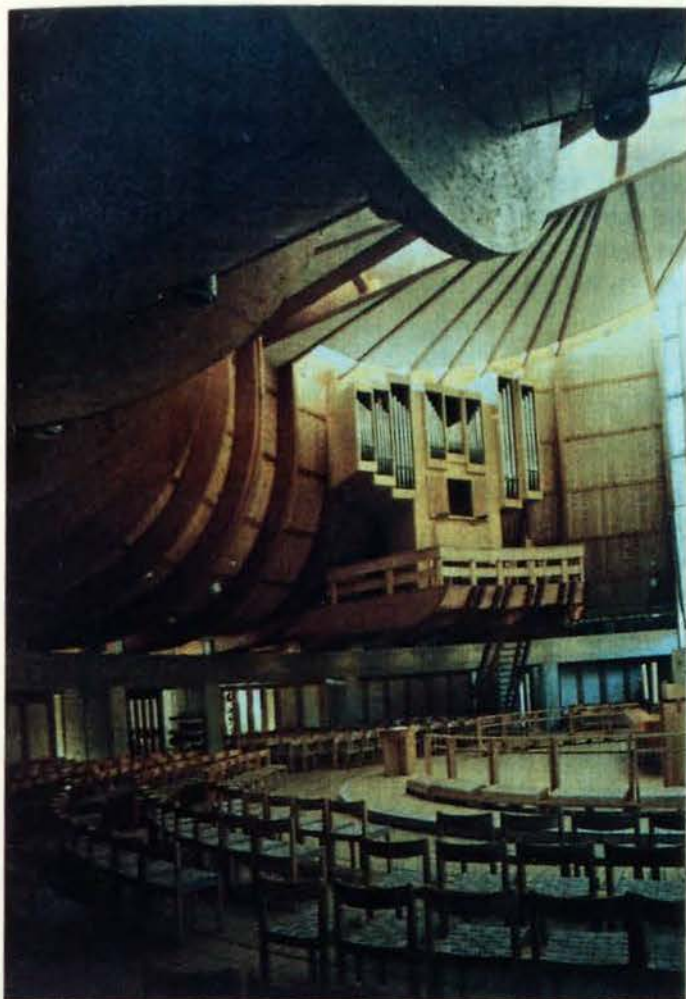
the thin screen doors of the traditional houses on the other (fig. 5-13). In modern Japanese architecture, the integration of elements from different sources is not limited to the exterior appearance of the building. In the interior of many new Japanese buildings, the traditional wooden construction system and *tatami* are combined with other features imported from foreign countries.

In the Scandinavian countries, regional elements are always used successfully with imported ones by architects. The Fyllingsdalen Church at Bergen, Norway (1984) designed by Helge Hjertholm, and the Refectory of St Goran's Hospital in Stockholm (1986), designed by Ralph Erskine, are but two of many examples. In the refectory of St Goran's Hospital steel tubular columns are used to support laminated timber beams and a boarded knotty pine ceiling over a conventional dining space (fig. 5-14). A combination of such diverse elements gives a tangible feeling of texture. Over the roof, there is a pair of alien 'giant ears' which are in fact light scoops, intended to deflect sunlight down into the core of the interior (fig. 5-15). Moreover, the exaggerated angle of the pipes gives a dramatic effect when it rains; and during the snowy winter creates chains of icicles. The sensitivity of Erskine is embodied in this building in which different elements are combined with a serious consideration of the climate and landscape of the site.

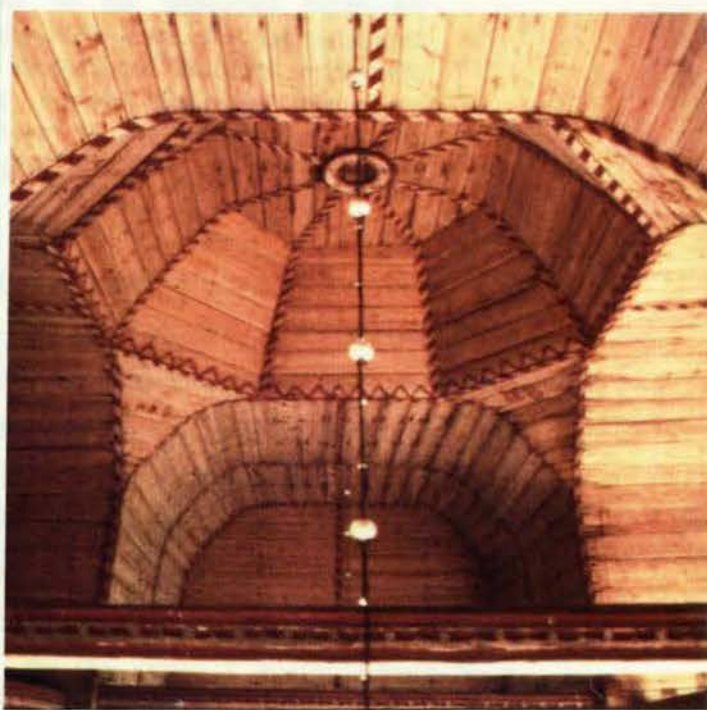
The Fyllingsdalen Church has a semi-circular plan, with the altar situated at the centre, and offices and small chapels situated at the outer area. Between them are nave with seats radiating from the altar. A laminated wooden structure of the curve shape is constructed as the wall which extends to form the roof (fig. 5-16). The consistent use of the wood is a reminder of traditional wooden churches in the area (fig. 5-17). On the other hand, the diagonally cut roof echoes that of Le Corbusier's Parliament Building in Chandigarh. The skylight penetrating into the centre as well as the edge of the rooftop and the whitewashed wall encompassing semi-circular space are also a sign of its imported character (fig. 5-18).

Robert Venturi in *Complexity and Contradictory in Architecture* criticises the traditional 'either/or' attitude of Modernist architecture and advocates a phenomenon of 'both/and' in architecture. He thinks it should include 'elements that are both good and awkward, big and little, closed and open, continuous and articulated, round and square, structural and spatial.' He believes that "architecture which includes varying levels of meaning breeds ambiguity and

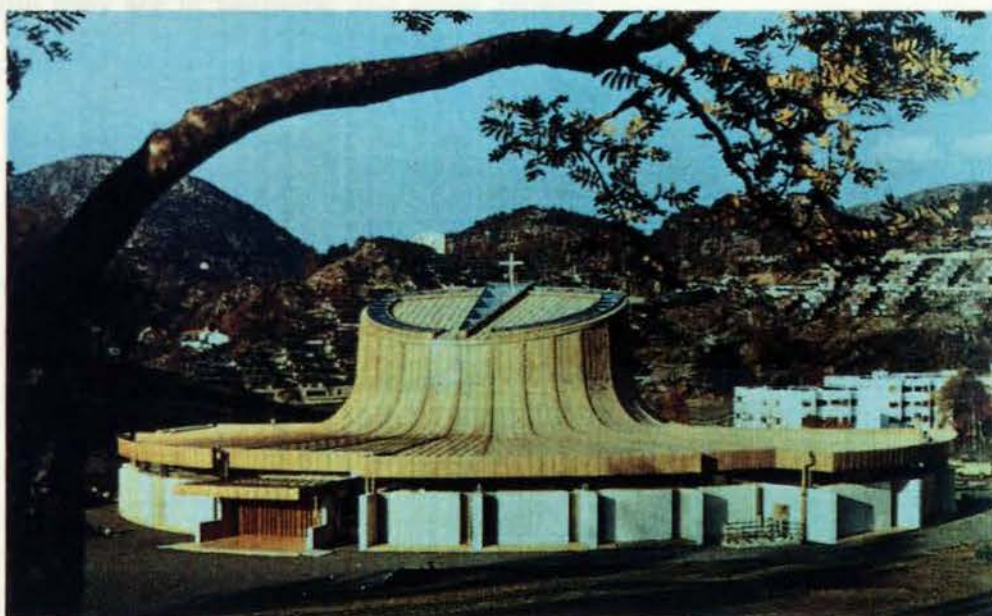
- fig. 5-16: Fyllingsdalen Church, Bergen, Norway, 1984. Architect: Helge Hjertholm. Interior view. [*Space Design*, No. 1, 1989, p. 112]
- fig. 5-17: Interior view of a traditional Scandinavian wooden church. [author]
- fig. 5-18: Fyllingsdalen Church, Bergen, Norway, 1984. Architect: Helge Hjertholm. Interior view. [*Space Design*, No. 1, 1989, p. 112]



5-16



5-17



5-18

tension.”<sup>24</sup> Critical Regionalism extends this ‘both/and’ phenomenon to another level and embraces the marriage of different elements, including indigenous and imported ones.

### **Experiential/Creative.**

Architecture being inevitably the basis of an indigenous culture, ... architects must become emancipators of senselessly conforming human beings imposed upon by mediocrity and imposing mediocrity upon others in this sanitary but soulless machine age. ... Architecture was to be liberated from all formalistic stylising by any elite, especially from that perpetuated by scholastic architects or by the criteria of insolent criticism. Architecture of the machine-age should become not only fundamental to our culture but natural to the happiness of our lives in it as well. – Frank Lloyd Wright.<sup>25</sup>

For people in traditional societies, architecture and life are inseparable. It is only after the modernisation of society that architecture became separated from the life of people. The whole world is being peppered with buildings subject to various factors but not taking into account the real lifestyle of the people. The meaning of life of people to architecture becomes skin-deep and suffers constant devaluation. In the contemporary world, two popular ways of producing architecture exist. On the one hand, there is a propensity for architects to indulge in the collage of various sources of information received from media such as books and magazines. On the other, a design based on a theory may be created. The former is best represented by Post-Modernist historicist buildings which are often merely an omnium-gatherum of images and elements while the so-called ‘de-construction’ buildings are the latest children of the latter. However, buildings which are created according to these two tendencies are cut off from the life of the people no matter how successful they are in aesthetic and other aspects.

---

<sup>24</sup> Robert Venturi (1977), p. 23.

<sup>25</sup> Frank Lloyd Wright (1957), p. 24.

The increase in books and magazines containing large numbers of illustrations – at the rate of one shot per building – worries many people because an obsession with pictures will lead people “to read buildings as picturesque images of structures”, rather than opening oneself to a direct experience of the corporal form of the building.<sup>26</sup> This tendency causes another schism, namely the gap between visual and overall perception of architecture. Since the Renaissance, architecture has laid the emphasis on formal representation at the expense of other qualities. Modern and Post-Modern architecture do not escape this emphasis. Most architects fail to realise, or try to avoid, the fact that senses other than the visual ones are equally important to the overall perception of architecture.

Some architects who refuse to become style-mongers try to develop their own approaches. But very often they indulge themselves in another extreme. Deconstruction, or Post-Structuralism as it is called by some people, which “takes Modernist elitism and abstraction to an extreme and exaggerates already known motifs”<sup>27</sup> is an example. Deconstructivist buildings rely completely on the interplay of building elements. They are isolated from the real life of people. If these approaches continue to dominate architectural development, we will lose our capacity for distinguishing between architecture that is solely created by architects on their drawing boards and that is based on experiencing the life of the people.

Critical Regionalism seeks to become an approach which is neither an image-collage process based on various kinds of information, nor one which confines itself to an isolated theory. Good architecture should be responsive to the lifestyle of the people and their experience in the built environment. Architects have to know enough about the way people live in the environment to create an authentic architecture. One of Lewis Mumford’s arguments, though made a half century ago, still possesses great value:

Regionalism is not a matter of using the most available local material; or copying some simple form of construction that our ancestors used, for want of anything better, a century or two ago. Regional forms are those which most clearly meet the

---

<sup>26</sup> Kenneth Frampton (1986), p. 25.

<sup>27</sup> Charles Jencks (1988b), p. 17.

actual conditions of life and which most fully succeed in making a people feel at home in their environment: they do not merely utilise the soil but they reflect the current conditions of culture in the region.<sup>28</sup>

Certainly, the expression of an architect's creativity and own thinking should not be totally rejected as a part of architecture. But equally it should by no means become a style or an ideology. Despite the affix *ism* which etymologically implies its postulation of a style, Critical Regionalism must go beyond being simply a received set of aesthetic preferences. Lawrence W. Speck and Wayne Attoe point out that "great Regionalist buildings are generally not *just* Regionalist and, in fact, may be Regionalist only in a *de facto* way. Regionalism, as distinct from *isms* that are stylistic classifications of architecture, is a responsive notion."<sup>29</sup>

Critical Regionalism represents a point where the lifestyle of people and the creativity and ideology of architects meet each other. It is an optimal state in which such meetings can take place without any problems arising. However, this is difficult to realise in the contemporary world. Nevertheless, the Indian architect Balkrishna Doshi's humanist attitude in his housing projects reveals the potential of this approach. In Vidyadhar Nagar (Jaipur New Town) project, Doshi has tried to interpret the lessons of traditional desert settlements with their tight clusters, courtyards, and the hierarchy of different spaces between private and public realms. The plan tries to encourage the contacts of different activities rather than following the Western idea of zoning (fig. 5-19). The whole project "reflects Doshi's conviction that Indian modernisation must avoid alienation by re-invigorating communal life and institutions."<sup>30</sup> The project is an attempt by Doshi to actualise his idea of culture and communities.

The best way to know one's culture is to study the existing settlements of its people, their way of life, crafts and arts. They give insight into many problems. One observes the heat and cold, the sunshine and the moonlight, the starry heavens above and the directions of the wind. All these things that mould the life of the people. One observes also their religious and social

---

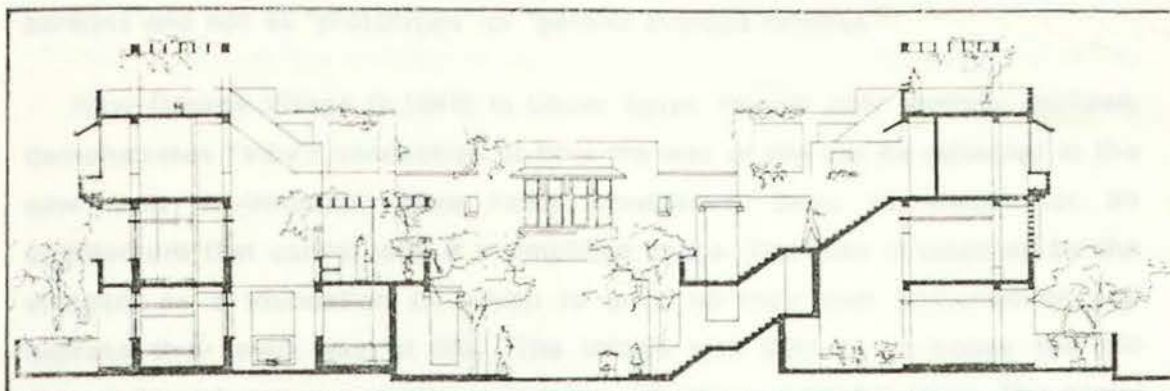
<sup>28</sup> Lewis Mumford (1941), p. 30.

<sup>29</sup> Lawrence W. Speck and Wayne Attoe (1987b), p. 7.

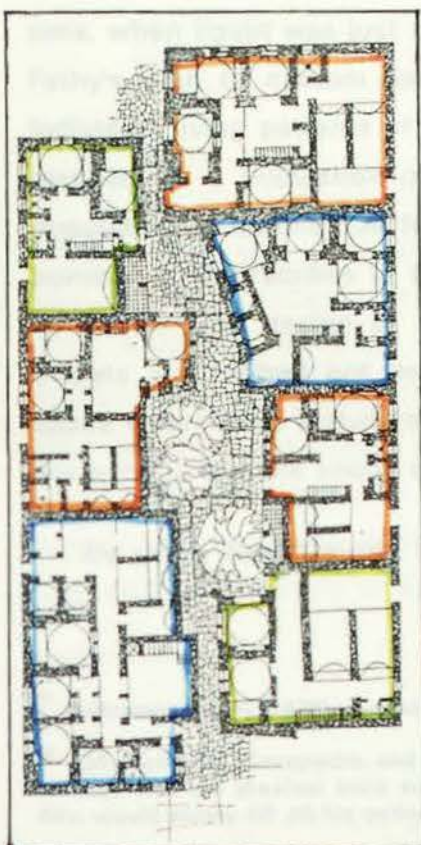
<sup>30</sup> William Curtis (1988), p. 146



- fig. 5-19: Vidyadhar Nagar, Jaipur New Town Project, 1984-86. Architect: Balkrishna Doshi. Section of a courtyard compound. [William Curtis (1988), p. 152]
- fig. 5-20: New Gournia Village, Upper Egypt, c. 1948. Architect: Hassan Fathy. Ground floor plan of typical units. [J.M. Richards, I. Serageldin, and D. Rastorfer (1985), p. 99]
- fig. 5-21: New Gournia Village, Upper Egypt, c. 1948. Architect: Hassan Fathy. Street scene. [J.M. Richards, I. Serageldin, and D. Rastorfer (1985), p. 100]



5-19



5-20



5-21

ceremonies, their feasts and festivals, occasions of pilgrimage to sacred places.<sup>31</sup>

The Egyptian architect, Hassan Fathy had the same humanist attitude. He stated that architecture is for human beings and was opposed to the bureaucratic approach to mass housing, and the repetition of prototypes in ever-shifting combination. He warned architects "never to take commissions of more than 15 to 20 units at a time, to deal with users as individual clients and persons and not as "prototypes" or "generic average families."<sup>32</sup>

New Gournia Village (c.1948) in Upper Egypt, though only partially realised, demonstrates Fathy's conception of how the way of life can be reflected in the new built environment. Here Fathy provides a basic framework for an architecture that carries with it a simplified image. This then is taken up by the villagers as a foundation on which to build up their own personalities and express their own way of life. The village was built to re-house the old Gournia in order to correct the scandalous situation of tomb looting. The social experiment that Fathy had been mentally piecing together for so long thus finally became a reality. Fathy decided that New Gournia had to reflect and incorporate the lifestyle and architectural forms of the existing village. At that time, when Egypt was just beginning to be influenced by the International Style, Fathy's plan to custom design each residential unit in order to express the individual living patterns of each family was an astonishing approach. Originally planned for a population of 900 families, the completed project has a current population of around 130 families and covers one fifth of the original site. The number of the families in the project is far more than the ideal one proposed by Fathy. The design of each unit is simple but reflective of people's life. Streets are formed not only as the space for circulation but as part of the space where daily activities take place, Communal facilities such as the mosque, the school, and the shops are also properly provided (figs. 5-20, 5-21).

By using New Gournia Village as an example, I certainly do not mean that

<sup>31</sup> Balkrishna Doshi (1979), quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 160.

<sup>32</sup> J.M. Richards, I.Serageldin and D. Rastorfer (1985), p. 18. Fathy was also "fond of offering an analogy that the greatest brain surgeon in the world, if given two hundred operations to do in one day, would surely kill all his patients."

the project is completely satisfactory and the approach without any problem. This scheme is often held up as a disaster because Fathy didn't fully understand the people he built for, even he intended to do so, and used what to them were elements reminiscent of tombs. This also illustrates valuably another important point. Those evaluating Critical Regionalism through buildings must also know the people and their reaction to the buildings. Nevertheless, this project helps us to understand how important the life and the attitude of the people play in the production of buildings.

The verdict on the success of new architecture is not to be judged in terms of the creative ability of the architect alone. How people live and how they experience the built environment must be taken into consideration. Architects are not artists and their responsibility is, as Doshi argued in 1960, "to study and understand the traditions of a people within a region, to consider local conditions and, in some cases, to force certain changes in the life of the people by his knowledge of a healthy and refined life."<sup>33</sup>

### **Continuity/Discontinuity**

For like the Jews of Old, most of us work with two hands, in one we bear a sword and fight for the works of our forefathers; and in the other we bear a trowel, and build up, as best we may, the works that are to express our age to future generations. – Heywood Sumner.<sup>34</sup>

To express a break with the past is one of the major aims of modern architecture. The past was denounced by many Modernists who advocated a new era for architecture. An overwhelming desire to eliminate the past was first witnessed in the manifestoes of Futurism. The International Style architecture arising in the 1930s and the so-called Hi-Tech architecture emerging from the middle of the 1970s can also be looked upon as the product of such an ideology. To develop the new at the expense of the old is a common tendency in contemporary architectural development since it meets the maximum interest of the building developers who always want to construct

---

<sup>33</sup> Balkrishna Doshi, quoted in William Curtis (1988), p. 159.

<sup>34</sup> Heywood Sumner, quoted in Charles Dellheim (1982), p. 77.



in a single project as many buildings as possible within a short period of time. Traditions became obstacles for those who were in favour a rapid achievement of modernity. Traditional reference points in the Modernist built environment were often excluded.

Mircea Eliade has pointed out that modern man is basically a 'historical man', who consciously and voluntarily creates history while 'traditional man' is 'ahistorical' and has a negative attitude toward history. But being an ahistorical man doesn't mean one is against the past. Rather, it implies that he just "accorded the historical event no value in itself; in other words, he did not regard it as a specific category of his own mode of experience."<sup>35</sup> Traditional man behaved archetypally. For the traditional man, time is cyclical, history is periodically regenerated, and building is a way of repetition. Traditional man did not possess the concept of the linear development of history sensed by modern man "either by periodically abolishing it through repetition of the cosmogony and a periodic regeneration of time or by giving historical events a metahistorical meaning." Such meaning is not only "consoling" but also "coherent," that is "capable of being fitted into a well-consolidated system in which the cosmos and man's existence had each its *raison d'être*."<sup>36</sup>

In current architectural development, there is a reaction which emerged because those who are in favour of the past wanted to render their buildings with the mark of the past. This is the so-called historicist approach. Conscious flirtation with historical elements began in the 1950s, but its application was limited in an atmosphere that was still dominated by the International Style. However, this modest step towards retrieving the past has become distorted since the 1970s, sometimes by frivolity and moral taint since the 1970s. Historicising architecture, that is, concrete replication of the motives and achievements of the past, now has a very comfortable cover since this is interpreted as a reference to the past. But this is a dangerous approach because it too easily becomes the excuse for a worthless pastiche as I have argued before. History becomes fragmented when its contents are being dis-assembled into pieces and re-composed in different buildings.

---

<sup>35</sup> Mircea Eliade (1989), p. 141.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 142.

Critical Regionalism does not attempt to create a new 'past'. It tries to bridge the gap between the past and the future; it tries to construct a mediate way which could forge a link with the past – in order to increase one's awareness of a place's cultural roots. A sense of the past is equally as important as the sense of the future to architecture. The notion of 'continuity', from the temporal point of view, becomes one of the main concerns, as Michael Hough argues:

The protection of natural and cultural history – the reuse and integration of the old into the new without fanfare while avoiding the temptation to turn everything into a museum because it is old – lies at the heart of maintaining a continuity link with the past and with a place's identity.<sup>37</sup>

This view is shared by Robert Stern. He also stresses the importance of the continuity of tradition. He believes in the creation of order "out of the chaotic present by entering into a dialogue with the past, with tradition. The depth of that dialogue is the essence of architecture, as it is of all culture. ... Architecture is a dialogue with the past, carried on in the present, with an eye cast toward the future."<sup>38</sup> Architects must always keep in their mind that we cannot travel back to the past. Nostalgically looking back, as many historicists have done (e.g. Moore's Piazza d'Italia, Graves' Portland Public Service Building, and Izosaki's Tsukuba Civic Centre), is not appropriate because the complex set of artistic, technological and socio-cultural norms, which conceived traditional architecture, have either disappeared or changed.

By saying so, I do not mean that it is hopeless for architects to concretise the idea of continuity between the past and the future, though it is not an easy task. Historical preservation may, sometimes, be a solution. It is not the aesthetic quality of valuable old buildings on its own that justifies preservation, but whether or not the buildings themselves are vital to the social fabric of communities and to their sense of continuity. However, this can only be applied to areas where historical buildings dominate. It is more important to question the manner of the construction of a new building within the context of

---

<sup>37</sup> Michael Hough (1990), p. 186.

<sup>38</sup> Robert M. Stern (1987), p. 63.

historical buildings. To erect a new building in such areas is to insert a specific novelty into an old setting. The justification for new buildings with regards to the notion of continuity needs to be based upon how "a fusion between new architecture contextually derived and its context in view of new architecture in it."<sup>39</sup>

One example which is worth mentioning is the Gannoji Temple, Branch of Zenko-Ji, at Nagoya (1975) designed by Yasutaka Yamazaki. This is in fact a renovation of an old Buddhist temple which no longer functions. Since the old temple is a landmark of the area, both the architect and the local residents recognised the importance of the role it played in the past and wanted to create a new building which could mark the past and the present. The solution adopted by the architect was to preserve the lower portion of the building while removing the old roof and replacing it with a new steel frame roof. This new envelope forms a large gable which displays the image of traditional Japanese buildings. The new facade is mainly made up of glass through which the remainder of the old temple inside can be seen while the window sashes which were made up of the old wooden elements preserve the image of the old temple (fig. 5-22).

The Social Security Complex in Istanbul, Turkey (1970), designed by Sedad Hakki Eldem, shows the same respect for its historical surroundings without compromising the modernity it intends to blend in. Eldem has tried to make the complex act as a link between the dense and diverse quarter containing traditional, small, wooden structures on the hill above and the open, spacious configuration of contemporary buildings along a modern boulevard below.<sup>40</sup> But he did not use any concrete elements from the surroundings. Rather, the complex was built in a modern manner. Yet its articulation of the built form echoes its traditional background. The rhythm of vertical elements highlights the purity of the facade, while its low and cascading profile matches well the surroundings, and allows the dome at the back of it to be seen (fig. 5-23).

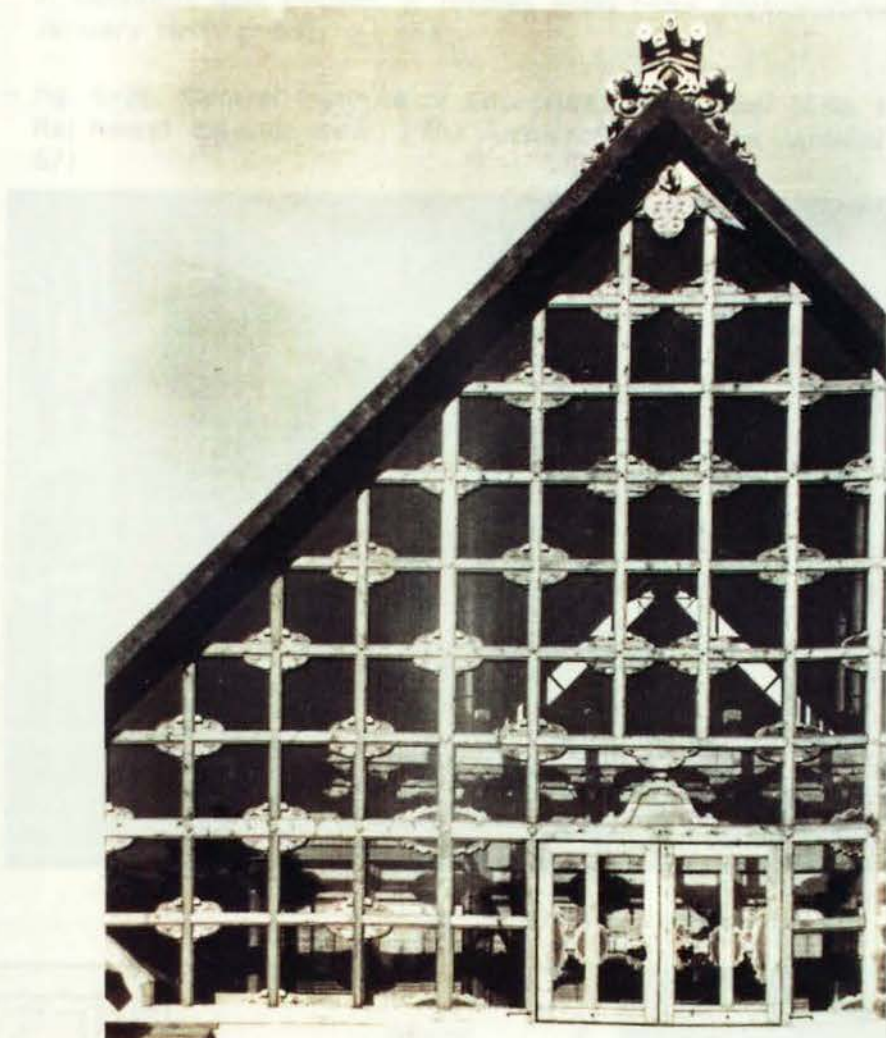
When a new edifice to be built is located in a non-historical area, the sense

---

<sup>39</sup> Vassilios Ganiatsas (1988), p. 56.

<sup>40</sup> Ismail Seregeldin (1989), p. 84.

- fig. 5-22: Gannoji Temple, Branch of Zenko-Ji, Nagoya, 1975. Architect: Yasutaka Yamazaki. [Hiroyuki Suzuki, Reyner Banham, and Katsuhiro Kobayasi (1985), p. 126]
- fig. 5-23: Social Security Complex, Istanbul, Turkey, 1970. Architect: Sedad Hakki Eldem. [Ismail Serageldin (1989), p. 81]



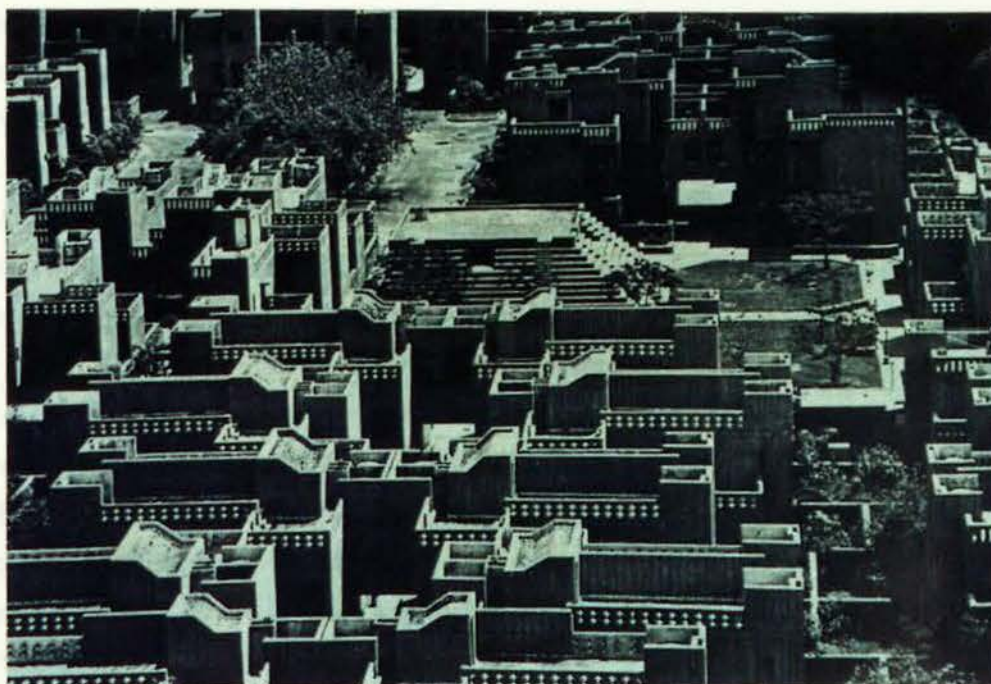
5-22



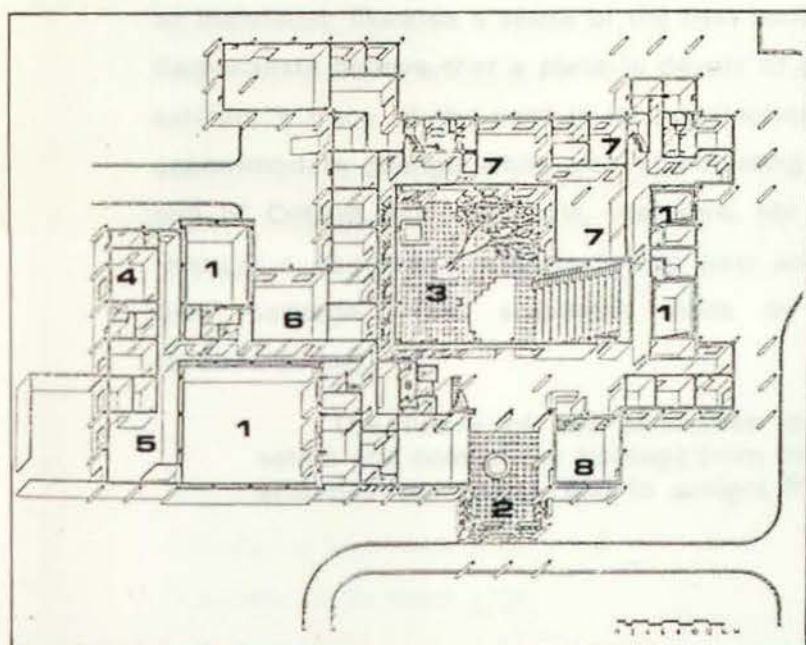
5-23



- fig. 5-24: Asian Games Village, New Delhi, 1981-82. Architect: Raj Rewal. [*The Architectural Review*, August 1987, p. 32]
- fig. 5-25: Central Institute of Education, New Delhi, 1988. Architect: Raj Rewal. Ground floor plan. (1. studios, 2. entrance portico, 3. courtyard, 4. engineering department, 5. set construction, 6. graphics, 7. canteens and kitchen, 8. display area) [*The Architectural Review*, January 1990, p. 56]
- fig. 5-26: Central Institute of Education, New Delhi, 1988. Architect: Raj Rewal. Exterior view. [*The Architectural Review*, January 1990, p. 57]



5-24



5-25



5-26

of continuity with the past can be achieved in terms of the provision of traditional-oriented built form and spatial organisation. A specific conglomeration can evoke a connection with the traditional archetype. The Asian Games Village in New Dehli (1981–82) designed by Raj Rewal represents such an attempt of linking the past by way of transforming Rajasthan courtyard models (fig. 5–24). The same approach is repeated by Rewal in the Central Institute of Education in New Dehli (1988). The courtyard is a traditional response to climatic and social conditions in the region. The terraces and shaded alcoves built in forms of concrete recall the screened balconies of Jaiselmer. But Rewal's design is far more than a merely superficial use of history by imitating traditional forms while ignoring the forces that created them. Rewal's design fits in happily with the surrounding landscape of the site, provoking a continuity with the past. The success of this project derives from Rewal's ability to re-interpret for today traditional spatial organisation. The buildings appear to resonate with traditional culture and patterns of life (figs. 5–25, 5–26). Certainly, in the contemporary world, it is not always possible for architects to design and build residential buildings in the way Rewal has adopted. Reality is that more housing have to be built for thousands of people in urban areas. To adopt medium-rise buildings is often considered as not economic enough, not to mention low-rise buildings. But architects should always be willing to be more responsive to the life of the people should they have the opportunity to do so.

People commonly believe that the length of genealogy confers prestige on an individual; likewise a sense of the past confers prestige on a region. Critical Regionalists believe that a place is devoid of personality and prestige unless it exhibits a trace of the past in its architecture. Critical Regionalism seeks to accommodate change while also appreciating the present and the future. The aim of Critical Regionalism is, therefore, not to revive, but to revitalise style through a concrete synthesis linking past and present which can forsake its own heritage. One argument made by Mumford in 1924 is worth re-considering:

The future of our civilisation depends on our ability to select and control our heritage from the past, to alter our present attitudes and habits, and to project fresh forms into which our

energies may be freely poured.<sup>41</sup>

In this regard, Critical Regionalism is a double-edged approach: It supports looking backwards to the past and forwards to the future; it is in tune with the traditions as well as experimenting with the unprecedented. A true exploration of the past, indeed its very presence, represents a way of coping with changes and of facing the future. Certainly there are limitations. The difficulty here is that 'the past' is open to multiple interpretations and diverse emphases. It is not easy to find commonly acceptable criteria needed to ensure authenticity. And surely it is 'continuity' with the past that is crucial – not just 'the past.'

#### **Architectonic/Scenographic.**

The whole architectonic composition is hereby laid open to the intellect, and so the cycle between intellect and artefact is completed. It is in this returning to our ordering intellect that our work resembles nature, which itself testifies to the creating intellect that give it order. When the intellect sets out to satisfy our bodily needs by building houses, and to determine measures, forms and spaces to this end, it can do so in such a way that these measures, forms and spaces conform not only to the nature of the materials, to the building techniques, and to the demands of the dwelling, but also to the dictates of certain dispositions and ordinances; these enable the intellect to draw from these same spaces, forms and measures its spiritual nourishment. – H. Van der Laan.<sup>42</sup>

Heinrich Wölfflin argued in *Principles of Art History* that "architecture *must* be tectonic." He wrote that "painting only develops its own peculiar values where it emancipates itself from the tectonic; for architecture, the abolishment of the tectonic scaffolding would be equivalent to self-destruction."<sup>43</sup> Frampton points out etymologically that "the generic term 'architectonic' refers not only to the technical means of supporting the building but also to the mythic reality of this structural achievement; that is, it should display the way in which the artifice interacts with nature, not only in terms of gravity, but also in terms of

<sup>41</sup> Lewis Mumford (1924), pp. 195–196.

<sup>42</sup> H. Van der Laan (1983), p. 181.

<sup>43</sup> Heinrich Wölfflin (1950), p. 149.

its durability with regard to the agencies of climate and time.”<sup>44</sup>

Architectonics can be looked upon as a grammar by which the recognisable language of forms is composed into a meaningful and proportionally harmonious piece. Even the most gifted architect needs to rely on his familiarity with such a grammar – and its inherent order and logic – in order to express his genius. Architectonics not only enables a building to manifest itself more explicitly but it also enables men to perceive its existence by experience. Architectonic space makes the distinction between inside and outside, front and back; architectonic form distinguishes open from enclosed, up from down.

In traditional buildings every component is clearly expressed. When modern technology and materials enabled new concepts of space and form to emerge in the twentieth century, there was an even more radical tendency in modern architectural development to reduce the built form to merely boxes or volumes clad with pre-fabricated elements without revealing how building elements were actually joined together.

The development of Post-Modernism changed this condition. But it did not bring the architectonic quality back to architecture. Post-Modernism only laid emphasis on the scenographic effect. Scenography, as Frampton points out, is essentially representational.<sup>45</sup> In contrast to architectonic quality which is clear in traditional buildings, scenographic quality has its root in the Renaissance. When emphasis shifted from architectonic to scenographic characters, the framework of many building became concealed, a phenomenon which “deprives architecture of its expressiveness, so that the architectonic significance of the work becomes obfuscated and mute.”<sup>46</sup> It is not wrong for architects to design a building by way of scenographic composition. But even a well-intentioned use of surface elements of regional character is doomed to sentimental scenography, to be a naively shallow architecture, if architectonic quality is ignored.

---

<sup>44</sup> Kenneth Frampton (1987), pp. 25-26.

<sup>45</sup> Kenneth Frampton (1987), pp. 25-26.

<sup>46</sup> Marco Frascari, quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 26.



Both architectonic and scenographic qualities have their role to play in architecture. A way out of the dilemma of imprisonment in either of these polarities needs to be found. The Sainsbury Building of Worcester College in Oxford (1983) designed by MacCormac, Jamieson, Pritchard and Wright demonstrates the possibility of achieving a scenographic effect while maintaining architectonic quality. The L-shaped rooms were clustered together around roof terraces and the garden outside. The arrangement can be seen as "a fresh interpretation of traditional staircase or corridor layout adopted by Oxbridge colleges."<sup>47</sup> The language adopted is vernacular but the basic tenet of the Modern Movement is not abandoned. Bricks walls, Arts-and-Crafts-like timber fittings and roofs are explicitly expressed and composed. The building is surrounded by rustic fortified walls overlooking a moat (the river), a scenographic arrangement that evokes a sense of security which reinforces the independence and privacy of individual colleges (figs. 5-27, 5-28).

In Cooper Chapel in Bella Vista, Arkansas (1987), designed by Fay Jones and Maurice Jennings, a happy marriage of architectonic and scenographic qualities can also be seen. The result is achieved by the translation of Gothic architecture in terms of wooden structure. In this small chapel, wood, glass, and steel are combined. But each of them has its clear function and position and their joints are left exposed. Its main frame is wood, which is pierced by a large entry pointed arch and a circular opening provoking an image of a rose window. Through the openings the curves of the steel structure appear against the wooded background. The curves intersect one another high above creating a beautiful lacework of pointed arches. A skylight running through the nave enables the interplay of light and shadow on the arches. The artificial lighting at night is equally dramatic. The scenographic quality becomes apparent through the architectonic quality with the help of daily and seasonal changes (figs. 5-29, 5-30).

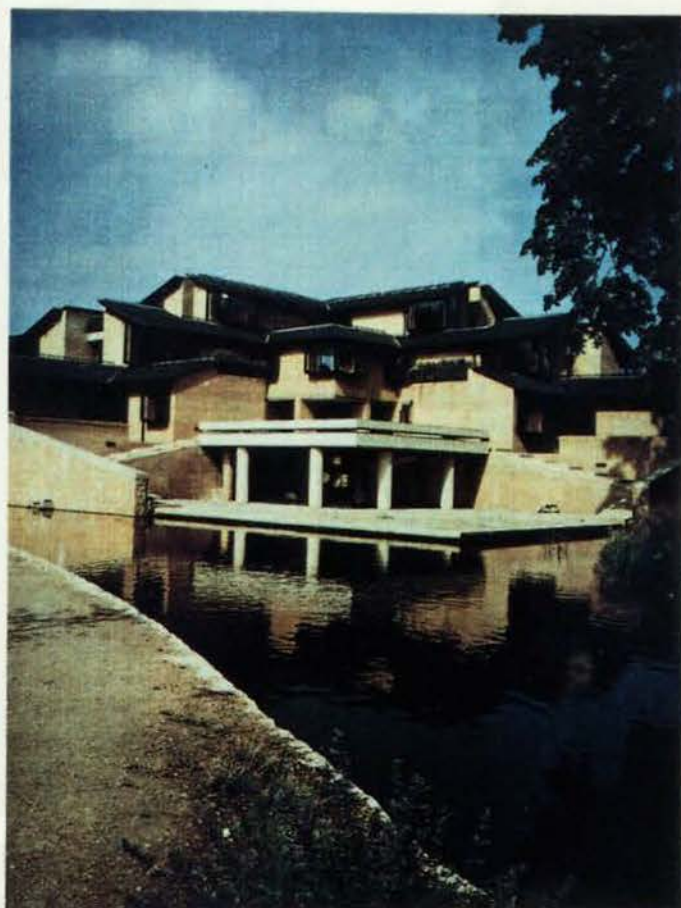
Architectonics is very essential to architecture. Without its existence, a building would no longer pertain to architecture, but would become a mere object. An analogy made by Louis Kahn is worth our attention.

A building is like a human. An architect almost has the

---

<sup>47</sup> Jonathan Glancey (1989), p. 121.

- fig. 5-27: Sainsbury Building, Worcester College, Oxford, 1983. Architects: MacCormac, Jamieson, Pritchard and Wright. Exterior view from the river. [Jonathan Glancey (1989), p. 120]
- fig. 5-28: Sainsbury Building, Worcester College, Oxford, 1983. Exterior view of a gate. Architects: MacCormac, Jamieson, Pritchard and Wright. [author]



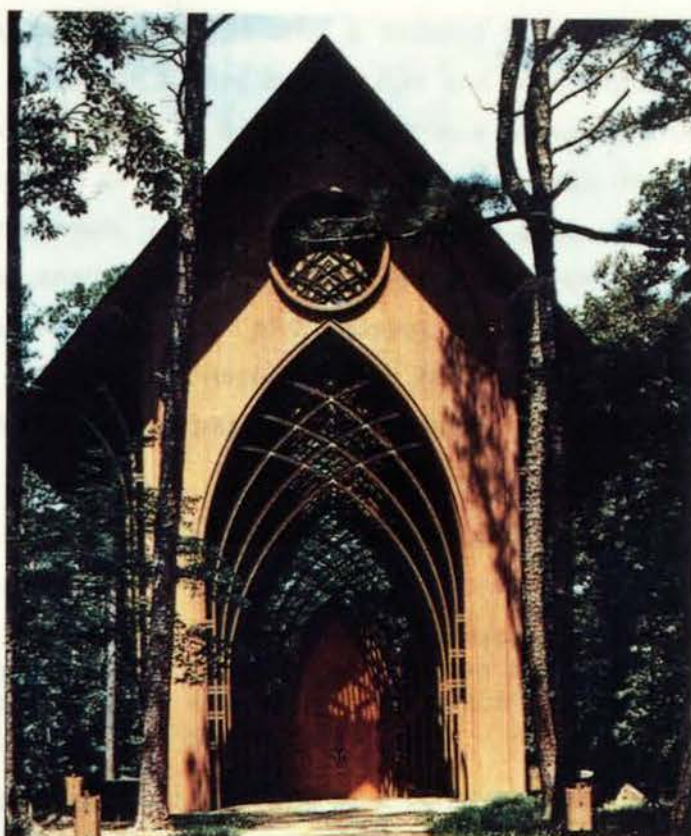
5-27



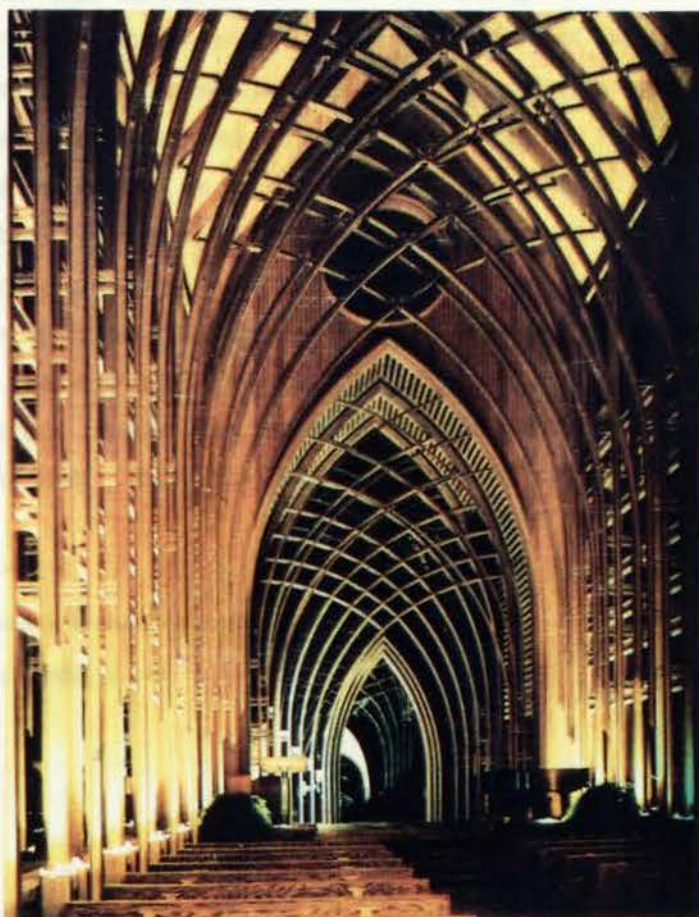
5-28



- fig. 5-29: Cooper Chapel, Bella Vista, Arkansas, 1987. Architects: Fay Jones and Maurice Jennings. Exterior view. [*Architecture*, October 1988, p. 54]
- fig. 5-30: Cooper Chapel, Bella Vista, Arkansas, 1987. Architects: Fay Jones and Maurice Jennings. Interior view. [*Architecture*, October 1988, cover]



5-29



5-30

opportunity of creating life. It's like a human body – like your hand. The way the knuckles and joints come together makes each hand interesting and beautiful. In a building these details should not be put in a mitten and hidden. You should make the most of them.<sup>48</sup>

Some people may question that why a building is a mere object and not architecture if it does not display its structure and constructional components. It still has them. The point is that a building is a microcosm that epitomises the human conception of the universe. The roof is the sky, the floor the earth. In between stands man. To treat a building as a pure object certainly will eliminate such an analogy. From another point of view, since every component in a building has its own function and meaning, to ignore their differences as in purist forms of modern architecture or to fake their functions as in many scenographic Post-Modern pastiches will blind the authentic nature of architecture.

### **Place/Space**

We humans are flesh and blood primates and the world of the living and dying is our home. As flesh and blood primates, we occupy space; as creatures of the symbol, we transform that space into place. – Miles Richardson.<sup>49</sup>

Place is a metaphysical notion as well as a concrete entity. As a metaphysical notion, it implies that someone can feel he belongs and has his roots in a specific place. As a concrete entity, it exists at different levels ranging from a comfortable armchair to the whole earth. But no matter its scale, the sense of belonging is always there if a space can be called place. Yi-Fu Tuan points out that the homeland, which is a region large enough to support a people's livelihood, is the most important type of place. In traditional societies, the homeland was of course regarded by its people as the centre of the world, and this has been pointed out in previous chapters. The traditional built environment is place-oriented. Settlements are created differently in different places for different people. But each of them has its own centre to which people feel attached. Settlements were delimited rather than open, spaces

---

<sup>48</sup> Louis Kahn, quoted in Walter McQuade (1957), p. 139.

<sup>49</sup> Miles Richardson (1989), p. 141.

were centripetal rather than centrifugal. Therefore, a distinctive difference can be detected when one goes from outdoor to indoor realms, from rural to urban areas, from one county to another.

In traditional societies, people became very attached to their land, to the place where they live. This attachment is so strong that the place is treated as "an archive of fond memories and splendid achievements that inspires the present; place is permanent and hence reassuring to man, who sees frailty in himself and chance and flux everywhere."<sup>50</sup>

In modern societies indefiniteness of space is dominant in the modern built environment. The visual and psychological edges of different rooms in the building, of indoor and outdoor spaces, of rural and urban areas, of different countries are disappearing. All over the world, the modern built environment seems to be suffering from the same kind of homogenising fate as many other facets of contemporary life. 'Placelessness' and being 'out of place' have become common terms to describe this phenomenon. The decline of the attachment to place can be attributed to many factors. Arendt has pointed out that the basic meaning of modern science has been to adopt the universe rather than the earth as its true standing point and frame of reference. Spaciousness is embraced by Modernist architects and planners. M. Webber's 'community without propinquity' is not merely a slogan but may be witnessed in many modern metropolises.

Heidegger's ideas, as developed by Norberg-Schulz in his *Genius Loci* to show how the built environment relates intimately to the sense of place, has been at the root of Critical Regionalism in its development of the idea of 'place.' Since the Critical Regionalist approach concerns aspects of a region, it certainly must address its relationship to the place. Regionalism, therefore, can be defined as being "not only to do with extending the valid character of a place but also with the *creation* of places."<sup>51</sup> "The emergent Regionalist architecture seeks its architectural significance through relating its built configuration, aesthetics, organisation and technical assembly and materials to

---

<sup>50</sup> Yi-Fu Tuan (1977), p. 154.

<sup>51</sup> Lawrence W. Speck and Wayne Attoe (1987a), p. 5.

a certain place and time.”<sup>52</sup>

Alvar Aalto's buildings always demonstrate a close affinity to the place where they stand. His liking for free-shaped plans and thin vertical poles are the reflection of the characteristics of Finland, especially lakes and forests (fig. 5-31). He deeply understands that the landscape of Finland being “made up of forests and water and has more than 8000 inland lakes. In a country of this kind, men are always able to maintain contact with nature. ... Everyone can live at the water's edge, on the banks of one of the countless lakes and there enjoy the pleasure of pine forests and waters.”<sup>53</sup>

Even without the direct use of lake-shaped plan and forest-like vertical articulation, Aalto still maintains in his buildings a clear relationship to the place. The Town Hall in Säynätsalo (1949-52) has an internal courtyard, which is in fact a central patio flanked by well-lit lobbies and office corridors, and is surrounded by a U-shaped administration block and a rectangular block of shopping and library facilities with formal entrance steps located in the south-west corner. The building is clad with red bricks which are harmoniously accompanied by wooden sash windows the verticality of which is in tune with the surrounding forests. The steps in the north-west corner are made up of sods of earth held in place by stout planks driven into the contours. It is not just for pedestrians. Rather, as Malcolm Quantrill suggests, it is “a landscape element that negotiates the gap between the formality of the entrance and the surrounding forest terrain; it is an internal visual link between architecture and nature.”<sup>54</sup> (figs. 5-32, 5-33)

Ruhunu University in Matara, Sri Lanka (1984-), designed by Geoffrey Bawa, demonstrates another possibility. In this university complex, which includes Arts and Sciences faculties, a library, an open-air theatre, a social centre, and halls of residence, the attention has been given to the creation of agreeable protected outdoor spaces interspersed among the classrooms, laboratories and offices. The site, on the southernmost coast of Sri Lanka, consists of three hills

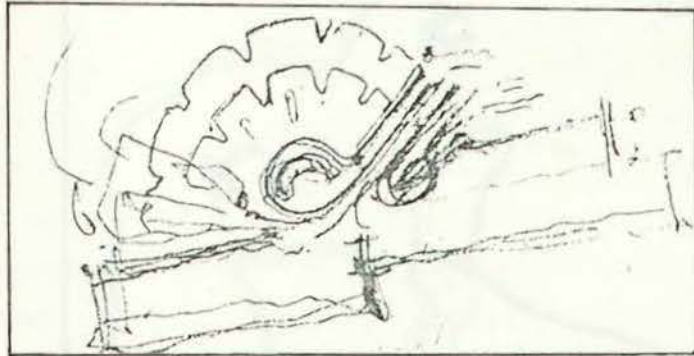
<sup>52</sup> Ken Yeang (1987), p. 12.

<sup>53</sup> Alvar Aalto (1970), p. 19.

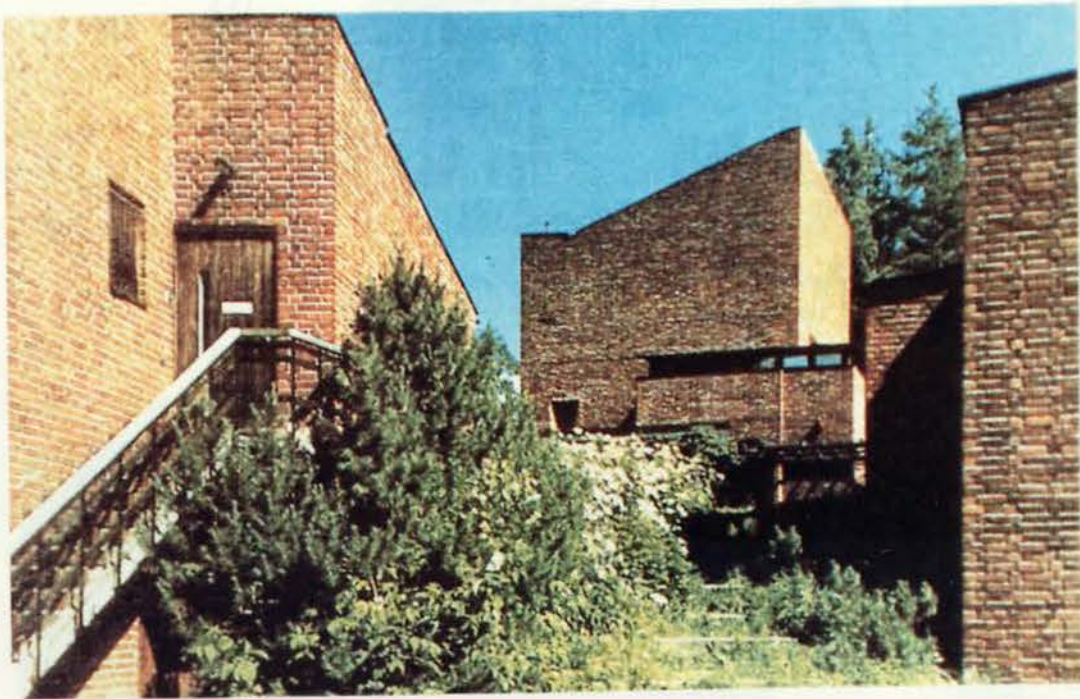
<sup>54</sup> Malcolm Quantrill (1983), p. 134.



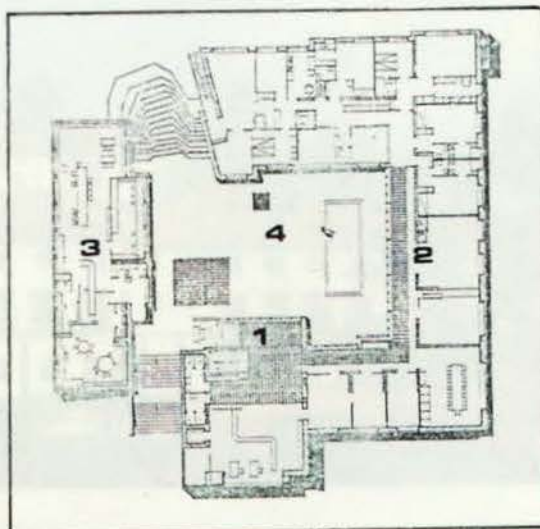
- fig. 5-31: A sketch made by Alvar Aalto. [Malcolm Quantrill (1983), p. 187]
- fig. 5-32: Säynätsalo Town Hall, Säynätsalo, Finland, 1949-52. Architect: Alvar Aalto. Exterior view. [William Curtis (1983), p. 251]
- fig. 5-33: Säynätsalo Town Hall, Säynätsalo, Finland, 1949-52. Architect: Alvar Aalto. Ground floor plan. (1. entrance, 2. offices, 3. library, 4. courtyard) [Vilhelm Helander and Simo Rista (1987), p. 74]



5-31



5-32



5-33

- fig. 5-34: Ruhunu University, Matara, Sri Lanka 1984-. Architect: Geoffrey Bawa. Site plan. [*Architecture* September 1988, p. 58]

- fig. 5-35: Ruhunu University, Matara, Sri Lanka 1984-. Architect: Geoffrey Bawa. Panorama of the campus. [*Architecture* September 1988, p. 59]



5-34



5-35



overlooking the sea to the south, and high enough on the northern and eastern slopes to have splendid views inland as well. According to Bawa, "the site itself was an overwhelming influence on the plan". And he "sought to accentuate certain views, frame others, and give delight and surprise at every turn through the buildings and landscape."<sup>55</sup>

Buildings are arranged in groups and connected <sup>with</sup> each other by roofed walkways. The site plan echoes the patterns of a village (fig. 5-34). The roofed walkways are the result of the response to the climatic conditions and they enable people to use pavilions and gazebos with built-in furniture and verandahs, which "provide varied space for pause, contemplation, and visual enjoyment of the landscape."<sup>56</sup> Buildings and landscape are equally emphasized. They complement each other in creating the sense of place. Regional materials (bricks, red tiles, stucco, and timber) are used to permit an integration of the buildings located at different topographic levels while preserving the qualities of both site and the expression of the architect's concept. Wide verandahs and overhanging roofs, typical of the region, not only provide a transitional space between indoor and outdoor but also reinforce the 'regionality' of the campus. The sense of place is felt in both built form and spatial organisation of the university (fig. 5-35).

In San Christobal, a group of stable, horse pool, and swimming pool in the suburb of Mexico city (1967-68), designed by Luis Barragan, shows a totally different approach, though with the same aim. The pink and red-rust coloured walls, the great flat water pool designed on the scale of a horse combine hierarchically to express the legendary significance of the place under the strong sun of Mexico. The horse pool, the central feature of the complex, is fed by water gushing through an edge of red-rust coloured wall. The wall also functions as a screen which shields visually the stable wing from one of the entrance doors. In this project, Barragan did not rely on any concrete form of the region, yet he manages to create an atmosphere which is surreal but harmonious with and pertinent to the place (fig. 5-36).

---

<sup>55</sup> Geoffrey Bawa (1988), p. 58.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p. 60.

- fig. 5-36: San Christobal, horse pool, near Mexico City, 1967-68. Architect: Luiz Barragan. [Emilio Ambasz (1976), p. 96]

- fig. 5-37: Taliesin West, Scottsdale, Arizona, 1937. Architect: Frank Lloyd Wright. Exterior view. [author]



5-36



5-37

The adoption of the elements such as the closed courtyards with pots, and splashing fountains glittering in the brilliant sun is by no means Barragan's random choice. Rather, they were derived from traditional models through which Barragan found an eloquent expression of Mexico in architecture. He knew and revered traditions of Mexican building and place-making:

My earliest childhood memories are related to a ranch my family owned near the village of Mazamitla. It was a pueblo with hills, formed by houses with tile roofs and immense eaves to shelter passersby from the heavy rains which fall in that area. In this village the water distribution system consisted of great gutted logs, in the form of troughs, which ran on a support structure of tree forks, five meter high, above the roofs. This aqueduct crossed over the town, reaching the patios, where were great stone fountains to receive the water. The patios housed the stables, with cows and childrens, all together. Outside in the streets, there were iron rings to tie the horses. the channelled logs, covered with moss, dripped water all over town, of course. It gave this village the ambiance of a fairy tale.<sup>57</sup>

But Barragan goes much farther than merely copy elements from traditional models. He knows the sum of influences that gathered in contemporary Mexico and he has tried to, through all these influences, express the maximum degree of the sense of place.

In fact, in some works of the great masters such as Wright's Taliesin West at Scottsdale, Arizona (1937), we can see how the characteristics of a place have been embodied in the buildings. Taliesin West is constructed in natural stone, concrete made of desert sand, wood, and canvas. Buildings stretch horizontally and occupy the site organically. The built form, a thorough protection overhead and open to the breezes, shows the way responsive to the hot climate of the desert. The bright colour of the wooden frame, the roughness of the concrete, the tranquillity of the blue pool are emphasized by the changeable desert weather. The integration of the buildings with the site and the use of typical desert flora are achieved skilfully by Wright (figs. 5-37, 5-38). The attempt to have the sense of place embodied in this project is clearly shown in Wright's own words:

The plans were inspired by the character and beauty of that wonderful site. Just imagine what it would be like on top of the world looking over the universe at sunrise or at sunset with clear

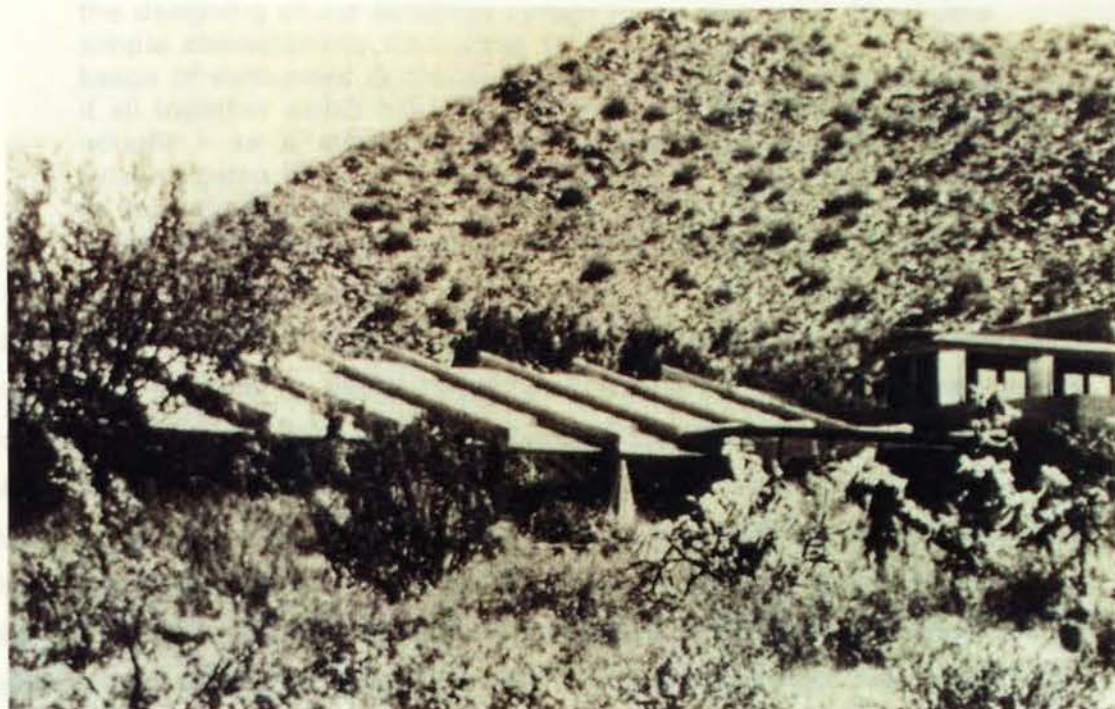
---

<sup>57</sup> Luiz Barragan, quoted in Emilio Ambasz (1976), p. 9.

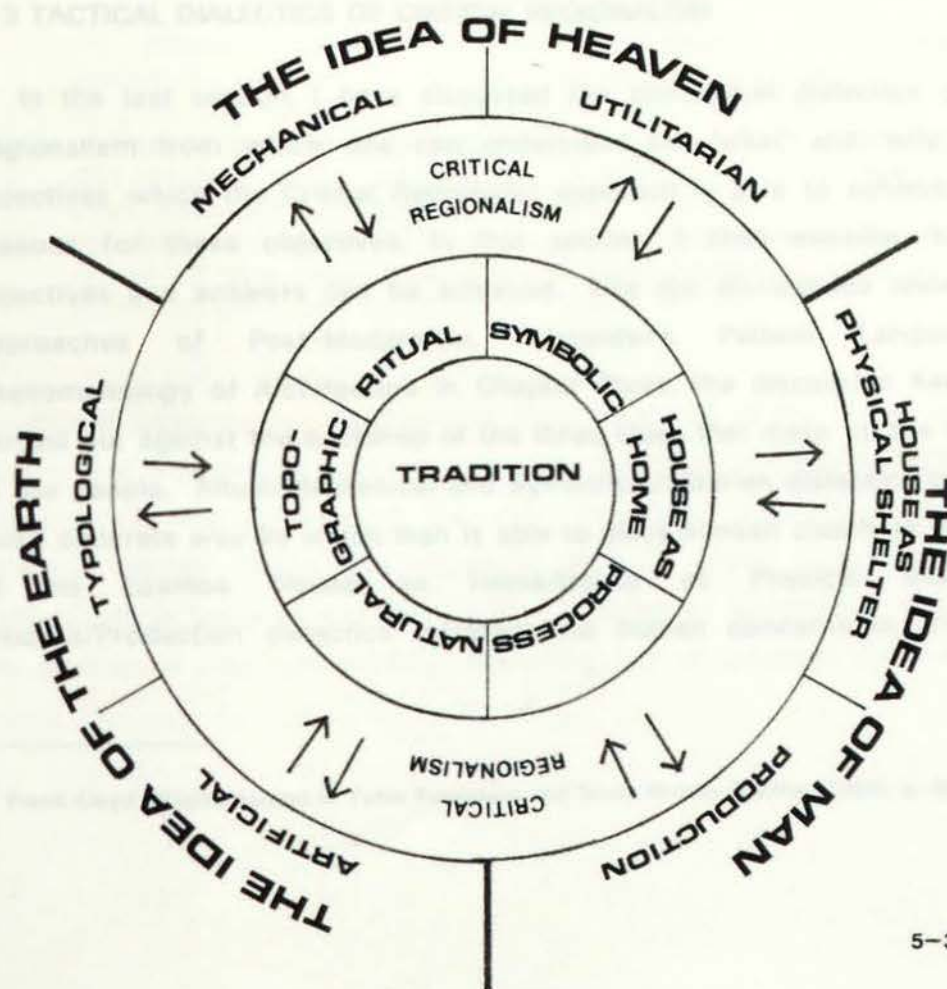


- fig. 5-38: Taliesin West, Scottsdale, Arizona, 1937. Architect: Frank Lloyd Wright. Exterior view. [Patrick Meehan (1987), p. 193]

- fig. 5-39: Tactical dialectics of Critical Regionalism.



5-38



5-39

sky in between. Light and air bathing all the worlds of creation in all the colour there ever was – all the shapes and outlines ever devised – neither let nor hindrance to imagination – nothing to imagine – all beyond the reach of the finite mind. Well, that was our place on the mesa and our buildings had to fit in. ... But for the designing of our buildings certain forms abounded. They were simple characteristic silhouettes to go by, tremendous drifts and heaps of sunburned desert rocks were nearby to be used. We got it all together within the landscape – where God is all and man is nought – as a more permanent extension of 'Ocotilla'. ... Our Arizona camp is something one cannot describe and doesn't care to talk about. Something like God in this respect? That desert camp belonged to the desert as though it had stood there for centuries.<sup>58</sup>

To be at peace with the place, people need to be able to situate themselves within the context of the universe and society by affirming their identity. Architecture is only one way to influence one's sense of place. Gestures, rituals, clothes, language, and many other factors are of the same important. However, architecture plays a crucial role in strengthening (or reducing) it. There are difficulties and limitations of actualising the notion of the sense of place in architecture. Nevertheless, the examples I have described show that, in spite of the difficulties and limitations that architects may face, possibilities always exist.

### 5-3 TACTICAL DIALECTICS OF CRITICAL REGIONALISM

In the last section, I have discussed the conceptual dialectics of Critical Regionalism from which one can understand the 'what' and 'why', i.e., the objectives which the Critical Regionalist approach is able to achieve, and the reasons for these objectives. In this section, I shall examine 'how' such objectives and answers can be achieved. Like the discussions reviewing the approaches of Post-Modernism, Alexander's Pattern Language, the Phenomenology of Architecture in Chapter Three, the discussion here will be carried out against the backdrop of the three ideas that make up the worldview of the people. Ritual/Mechanical and Symbolic/Utilitarian dialectics construct a more concrete way by which man is able to place himself clearly in the context of his cosmos. House as Home/House as Physical Shelter and Process/Production dialectics resurrect the human concerns in architecture.

---

<sup>58</sup> Frank Lloyd Wright, quoted in Yukio Futagawa and Bruce Brooks Pfeiffer (1986), p. 40.

Natural/Artificial and Topographic/Typological dialectics ensure that physical locality will be clearly marked in the built environment. (fig. 5-39)

### **The Idea of Heaven**

In traditional societies, Heaven is omnipotent. Every piece of behaviour and action of man has to conform with the will of Heaven. As far as the built environment is concerned, the rituals performed ensure that the site to be built on finds favour with the gods, make sure that the building process will be a peaceful one, and guarantee the final building will be a production of prosperity and happiness. Before a building can be used, it has to be consecrated, an act that has the effect of separating it from the secular world and converting it into a sacred one. Architecture is part of the symbolism of the world. Through buildings, Truth is manifested. In modern society, man has become secularised, and so have buildings. The ritual, mythical, and symbolic qualities of buildings have been consciously ignored or denounced. Critical Regionalism attempts to recover the desire of man to search for the sacredness which is perennial, if it is not suppressed.

#### **Ritual/Mechanical.**

Before man could discover and project order outside himself, he had first, by constant repetition, to establish it within. In this, the part played by ritual exactitude can hardly be overestimated. The original purpose of ritual was to create order and meaning where none existed; to affirm them when they had been achieved; to restore them when they were lost, what an old-fashioned rationalist would regard as 'meaningless ritual' was rather, on this interpretation, the ancient foundation layer of all modes of order and significance. – Lewis Mumford.<sup>59</sup>

As has been argued by Mumford, ritual functions as the act of creating an orderly and meaningful world. In the past, the rituals associated with building construction, marked one of the most important aspects of the building process. Mircea Eliade has observed that in many cultures that when "possession is taken of a territory – that is, when its exploitation begins – rites are performed that symbolically repeat the act of Creation: the uncultivated

---

<sup>59</sup> Lewis Mumford (1967), p. 62.

zone is first 'cosmised,' then inhabited." In other words, "a territorial conquest does not become real until after – more precisely, through – the ritual of taking possession, which is only a copy of the primordial act of Creation of the world."<sup>60</sup> Similarly, when a building was constructed, it had to be made real, 'animated', 'endowed with a "soul"'.<sup>61</sup>

Scholars such as Paul Oliver, Joseph Rykwert, and David Saile have illustrated how myth and ritual are the mechanisms used in ceremonies related to the construction process and how these create meaning in the built environment.<sup>62</sup> Frequently, it is myth and ritual which specify the rules governing the axis, orientation, decoration, and boundaries of buildings as well as cities. In many cultures, constructing a building involves religious observances which commence with the selection of the site. The architecture of almost all traditional societies include this important role for ritual. For example, the harmony and congruity of pueblo architecture in the southwest of the U.S.A. are not completely determined by the materials and the built form *per se*. Its significance "lies in its ability to join living inanimate things in the continuing re-creation of an authenticity of place, not in terms of architectural monuments but as participatory rites", as Folke Nyberg and Farouk Seif point out.<sup>63</sup>

In most cultures, the space of a house is activated by ritual occasions such as birth, puberty, engagement, marriage, and death. For example, in a Japanese house, the *butsudan* and the *kamidana* are the two foci for house-centred ritual.<sup>64</sup> And their association with sacredness is clearly seen in their forms. A *Kamidana* often takes the form of a model shinto shrine while the internal layout of a *butsudan* represents a miniaturised version of a Buddhist temple.

In traditional societies, buildings were constructed according to an archetype, which is in fact an act of Creation. Even the colonists in the

<sup>60</sup> Mircea Eliade (1989), p. 10.

<sup>61</sup> Mircea Eliade (1959), p. 20.

<sup>62</sup> See Paul Oliver (1969) (1975) (1987), Joseph Rykwert (1972), and David Saile (1977).

<sup>63</sup> Folke Nyberg and Farouk Seif (1990), p. 260.

<sup>64</sup> A *butsudan* is a miniature Buddhist temple in which offerings are made to the family buddha and a *kamidana* is an altar for making offerings to Shinto kami. See Chris Fawcett (1980).



fifteenth and sixteenth centuries did not forget this. "The setting up of the Cross (by the Spanish and Portuguese in name of Jesus Christ) was equivalent to a justification and the consecration of the new country, to a "new birth," thus repeating the baptism act of Creation", as has been pointed out by Mircea Eliade.<sup>65</sup>

Modernist architects seek to achieve a mechanically efficient architecture in order to represent an industrial society. From the beginning to the end, the design and construction of buildings are treated much as the product of a mechanical process like that of many other commodities manufactured in factories. Rituals such as the foundation stone laying and the dedication ceremony may be performed, but in a very superficial way by famous figures, usually for the sake of publicity. The real ritual meaning has been lost.

The Critical Regionalist approach respects the significance of ritual in architecture and tries to re-vitalise it. Therefore, an attempt is made by it to change Modernists' emphasis on the mechanically oriented process back to the ritually oriented process and seek for a synthesis of the two. Patrick Geddes and Lewis Mumford advocated the importance of ritualistic dimensions in achieving a religious awareness of the physical environment. Both of them were critical of the absence of emotion, and of the earthbound origins of ethnic and sacred aspects in the development of society. Yet in most situations, the Cartesian split between reason and emotion which, "with the analytic intellect dominating and isolating the emotional relationship to the landscape" remains and has become a voyeuristic and picturesque experience that does little to root understanding in a religious relationship to the earth.<sup>66</sup>

Regionalism, as Folke Nyberg and Farouk Seif argue, should be based on phenomenology and is best treated in terms of ontology since in such circumstances it will return us to "the significance of mimetic ritual as the means to embody meaning without the split between subject and object that has brought us technological thinking. In this edifying sense, the relationship between architecture and ritual becomes significant not only in its didactic role,

---

<sup>65</sup> Mircea Eliade (1989), p. 11.

<sup>66</sup> Folke Nyberg and Farouk Seif (1990), p. 262.

but also in terms of how the "genius loci" is represented."<sup>67</sup> At this point, the Phenomenology of Architecture and Critical Regionalism become complementary to each other. Building construction should be looked upon as an act participating with the environmental spirits and deities which animate a region. To build an artifact is not only a mechanical performance but also the entrance into an agreement with these spirits and deities whom the builder and the future users must propitiate through ritual.

Many architects are now aware of the important relationship between building and ritual; they understand that the physical arrangement of space and form carries social and ritual meanings, and that through ceremonies these meanings are actualised. The Egyptian architect Abdel Wahed El-Wakil is a case in point. He realises that a masterpiece can only be created by conforming to the rule of tradition. He always attempts to understand the Muslim heritage, to learn and to work within it. In the Island Mosque in Jeddah (1985), El-Wakil tries to combine traditional craft with the archetypal layout of Muslim mosque. He argues that "the act of designing and building the Island Mosque became more of a ritual: that of perfecting an act. A celebration in space for the spirit that is transmuted through time. If the banners of innovation are not fluttering it is because we have decided to keep them furled. The greatness of an artist is more in the faith of his tradition than in the arrogance of his revolt."<sup>68</sup> (figs. 5-40, 5-41) It may be true that El-Wakil is too traditionalist in the eyes of some people. But his insistence on tradition makes his work one of the most literally understandable in the Muslim region.

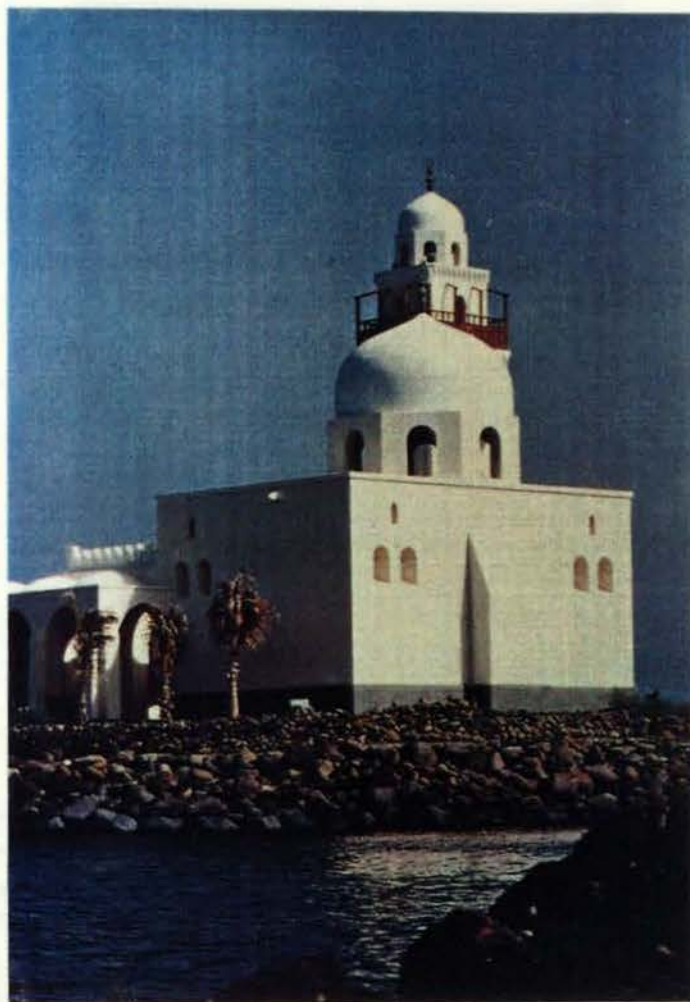
On the other hand, some Japanese architects, while being radical in their approach, do bear in mind the importance of ritual. Chris Fawcett calls these architects 'ritual-affirming' architects, among whom Hiroshi Hara is a leading figure. Hara associates the traditional religious meditation hand gestures, and cosmological thinking with his own house in Machida City (1973-74). In this house, the central focus is given to its interior by "a morphological complexity of open and closed domains."<sup>69</sup> The house is topped by a centrally located

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p. 263.

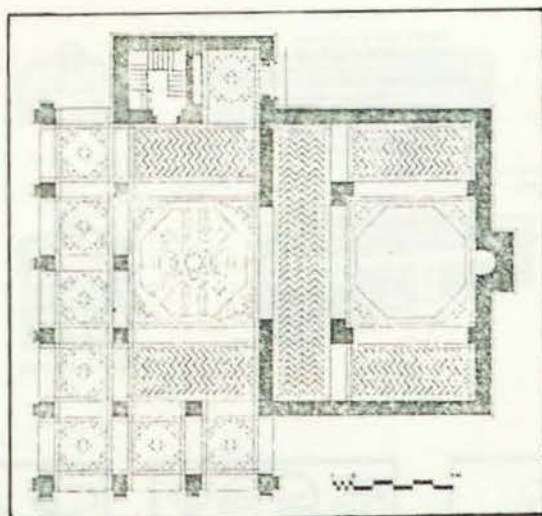
<sup>68</sup> Abdel Wahed El-Wakil (1986), p. 16.

<sup>69</sup> Chris Fawcett (1980), p. 89.

- fig. 5-40: Island Mosque, Jeddah, 1985. Architect: Abdel Wahed El-Wakil. Exterior view. [*MIMAR* No. 19, 1986, p. 13]
- fig. 5-41: Island Mosque, Jeddah, 1985. Architect: Abdel Wahed El-Wakil. Ground floor plan. [*MIMAR* No. 19, 1986, p. 13]



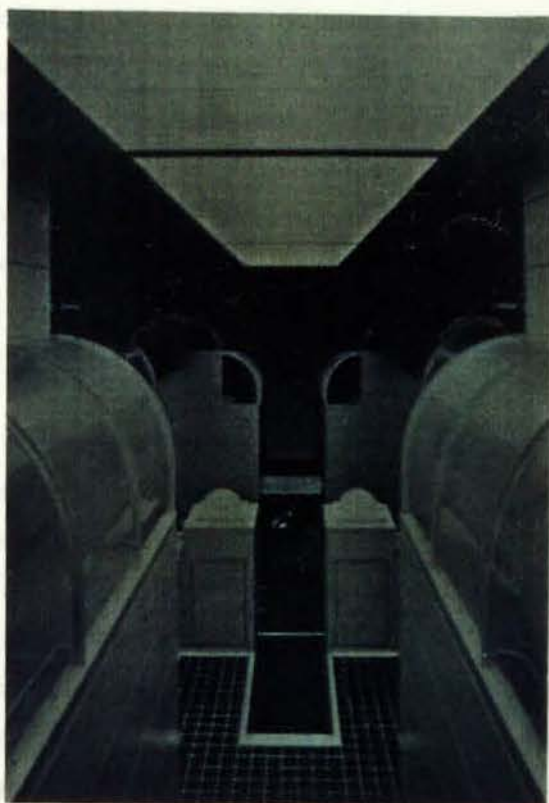
5-40



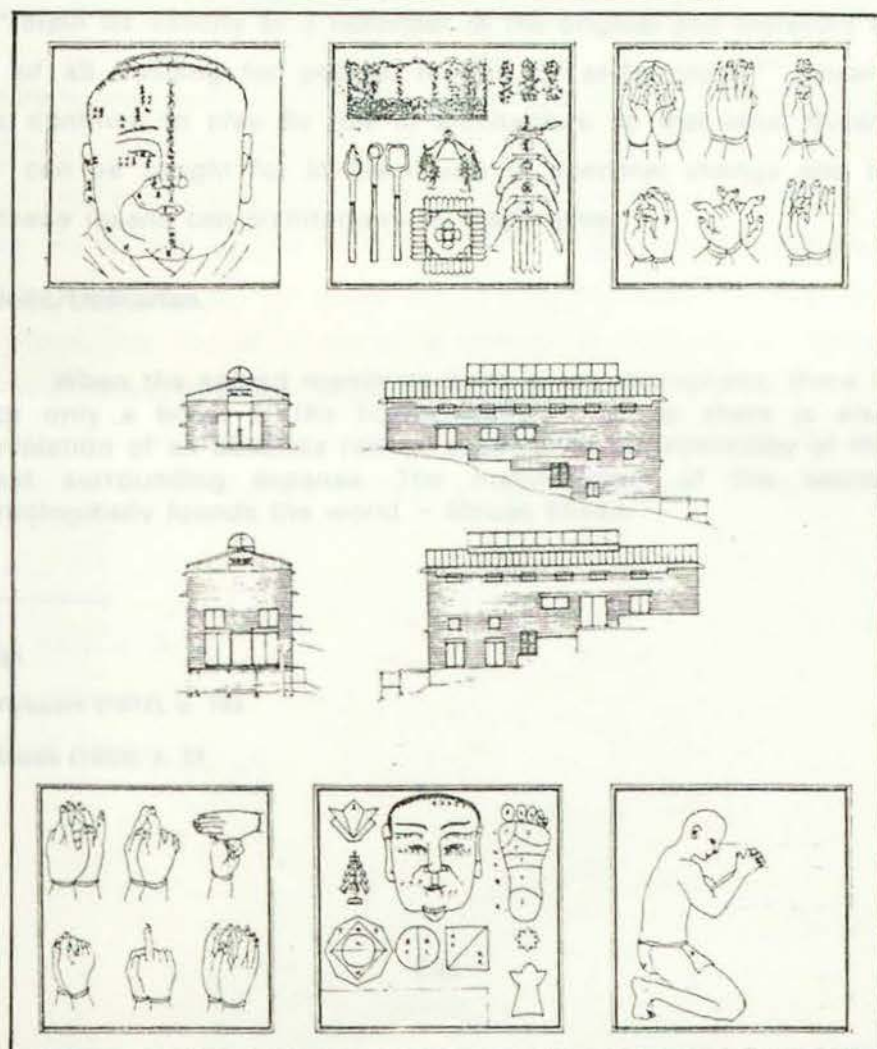
5-41

- fig. 5-42: Architect's House, Machida City, Japan, 1973-74. Architect: Hiroshi Hara. Interior view. [Chris Fawcett (1980), p.89]

- fig. 5-43: Architect's House, Machida City, Japan, 1973-74. Architect: Hiroshi Hara. Elevations and conceptual drawings. [Chris Fawcett (1980), p.89]



5-42



5-43

skylight, flanked by a cascade of white perspex from the ceiling down to the living space at the bottom. Going down the various levels, "one feels as though one is reliving the sequence of rituals attendant on the building process – first is *jichinsai*, the earth claiming-rite, before construction; the next is *choshisai*, the first use of a saw or an adze; next *richusai*, the ceremonies accompanying the erection of a column; the last main one being *jotosai* (or *age-mune-shiki*) to celebrate the raising of the ridge-pole." Each drop in level in the house corresponds to "another stage in the ritual" which "acts as a safeguard, a series of precautions to ensure that the building in question does not rupture the prevailing environmental superstructure, with its vestigial sacred faces (*kamā*), and ensures stability and long life in harmony with a symbolically conceived cosmos."<sup>70</sup> (figs. 5-42, 5-43)

In the conclusion of his book *On Adam's House in Paradise*, Joseph Rykwert writes that "the return to origins is a constant of human development and in this matter architecture conforms to all other human activities. The primitive hut – the home of the first man – is therefore no incidental concern of theorists, no casual ingredient of myth or ritual. The return to origins always implies a rethinking of what you do customarily, and an attempt to renew the validity of your everyday actions, or simply a recall of the natural (or even divine) sanction for your repeating them for a season." He thinks the primitive hut will "retain its validity as a reminder of the original and therefore essential meaning of all building for people: that is, of architecture."<sup>71</sup> Ritual should, therefore, continue to play its role in architecture so that what Rykwert calls 'Paradise' can be sought for in the rituals of seasonal change and initiation. Only by these means can architecture be made alive.

### **Symbolic/Utilitarian.**

When the sacred manifests itself in any hierophany, there is not only a break in the homogeneity of space; there is also revelation of an absolute reality, opposed to the nonreality of the vast surrounding expanse. The manifestation of the sacred ontologically founds the world. – Mircea Eliade.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., p. 91.

<sup>71</sup> Joseph Rykwert (1972), p. 192.

<sup>72</sup> Mircea Eliade (1959), p. 21

In traditional societies, the symbolic significance of buildings is fundamental to man's relationship to the world of inner and conscious experience. The sacred qualities of totally cohesive traditional communities lie partly in the summation of the symbolic values of the culture which are embodied in the buildings created out of the resources of a particular region.

In traditional architecture, one can sense ways of buildings and ways of life were rooted in the region that nurtured them. One can also see clearly the manifestation of the worldview of the people in that region through the characteristics of architecture. The built form of traditional architecture is fundamentally a vivid response to people's "psychic inheritance, of demons, gods, mythical inhabitants from the 'other side', and of ancestors who never 'really left home.'"<sup>73</sup> The differences between sacred and secular buildings in traditional settings are ambiguous. If there indeed is such a visual distinction, the sacred buildings are always much more attended to. Paul Oliver points out that "frequently the material from which such (religious) structures are built is more permanent than that from which the domestic dwellings are constructed; a people may live in houses of branches, leaves and thatch, but will build great and monumental structures to its gods of stone, which may last for generations. ... Frequently the sitting of places of worship is on land with ritual or religious implications as the spiritual homes of ancestors or mythological figures, or on the ground and among the groves inhabited by spirits."<sup>74</sup>

Not only is built form symbolically meaningful but also <sup>so</sup> is spatial organisation. Eliade stresses that "revelation of a sacred space makes it possible to obtain a fixed point and hence to acquire orientation in the chaos of homogeneity, to 'found the world' and to live in a real scene."<sup>75</sup> Even in the simplest spatial organisation like that of the hogan of the Hopi Indians, or the *ger* of the Mongol tribes, the layout is made according to a symbolic scheme. For example, in a hogan, the floor, slightly dished, represents the earth (female); the roof, slightly concave, the sky (male). Sacred pollen is smeared on the house posts, which symbolise the four poles, that support the sky. In the middle is the

<sup>73</sup> Colin Duly (1979), p. 16.

<sup>74</sup> Paul Oliver (1975), p. 13.

<sup>75</sup> Mircea Eliade (1959), p. 23.

hearth, which symbolises the nadir and the centre of the world. The entrance is always to the east. And the east post is dedicated to the Earth Woman deity. Interior space is symbolically divided. Even movement in such a dwelling is symbolic and thus has to follow a 'sunwise' path.<sup>76</sup> I shall not go into any detailed discussion of the complicated system of symbolism in traditional societies here. For the past three decades this has been the subject of a great deal of research and a large body of literature has been published about it.

The development of modern sciences facilitates the growth of the fully nonreligious man, who refuses all appeal to transcendence. Without the notion of sacredness in his mind, modern man desacralises as well as de-symbolizes himself and the world. The built environment becomes homogeneous and neutral. Space created according to grid-rules, thus becomes what Eliade calls 'profane space.' No qualitative differentiation and no orientation in terms of symbolism are given to the new buildings. In traditional settings, man attempts to consecrate a new territory, to make chaos into a cosmos. In modern societies, a new condition is being created by modern man and both the built form and spatial organisation are controlled by utilitarian efficiency.

Certainly it would be extremely unwise to go back to a symbolically oriented state at the expense of the utilitarian efficiency of the modern world. But it is equally dangerous for people to continue to ignore the significance of symbolism. Symbolism is far from being a mythical illusion, it can be a creative force in the formation of a meaningful built environment. But how can such an idea be realised? To manifest sacredness in terms of concrete objects is the most difficult thing for architects to accomplish. In traditional architecture there are many ways of expressing the sacred aspects of the world. But not every one of them remains valid in the contemporary world. However, the manipulation of light represents one of the most important ways for contemporary architects to achieve this aim.

Light is the source of all beings, according to many religions. Due to the high latitude, sunlight is the most sensitive element for Scandinavian architects to manifest the sacred. To lay emphasis on the lighting fixtures as well as the intake of natural light has been a tradition of Aalto and other Finnish architects.

---

<sup>76</sup> Paul Oliver (1987), pp. 155-156.



Already in the 1920s, Aalto used lighting fixtures randomly on the ceiling in the Worker's Club in Jyväskylä (1924) to evoke the scene of a starry heaven (fig.5-44). The method has been taken up by other architects. In the Myyrmäki Church and Parish Centre in Vantaa (1984) designed by Juha Leiviskä, the long growing sequence of rooms is flooded with continuously shifting light (both natural and artificial) (fig. 5-45).

Another way, though presenting greater difficulties, is the attempt to re-interpret the sacred built form and spatial organisation of the past. From the form of the ancient *mandala*, the cosmic organisation of spaces within the ancient Hindu conception of the Universe, Charles Correa developed Vidhan Bhavan, the new state assembly in the capital city of Bhopal (1980-) and Jawahar Kala Kendra, the cultural centre for the city of Jaipur (1986-). In both cases, (the former being circular and the latter square), the space has been divided into nine compartments as in a *mandala*. The centre is 'Nothing', which is in fact 'Everything' in the traditional conception.

In Vidhan Bhavan, the administrative offices are on two perpendicular axis, while the remaining four quarters are occupied by spaces of special functions, Upper House, Lower House, the Combined Hall and the library. Hasan-Uddin Kahn praises this project a *conceptual* architecture rather than one determined by materialistic and functional aspects and is one of Correa's "most powerful architectural statements."<sup>77</sup> (figs. 5-46, 5-47)

In the Jawahar Kala Kendra project, the model of a 'cosmos' was used directly by Charles Correa, with the understanding that the nine portions of a Vedic square *mandala* correspond to the Navagraha, or nine planets. Correa allocates to each of the nine squares in his plan the functions relating to that planet. For example, the library is located in the square of the planet Mercury, which traditionally represents knowledge. Furthermore, the wall of each square is decorated with an opening in the form of its planetary symbol. To defend this direct use of the past symbols, Correa argues that we have to "reinvent myth each time, that is what transformation is about – producing something

---

<sup>77</sup> Hasan-Uddin Kahn (1987), p. 134.

- fig. 5-44: Workers' Club, Jyväskylä, Finland, 1924. Architect: Alvar Aalto. Interior view. [author]
- fig. 5-45: Myyrmäki Church and Parish Centre, Vantaam Finland, 1984. Architect: Juha Leiviskä. Interior view. [author]



5-44

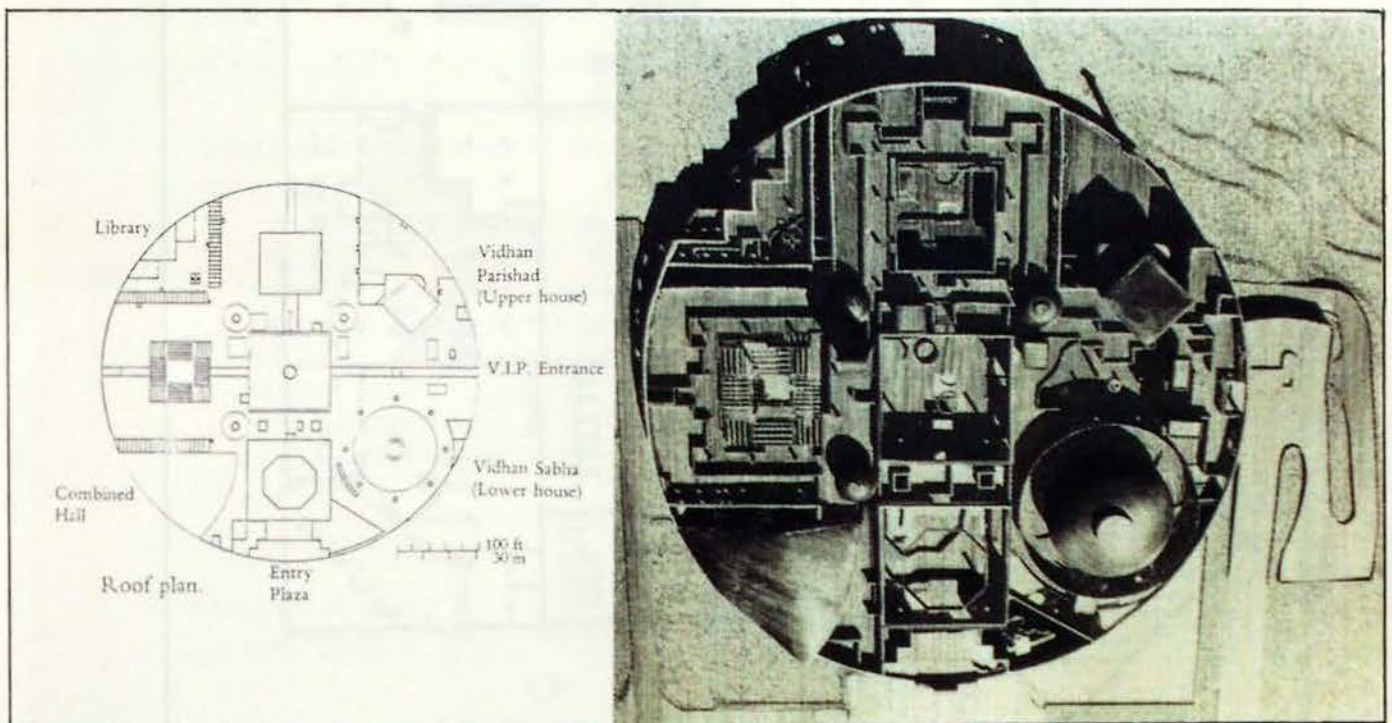


5-45

- fig. 5-46: Vidhan Bhavan, New State Assembly, Bhopal, 1980-. Architect: Charles Correa. Conceptual drawing. [Hasan-Uddin Khan (1987), cover]
- fig. 5-47: Vidhan Bhavan, New State Assembly, Bhopal, 1980-. Architect: Charles Correa. Model and roof plan. [Hasan-Uddin Khan (1987), p. 135, 158]

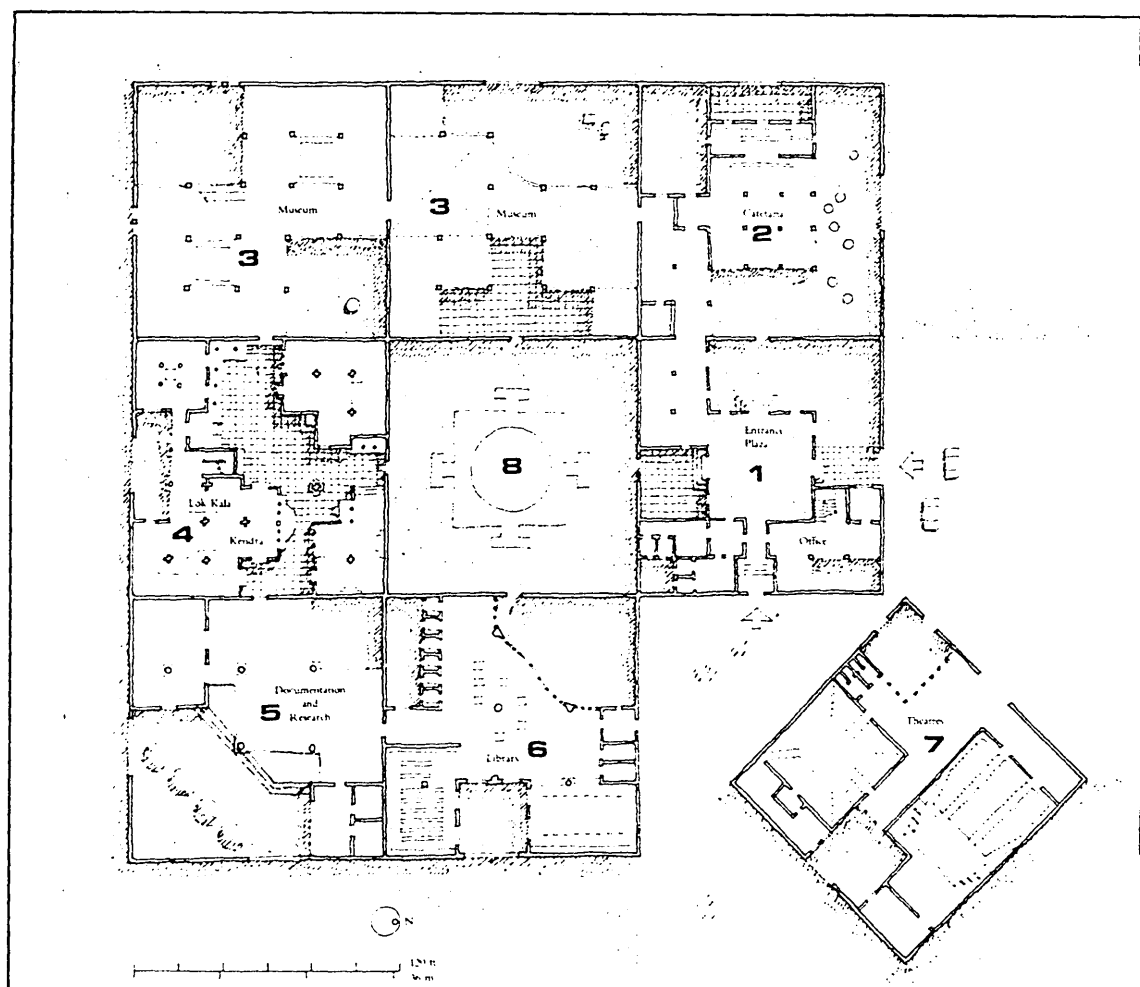
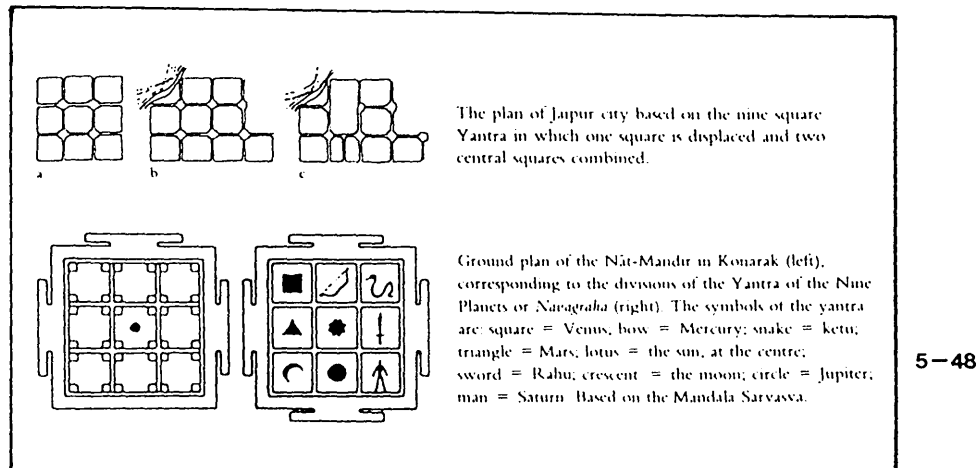


5-46



5-47

- fig. 5-48: Jawahar Kala Kendra, Culture Centre, Jaipur, 1986-. Architect: Charles Correa. Conceptual drawings. [Hasan-Uddin Khan (1987), p. 142]
- fig. 5-49: Jawahar Kala Kendra, Culture Centre, Jaipur, 1986-. Architect: Charles Correa. Ground floor plan. (1. entrance plaza, 2. cafeteria, 3. museum, 4. lok kala kendra, 5. documentation and research, 6. library, 7. theatres, 8. courtyard) [Hasan-Uddin Khan (1987), p. 142]





that is contemporary but with roots going back."<sup>78</sup> (figs. 5-48, 5-49)

The mandala plan has its specific cosmological meaning and function. It is not clear that its re-use for these buildings is appropriate. The danger, surely, as with history, is that anything can be transformed and re-interpreted into anything if only the visual form is adopted for transformation. The success of these schemes is yet to be testified when they are completed. But the attempt and the approach of 'absorbing, internalising and transforming' adopted by Correa remains worthwhile trying until any better alternative is developed.

### **The Idea of Man**

In traditional societies, the analogy between house layout and the genealogical charts of people in the settlement cannot be accidental. The whole settlement is a reflection of the human relationships in it while each house represents its owner's identity. The idea that man exists as a part of the whole community is concretised in the built environment. In modern societies buildings, especially residential buildings, are too often judged merely by the quantitative provision of dwellings or the self-expression of the architect. Because it no longer seems centred on Man, the qualitative dimensions concerning human relationships have been lost, and man becomes even more isolated in the alienating modern built environment. Critical Regionalism must take into consideration the role that human relationships play in the community in order to achieve a living environment in which everyone lives harmoniously while possessing his own identity.

### **House as Home/House as Physical Shelter.**

House is the abstract characteristic of spaces good to live in. House is the form, in the mind of wonder it should be there without shape or dimension. A house is a conditional interpretation of these space. This is design. In my opinion the greatness of the architect depends on his powers of realisation of that which is House, rather than his design of a house which is a circumstantial act. Home is the House and the occupants. Home becomes different with each occupant. – Louis Kahn<sup>79</sup>

---

<sup>78</sup> Charles Correa, quoted in Dan Cruickshank (1987), p. 57.

<sup>79</sup> Louis Kahn, quoted in Alexandra Tyng (1984), p.69.

In Chapter Three I have already touched on the distinction between the notion of the house and the home in modern societies. In traditional societies, the difference between a house and a home is obscure. Both of them imply the notion of "the anchor in the experience of dwelling" whose metaphorical description is expressed in the statements like "I feel at home wherever I go" or "They make foreigners feel at home".<sup>80</sup> Similarly, D. Soper, from the linguistic point of view, points out that "to speak of 'hometown' or 'homeland', in which the scale is made specific as a matter of convenience, is to transfer the same warm feeling of security and familiarity that we experience at the scale of the family dwelling (home) to a city or country."<sup>81</sup>

In traditional societies, a house is often identical with a home; it is not only a place of residence, but also one containing psychological resonance and social meaning. Human relationships play an important role in the formation of the built form of a house. The way people live in that house reflects, expresses, and helps to form the social relationships among household members, kin, and the neighbourhood. The built form and spatial organisation reflect both the idiosyncrasy of their inhabitants' identity and the relationship between all inhabitants to the community as a whole. Since each cultural region has a distinct socio-cultural system, the houses can be indicative of the dissimilar value systems of communities.

Colin Duly points out even in the very simple and temporary encampments of nomadic Fulani, disposition is used to express the notion of seniority. Each son of the chief is considered to be the head of his own lineage; the most senior son and his lineage camp furthest to the west, the youngest son to the east. Within each lineage, the most senior families are to be found on the south, the most junior to the north, so that in terms of both genealogy (relationship to the chief) and age, each family knows its place.<sup>82</sup> Similarly, inside a single Mongolian *ger*, there is distinction of spatial organisation in terms of ethical meaning: "the southern portion from the door to the hearth was junior or low-status half; from behind the hearth to the back of the tent

<sup>80</sup> Susan Saegert (1985), p. 289.

<sup>81</sup> D. Soper (1979), p. 130.

<sup>82</sup> Colin Duly (1979), pp. 35-36.

was the high-status section, the *xoimor*. This division was complemented by a separation into male (ritually pure) and female (ritually impure) halves, on the west and east respectively.”<sup>83</sup>

Current developments mean that traditional societies, which are highly collectivistic, have been moving along the continuum toward individualism. Consequently, there has emerged a social and psychological dilemma. When societies become individualistic in character, the last thing to be considered is human relationships. Houses, for most architects become predominantly objects where an individual can assert his self-expression and freedom. Modernist architects tend to conceive the abstract quality of a house in terms of its formal and spatial expression while those who made the decision to construct housing tend to judge the result in terms of its quantity and physical shape. Houses or the units of mass housing are treated as commodities produced and marketed within particular economic and technological constraints on the one hand, and a means of free expression on the other. The apparent shift away from a house as a venue which reflects a family, to a house as “a living machine” or merely a physical structure, is the consequence of the complex social, economic and technological changes which have occurred with increasing rapidity since the Industrial Revolution. Without an overall idea and image of how people are related to each other inside the house and community, houses become a meaningless collection of spaces.

In order to remedy this symptom, the Critical Regionalist approach attempts to endow a house with the meaning of a home. In order to do so, a house should not only be looked upon as an object, a part of the environment, but also be best conceived as a kind of relationship among people themselves as well as between people and their environment. The relationships between people will recreate a sense of collectivity for alienated modern man while the relationship between people and their environment will provide both of them with an identity.

Certainly, in a modern society consisting of individuals and nuclear families, the feasibility of achieving a completely successful design in terms of what we have been argued is doubtful. But the attempts of several architects remain

---

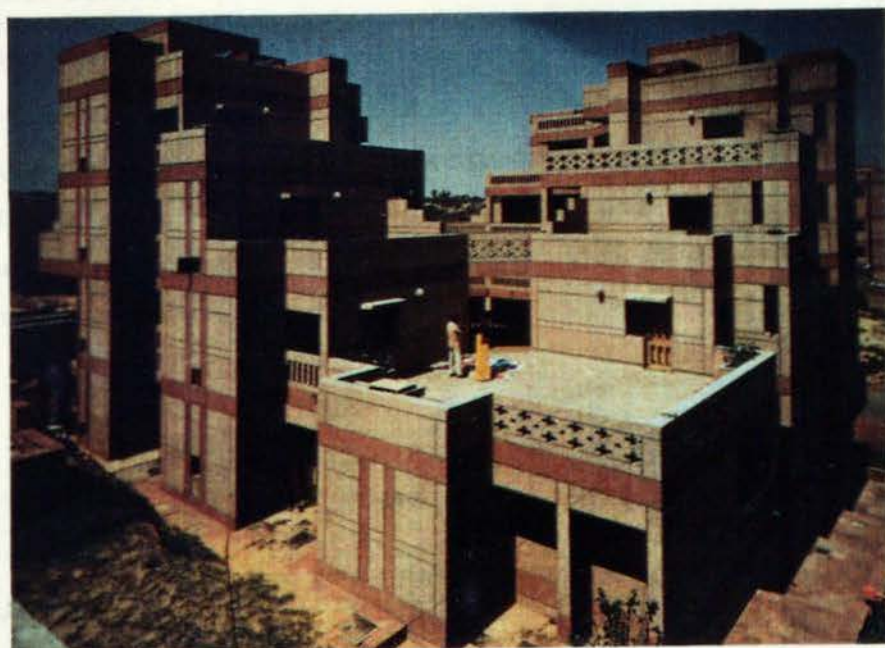
<sup>83</sup> Ibid., p. 87.



- fig. 5-50: Housing, National Institute of Immunology, New Delhi, 1986. Architect: Raj Rewal. Exterior view of the senior staff block. [*The Architectural Review*, August 1987, p. 39]
- fig. 5-51: Housing, National Institute of Immunology, New Delhi, 1986. Architect: Raj Rewal. Exterior view of the scholars' hostel. [*The Architectural Review*, August 1987, p. 41]



5-50



5-51

worthy of attention since they have achieved, in varying degrees, the aim of re-injecting human relationships into the built environment. The Housing for the National Institute of Immunology in Dehli (1986), designed by Raj Rewal, is one example. The housing, consisting of twelve apartments for senior staff, twelve apartments for junior staff and a 25-room hostel for research scholars, is organised as three separated clusters with their own internal courtyards. The revival of the internal courtyard is the result of the realisation of the fact that it not only functions as the entrance but also provides a space for human interaction and communication. The roof terraces, which are located at several levels, are shaded during most of the day, and function as a playground for children within the sight of the surrounding units. Different types of housing unit are provided so as to reflect the rank of the staff (figs. 5-50, 5-51).

Home/house as a reflection of human relationships represents an embodiment of social hierarchies, injustices, sexual differentiation as well as the patterns of experience and behaviour of the people. As Hassan Fathy argues:

Whenever we build a human settlement, whether a village of fifty families or a city of a million, the inseparable and basin unit is the individual family dwelling, and in town just as in village, it has the same function. The house, more than sheltering us from rain, sun, dust, and other elemental afflictions, shelters us from the world. A house is not a machine for living in; it is a private world, dependable, unchanging, a constant kindly refuge in the cultural avalanche that we are pleased to call civilisation. If the family is the fundamental social group – the interpreter and buffet between the individual and society – then the house has an analogous function as between the individual and the world of thing.<sup>84</sup>

Home/house as identity is not just a matter of the expression of self or the representation of one person's worldview, it also entails an important component supplied by the site itself. In other words, people not only give the identity to a home/house, but draw their identity from it.

---

<sup>84</sup> From a paper entitled "The City of the Future, the Dwelling within the Urban Settlement", quoted in J.M. Richard, I. Serageldin, D. Rastorfer (1985), pp. 149-150.

## Process/Production.

If you want a flower, you don't try to make it with bits of paper and glue, but you devote your labour and intelligence instead to preparing the ground, then you put a seed in and let it grow. In the same way, to make use of the natural desire of the villager to build, we must apply ourselves to preparing the ground by creating an atmosphere or social climate in which building will flourish, and we must not waste our energy on the construction of buildings which, however smart or striking they may be, will be as sterile and unproductive as artificial flowers. – Hassan Fathy.<sup>85</sup>

As has been argued before, in traditional societies, building construction involves a series of rituals. In other words, it is religiously meaningful. But there is another aspect of building construction in traditional societies, that is, it represents an opportunity for the reinforcement of community solidarity through participation. Traditional architecture, if it is not the result of an individual owner-builder, might be that of a community grouping based on kinship ties or gender, rather than occupational specialisations. In many cultures, all members of the group may be potential architects, or builders, or may be involved in the activities of embellishment, configuration, carving or decorating which according to Modernist standards, would belong to the realm of the professional.

For example, whenever a new *vale*, or dwelling in a Waitabu village needs to be built, it will be constructed by the young men of *tokatoka* or lineage, assisted sometimes by other members of their *metagali*, the larger exogamous kin group.<sup>86</sup> And in the case of the Pueblo Indian World, the construction of the dwelling and *kiva*, or the ceremonial house, is basically a community activity.<sup>87</sup> The process is equally important to the final production of buildings in traditional societies.

One of the main attributes that distinguish traditional architecture from modern architecture is that the split responsibilities of the architect, builder,

---

<sup>85</sup> Hassan Fathy (1973), p. 119.

<sup>86</sup> Paul Oliver (1987), p. 28.

<sup>87</sup> David Saile (1977).

and owner are taken for granted in the production of buildings. However, when the task of the construction of the building passes from the layman to the specialised craftsman and then to even more distant, specialised, technologically arcane, and institutionally complex organisations, the link between the human touch and the form of a building becomes lost. A building becomes merely the final product people move into after the construction has been completed. The close affinity of buildings, especially houses, to their users is thus decreased.

Since the factor of user participation must be taken into serious consideration, the directions argued by Alexander's Pattern Language and "Community Architecture" can contribute greatly. The Community-Based Building Programme (CBBP) in Papua New Guinea has constantly attempted to follow the direction of A Pattern Language and to find out how the consistent quality and appropriateness of pre-industrial vernacular architecture can be achieved in the cultural confusion of the modern industrial world.<sup>88</sup>

Between 1979 and 1987, CBBP completed 99 projects. In every project, an aim was set within its rational, scientific approach to design and building processes, using modern technology; where appropriate, to achieve human ends and to some extent traditionally-based productions.<sup>89</sup> In every project, there is a standard construction system developed by the architect which, together with the cost estimating, is controlled by computers. Based on this standard system, users can accordingly participate realistically in making design decisions. Thus every house in any particular project can be spatially and formally unique. Rory Spence calls these projects "Grass-Roots Tech" because "though the office procedures employ the latest technology, the construction itself is apparently traditional – timber structure, split timber roofing shakes, timber siding and woven, semi-open wall panels of natural fibres for maximum cross ventilation while maintaining privacy."<sup>90</sup> (figs. 5-52, 5-53)

---

<sup>88</sup> CBBP, established in 1978, is a branch of the Centre for Environmental Structure.

<sup>89</sup> Rory Spence (1987), p. 60.

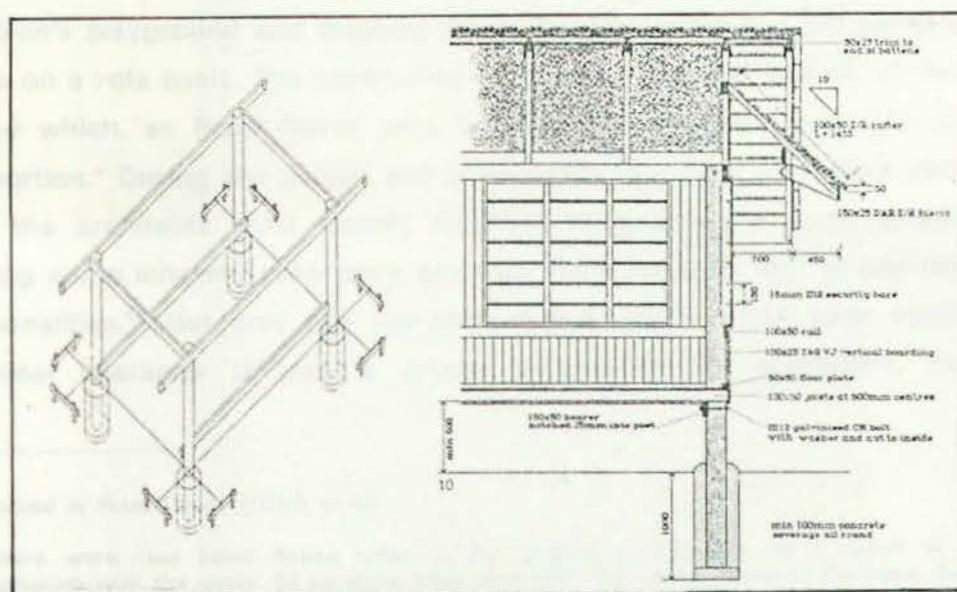
<sup>90</sup> Ibid.



- fig. 5-52: Houses designed and built by CBBP (Houses for the South Pacific Appropriate Technology Foundation, Lae). [*The Architectural Review*, July 1987, p. 58]
- fig. 5-53: Standard framing developed by CBBP. [*The Architectural Review*, July 1987, p. 60]



5-52



5-53

Certainly the difficulties and problems which Alexander has experienced remain in the application of his ideas in Papua New Guinea. The educational level of the people is one. Very often sketches are needed to help people visualise buildings which are not yet built. If the building is too complicated, consisting of more than a few rooms, it is usually impractical to consider all of the opinions of the users, which tend to be so diverse. We may now ask the question, could this approach be successfully applied in a more urbanised and developed area where the educational standard is much higher and people are more self-conscious in what they want to do?

Housing at Tinggården in Denmark (1978), designed by Tegnestuen Vandkunsten, provides us with a positive answer to this question. Denmark was one of the earliest European countries which wholeheartedly embraced the power of both capitalist and bureaucratic developments that produced the anonymous concrete housing of the 1960s. But it is also the Danish who first realised how alienating the environment becomes because of such industrialised housing. So by 1970, the Danish State Building Research Institute had laid down the aim that "housing and cities should be able to be administered by the people that live in them. Decisions concerning their programming, design, remodelling and daily operation; to as great a degree as possible, shall be made by the inhabitants themselves."<sup>91</sup>

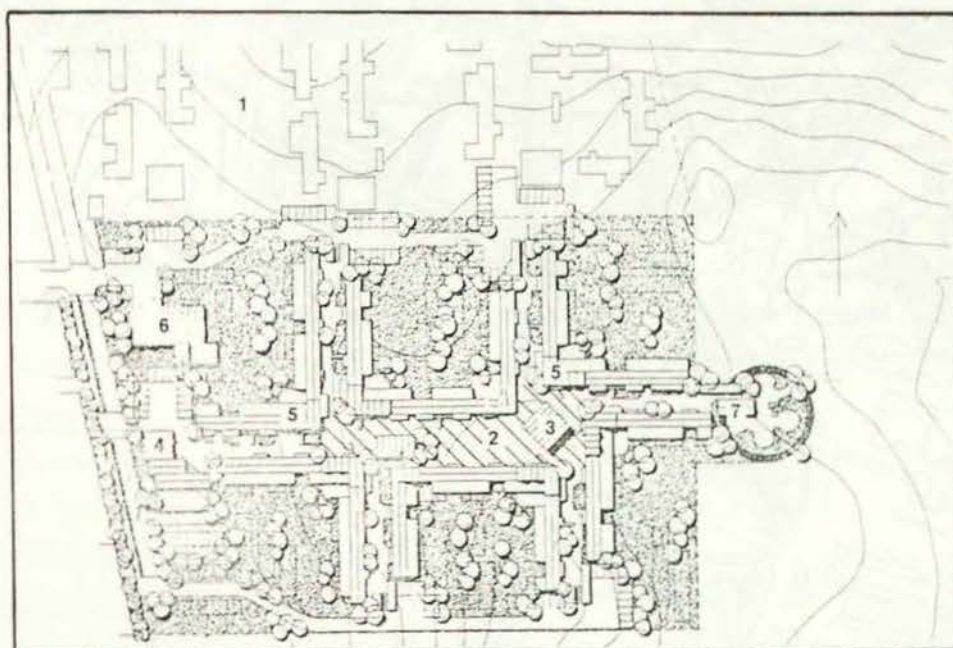
In Tinggården Housing, each family has its own unit of residence, but shares in common community facilities such as a fully-equipped kitchen, children's playground and meeting room. Cooking, cleaning, and gardening are done on a rota basis. The community facilities occupy 12.5 percent of the whole space which, as Peter Davey puts it, is "an extraordinary high and idealistic proportion." During the design and construction process, the future inhabitants and the architects work closely together to generate a form, which, while having some inherent coherence, provides room for each user to add his or her personalities.<sup>92</sup> Not only has the idea of user participation been applied, the regional character is also a strong concern of the architect's. Two and

---

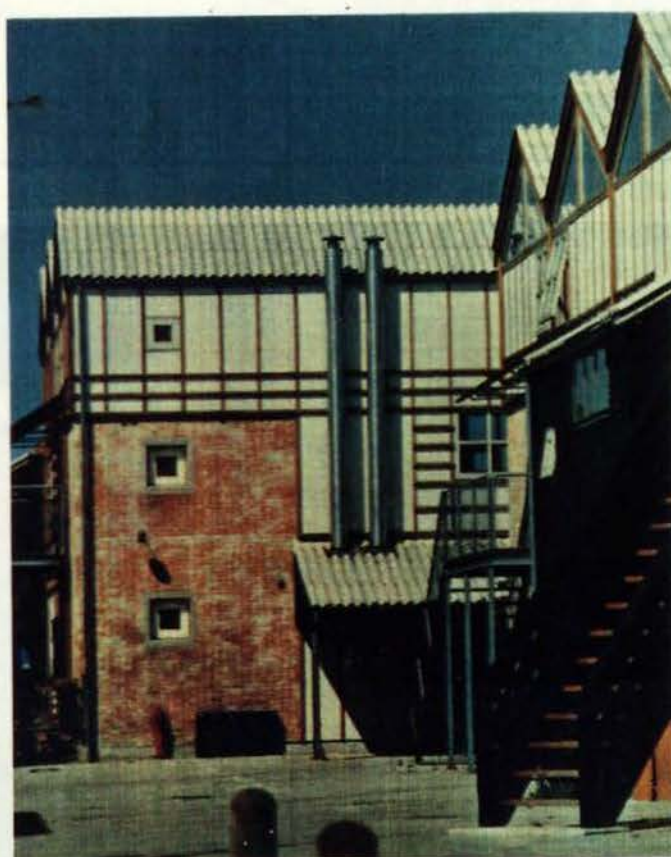
<sup>91</sup> Quoted in Peter Davey (1983), p. 49.

<sup>92</sup> There were four basic house types in the original scheme but, as a result of intensive consultation with the users, 32 varieties have emerged. The modifications of the basic themes can be done by using an interchangeable kit designed by the architects. See Peter Davey (1983) (1987).

- fig. 5-54: Tinggarden Housing, Tinggarden, Denmark, 1978. Architects: Tegnestuen Vandkunsten. Site plan. (1. Tinggarden I, 2. square, 3. community house, 4. workshop, 5. common rooms, 6. heating boiler, 7. children playhouse) [*The Architectural Review*, July 1987, p. 46]
- fig. 5-55: Tinggarden Housing, Tinggarden, Denmark, 1978. Architects: Tegnestuen Vandkunsten. Exterior view. [*The Architectural Review*, July 1987, p. 46]



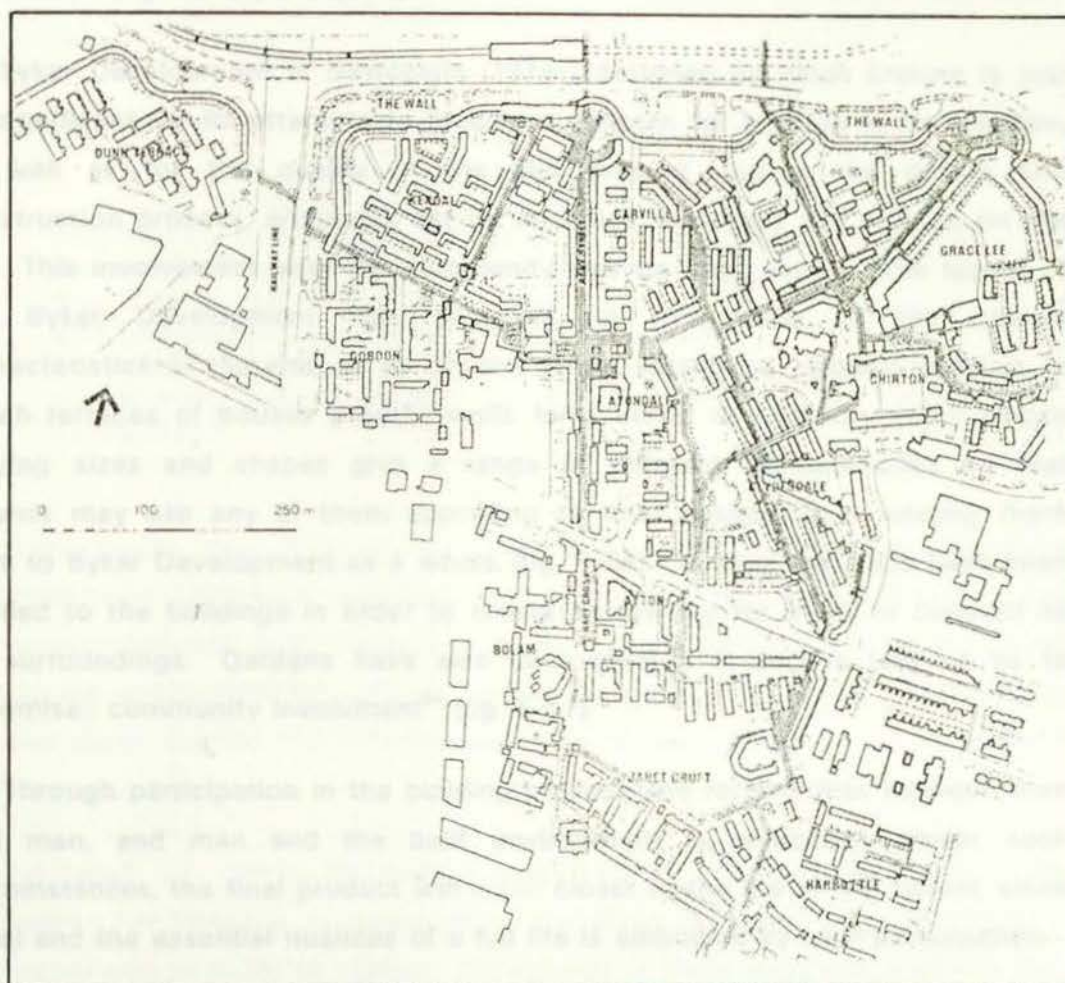
5-54



5-55



- fig. 5-56: Byker Development, Newcastle, 1974-. Architect: Ralph Erskine. Site Plan. [*The Architectural Review*, December 1981, p. 334]
- fig. 5-57: Byker Development, Newcastle, 1974-. Architect: Ralph Erskine. Exterior view of flats and gardens. [*The Architectural Review*, December 1981, p. 334]



5-56



5-57

two-and-a-half storey units line the community square and make it into a space that "recalls a traditional Danish village in its higgley-piggledy" outline. Besides, the lightweight prefabricated asbestos cement skins are rendered with creosoted timber and brick to give an industrial-vernacular synthetic impression (figs. 5-54, 5-55).

Byker Development in Newcastle (1974-) designed by Ralph Erskine is just as significant for its attempts to include a concern for process in its creation, as well as for the quality of the end product. During the design and construction process, architects set up an office, and lived and worked on the site. This involvement with the community was on many levels. The layout of the Byker Development was designed, in recognition of the special characteristics of the site, as an organic entity, just like a colossal building, in which terraces of houses provide walls for a series of outdoor rooms whose varying sizes and shapes give a range of different characteristics so that tenants may use any of them according to their desires, thus relating them back to Byker Development as a whole (fig. 5-56). Various materials have been applied to the buildings in order to create an identity for Byker in contrast to its surroundings. Gardens have also been created in such a way so as to maximise community involvement<sup>93</sup> (fig. 5-57).

Through participation in the building process, the reciprocities between man and man, and man and the built environment is reinforced. Under such circumstances, the final product will be closer to the life of the people, since ritual and the essential nuances of a full life is embodied by user participation.

### **The Idea of the Earth**

In traditional societies, people were aware of the important relationship between themselves and the earth. They tried to maintain the stability of the physical environment and attempted to act in harmony with it. When expressed in buildings, this awareness can be clearly seen in their responses to regional

---

<sup>93</sup> In keeping with the spirit of their approach to Byker, the architects have ingeniously manipulated various standard procedures to encourage involvement. For instance, the tenants are offered the same value in plants as is allowed in the budget for digging over each garden should, they choose to dig it for themselves. So not only are they encouraged to start immediately on gardening, but the new plants necessitate and encourage continuing care. See Peter Buchanan (1981), p. 339.

climate, reflections of regional topography, and the application of regional materials. As culture changes, the attitude to and interpretation of the comfort of the elements of the physical environment changes as well. Buildings serve as one of the indexes for these changes. The significance and meaning of the physical environment of a region, ignored by Modernists, has been resurrected by Critical Regionalism.

#### **Natural/Artificial.**

True regional character cannot be formed through a sentimental or imitative approach by incorporating either old emblems or the newest local fashions which disappear as fast as they appear. But if you take ... the basic difference imposed on architectural design by the climatic conditions ... diversity of expression can result ... if the architect will use the utterly contrasting indoor outdoor relations ... as focus for design conception.<sup>94</sup>

Each climate zone of the world has a multitude of building types that mirror its conditions. Although questions like 'why has the same climate zone developed different built forms?' and 'why have similar built forms been developed within different climate zones?' remain to be raised, the fact that climate plays one of the determining roles in the formation of architecture should be beyond doubt.

Examples of climate-responsive buildings in traditional societies are abundant. For instance, corbelled stone dwellings in Turkey and Syria perform extremely well in terms of climate. The interior of these buildings is cooler than the outside during the daytime, while it is warmer at night. Nomad tents are also effective in this regard, despite their spartan simplicity. The cluster layout, the flat roof, the thick wall, and the courtyard of many Muslim desert settlements are all indexes to how buildings respond to the climatic conditions. A number of devices such as the *iwan*, a space covered and closed on three sides, the *shamashil*, the wooden boxed-screen over the window, the *mashrabiya*, the open wooden window lattice, the *badgir*, the wind-scoop, and the small pool inside the courtyard, are all means used to modify the desert climate although they also have other uses and meanings. On the other hand,

---

<sup>94</sup> Walter Gropius (1956), p. 21.

large overhanging eaves, shaded verandahs, ventilation grilles at high levels, and arcades, are typical elements of buildings in humid, hot areas.<sup>95</sup>

Modern architecture has developed in dependence upon environmental control systems. In most modern buildings, 'climate modifiers' of one kind or another are installed as a part of the total design. Buildings tend to be optimally air-conditioned and rooms over-lighted provided the money is available. Modernists are apt to ignore the fact that the experience of natural elements is a part of human life and contributes to the sense of a place and its culture. They also tend not to take notice of the fact that, architecturally speaking, light is the "primary agent by which the volume and the tectonic value of the work are revealed."<sup>96</sup> Inside their tightly sealed, environmentally controlled buildings, men are cut off from the natural setting. Their feelings towards and perception of diurnal and seasonal changes are minimised, if not completely eliminated.

Since the physical environmental condition is one of the factors which contributes to the richness of built form, it would be impossible to create the proper regional characteristics of architecture without referring to it. Therefore, to incorporate this traditional consideration of climate within the use of modern environmental control technology (where appropriate) is a crucial part of the formation of an effective Regionalist architecture. Regionalists believe that "a direct link with the culture of the place can be made through the adaptation of the traditional response to climate and creatively using these to solve contemporary problems."<sup>97</sup> Critical Regionalism looks for a certain complementarity between the two poles and searches for a critique of the modern environmental control systems in terms of regional implements, and vice versa.

<sup>95</sup> By emphasizing the responsive nature of vernacular architecture, I do not mean to imply that vernacular architecture of all regions is equally good at coping with different climatic conditions. Very often, the comfort of the micro-climate is sacrificed when other socio-cultural considerations are weighed up. For example, from the climatic point of view, "the common houses, *malocas* of the Panare of Venezuela, can be said irrational because during the dry season the houses become too hot inside, lacking any form of cross-ventilation." But "the Panare make up for it by the simple expedient of the hammock." Colin Duly (1979), p. 66.

<sup>96</sup> Kenneth Frampton (1985), p. 327.

<sup>97</sup> Ken Yeang (1987), p. 25.

Charles Correa has been extremely concerned about regional climatic conditions. An intelligent response to the harsh climate of India lies at the root of much of his work. One of his remarkable ideas in response to the climate is the 'Summer Section' and the 'Winter Section' he developed in the Kota Township (1964 unbuilt) (fig. 5-58). The climate in that area is arid. The roof, the largest surface exposed to the sun, receives the biggest amount of heat during the daytime. The thicker the roof, the longer it takes to heat up – but once this happens, it continues to radiate down into the room at night until it finally cools off. In hot arid climates (which are often cold at night), this is usually deliberate in traditional architecture – to balance out day/night radiations. An air-conditioner may solve the problem but the energy it consumes is beyond the affordability of most people. A way to prevent the heat-gain of the roof is to minimise the sunlight falling on it which can be done by installing a second membrane – preferably slatted as an interposition. But this is still not the most efficient method. So Correa invented the concept of the 'Summer Section' and the 'Winter Section'. 'The Summer Section creates a pyramidal interior space closing off the sky; it is to be used in the hot afternoons while the Winter Section is a reverse pyramid opening up to the sky; it is to be used in the cold season, and in the summer evenings.'<sup>98</sup> Correa thinks that a house, if possible, should be provided with both sections. Such an idea is realised in the Parekh House in Ahmedabad (1966) in which the Summer section is sandwiched between the Winter section and the service bay (figs. 5-59, 5-60).

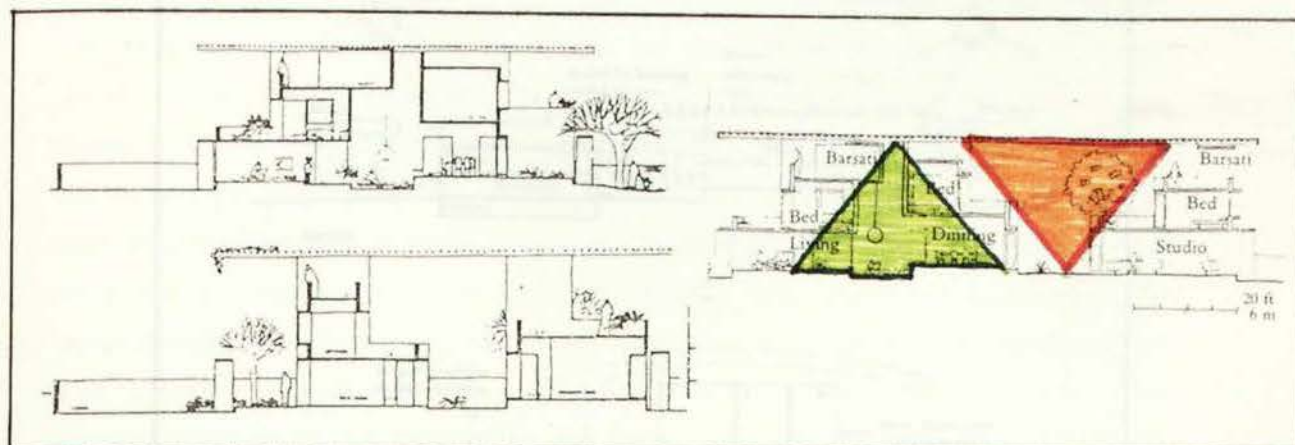
In the ECIL (Electronics Corporation of India Limited) Office Complex (1965-1968) in Hyderabad, Correa tried to generate a controlled micro-climate through the very nature and pattern of built form rather than artificial implements. Spatially, a number of modular units are arranged in a cruciform shape, and separated to provide natural light and ventilation. The heat-gain is minimised by sealing off the east facade of the three cruciform compounds. Shade is provided by a pergola which has a substantial overhang on the west and south from which a panoramic view of the town and landscape can be obtained. The roof consists of three elements: a solid surface; a "reflecting surface" comprising of a thin membrane of water; and a slatted pergola. For

---

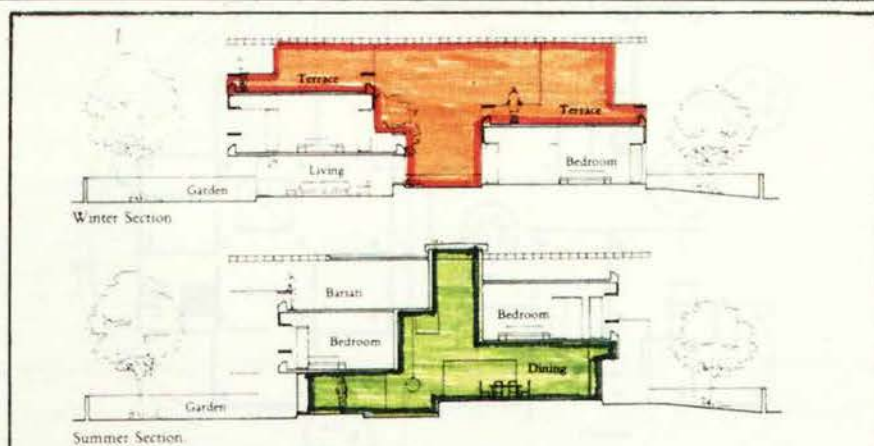
<sup>98</sup> Charles Correa (1987), p. 172.



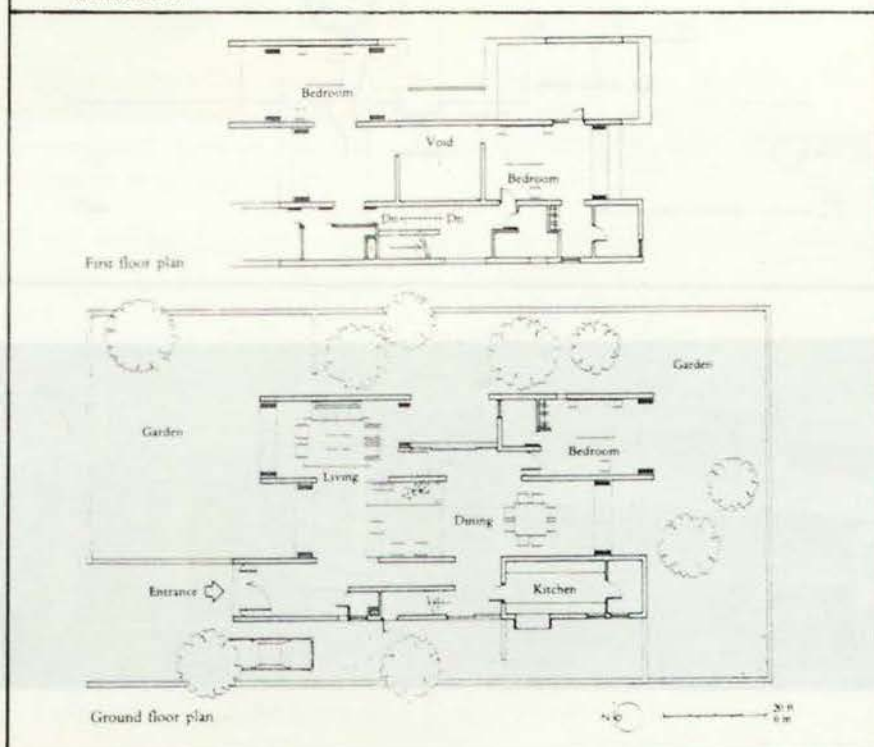
- fig. 5-58: Kota Township Project, 1964. Architect: Charles Correa. Summer section and winter section. [Hasan-Uddin Khan (1987), p. 173]
- fig. 5-59: Parekh House, Ahmedabad, 1966-68. Architect: Charles Correa. Summer section and Winter section. [Hasan-Uddin Khan (1987), p. 42]
- fig. 5-60: Parekh House, Ahmedabad, 1966-68. Architect: Charles Correa. Floor plans. [Hasan-Uddin Khan (1987), p. 42]



5-58

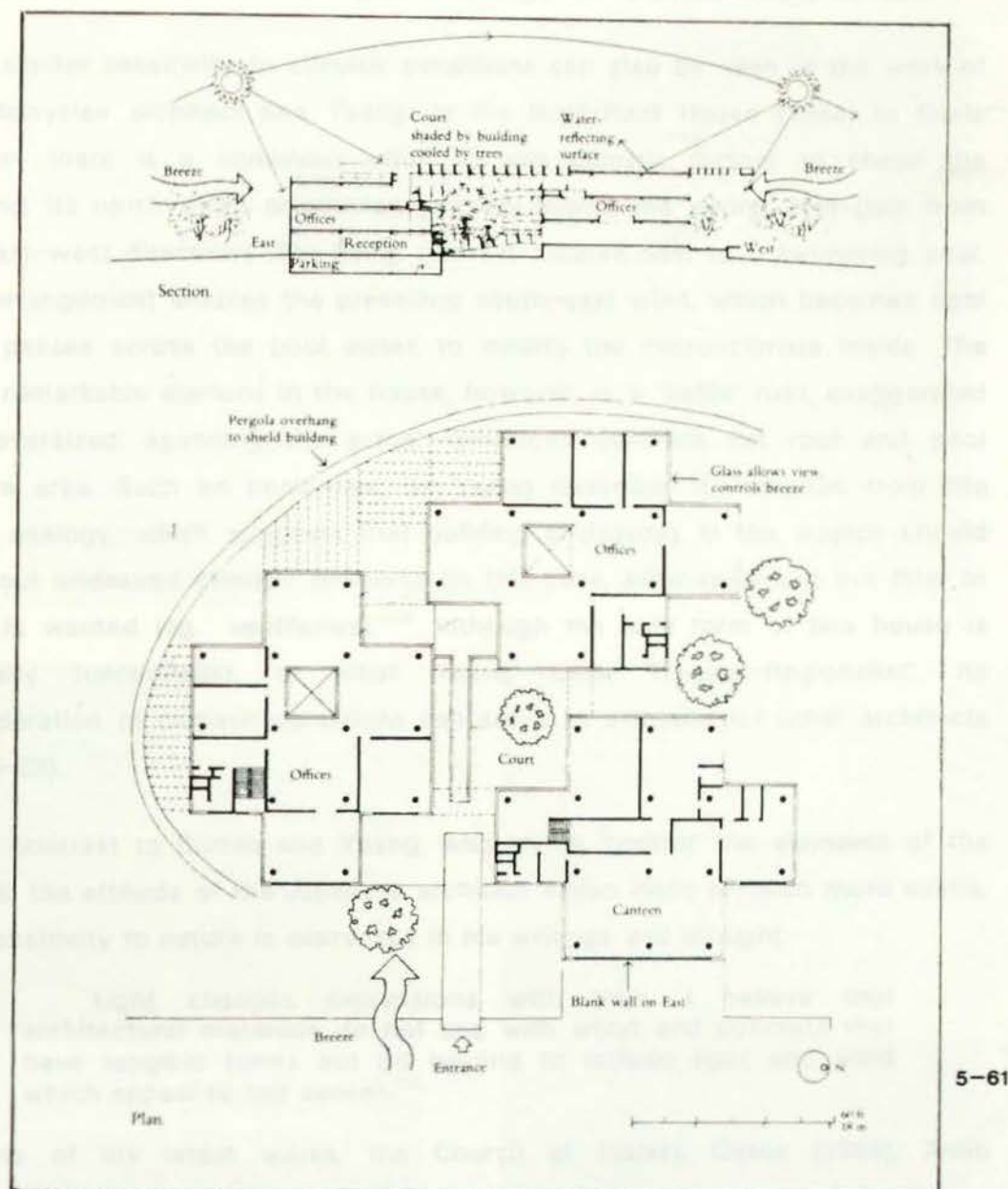


5-59



5-60

- fig. 5-61: Electronics Corporation of India Limited, Hyderabad, 1965-68. Architect: Charles Correa. Climate analysis by section and floor plan. [Hasan-Uddin Khan (1987), p. 36]
- fig. 5-62: Electronics Corporation of India Limited, Hyderabad, 1965-68. Architect: Charles Correa. Exterior view. [Hasan-Uddin Khan (1987), p. 38]





Correa, all of these climatic control implements are not his own inventions. Rather they embody his observation of and sensitivity towards traditional ways of responding to climatic conditions (figs. 5-61, 5-62). According to Correa, "it is the quality of light and ambiance of moving air that forms the essence of our experience." Therefore, "architecture as a mechanism for dealing with the elements" should be one of the great challenge that architects have to face.<sup>99</sup>

A similar sensitivity to climatic conditions can also be seen in the work of the Malaysian architect Ken Yeang. In his Roof-Roof House (1984) in Kuala Lumpur, there is a conscious effort to use climatic factors to shape the building. Its north-south orientation sensibly avoids the strong heat-gain from the east-west directions. The living room is located next to a swimming pool. This arrangement enables the prevailing south-east wind, which becomes cool as it passes across the pool water, to modify the micro-climate inside. The most remarkable element in the house, however, is a 'baffle' roof, exaggerated and oversized, spanning the actual reinforced concrete flat roof and pool terrace area. Such an implement, as Yeang describes it, "resulted from the valve analogy, which suggests that building enclosures in the tropics should filter out undesired climatic elements (in this case, solar radiation) but filter in what is wanted (eg. ventilation)."<sup>100</sup> Although the built form of this house is basically functionalist, or what Yeang calls 'Tropical-Regionalist', its consideration of climatic conditions can serve as a lesson for other architects (fig. 5-63).

In contrast to Correa and Yeang, who try to 'control' the elements of the nature, the attitude of the Japanese architect Tadao Ando is much more subtle. His sensitivity to nature is expressed in his writings and thought.

Light changes expressions with time. I believe that architectural materials do not end with wood and concrete that have tangible forms but go beyond to include light and wind which appeal to our senses.<sup>101</sup>

In one of his latest works, the Church at Ibaraki, Osaka (1989), Ando

---

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

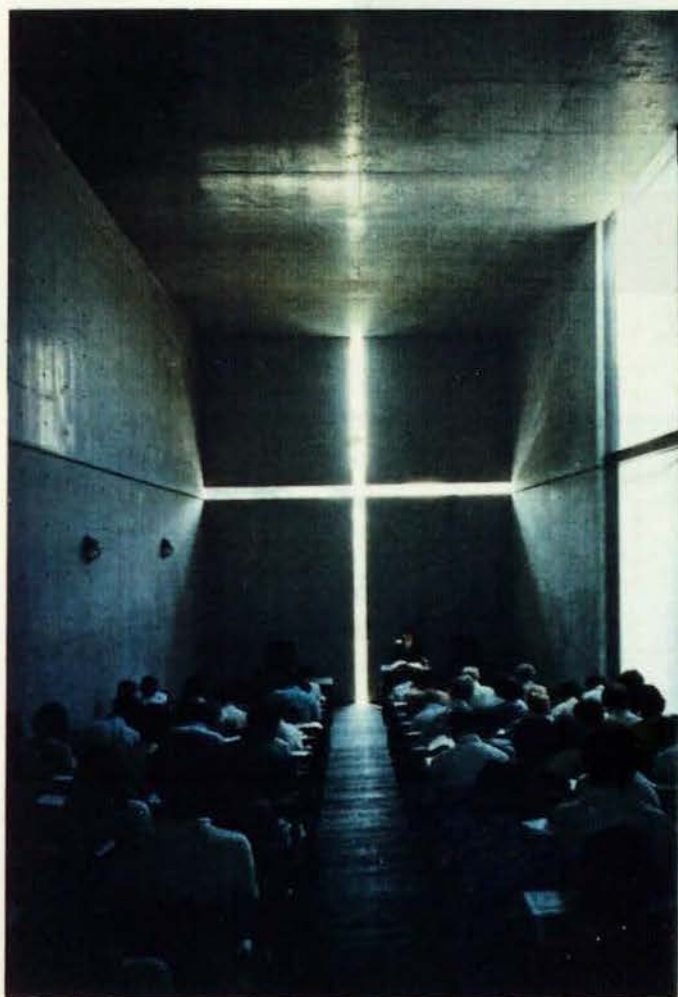
<sup>100</sup> Ken Yeang (1984), p. 30.

<sup>101</sup> Tadao Ando (1981), quoted in Kenneth Frampton (1985), p. 324.

- fig. 5-63: Roof-Roof House, Kuala Lumpur, 1984. Architect: Ken Yeang. Exterior view. [Ken Yeang (1987), p. 44]
- fig. 5-64: Ibaraki Church, Osaka, Japan, 1989. Architect: Tadao Ando. Interior view. [*The Japan Architect* No. 391/392, 1989, p. 31]
- fig. 5-65: Ibaraki Church, Osaka, Japan, 1989. Architect: Tadao Ando. Interior view (at night) [*The Japan Architect* No. 391/392, 1989, p. 32]



5-63



5-64

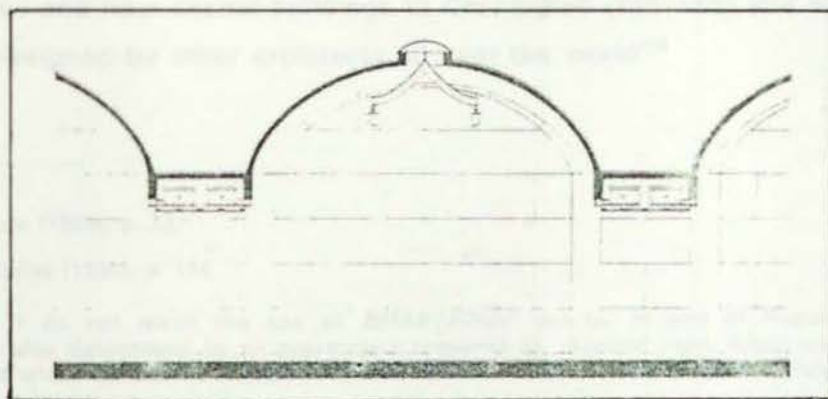


5-65

- fig. 5-66: Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas, 1966-72. Architect: Louis Kahn. Interior view. [author]
- fig. 5-67: Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas, 1966-72. Architect: Louis Kahn. Detail of lighting on the cycloid. [John Lobell (1985), p. 99]



5-66



5-67

demonstrates the possibility of 'taming' natural light in a modern building. The church has a very straightforward plan which is a rectangular space intersected by an 18-centimeter wall which creates an entrance and a chapel. A cruciform is cut out of the wall behind the altar and the morning sun entering through it creates a cross of light. As few openings as possible were made by Ando in the other three walls because light only becomes brilliant against a very dark background. Under such manipulation, the only natural element left in the church is the sunlight, the source of Truth. And this is what Ando intends to achieve, an aim he describes in the words: "nature has been rendered extremely abstract. the architecture, adapting to this light, becomes purified. The light on the floor forms a pattern. In the shifting cross of light, one may come to recognise in a fundamental way the relationship of humanity to nature"<sup>102</sup> (figs. 5-64, 5-65).

In fact, in the buildings designed by some of the masters, consideration of local climatic conditions already existed. Louis Kahn's Kimbell Art Museum in Fort Worth, Texas (1966-72) demonstrates successfully how natural and artificial light can be combined in a building (figs. 5-66, 6-67). And the *brise-soleil*, introduced by Le Corbusier in the 1930s, can be treated as the "result of the crossbreeding of internationalist and regional solutions, of modern techniques and rural wisdom"<sup>103</sup>, if looked from the climatic point of view (fig. 5-68). The device was first fully used in the unbuilt Ponsich Apartment project in Algeria (1933) where glass facades and a honeycomb of protective louvres were combined in a tall building. But in making such new invention, Le Corbusier did not forget his own vocabulary, he merely added a modern equivalent to the *Marshrabiya* which he saw in Northern African. The *brise-soleil* was a response to the hot climate and its influence had been witnessed in the post-war *brise-soleil* facades at Unite d'Habitation (1947-53), at Marseilles and new capital buildings at Chandigarh (1951-55) and many other buildings designed by other architects all over the world<sup>104</sup>

---

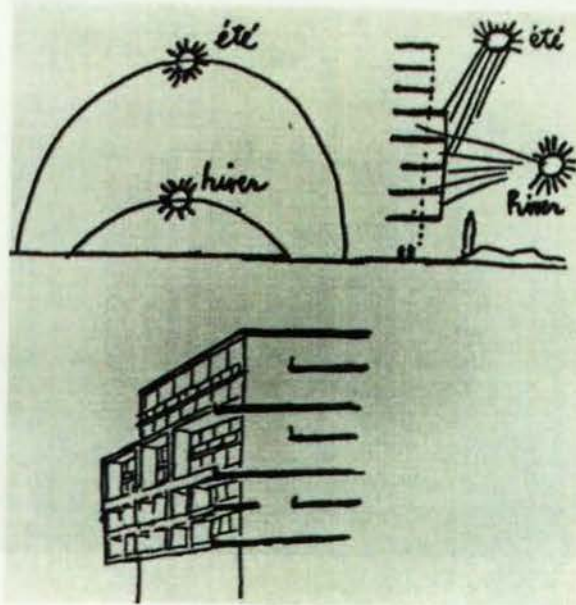
<sup>102</sup> Tadao Ando (1989), p. 33.

<sup>103</sup> William Curtis (1986), p. 116.

<sup>104</sup> Certainly I do not mean the use of *brise-soleil* 'per se' is part of Regionalism. The regionality is also determined by an appropriate response to 'regional' light. When compared with *marshrabiya* which he saw in Northern African, Le Corbusier's *brise-soleil* is surely much more superficial.



- fig. 5-68: Le Corbusier's sketch of the *brise-soleil* in the 1930s. [William Curtis (1986), p. 116]
- fig. 5-69: Riad House, Cairo, 1973. Architect: Hassan Fathy. Exterior view. [J.M. Richards, I. Serageldin, and D. Rastorfer (1985), p. 61]

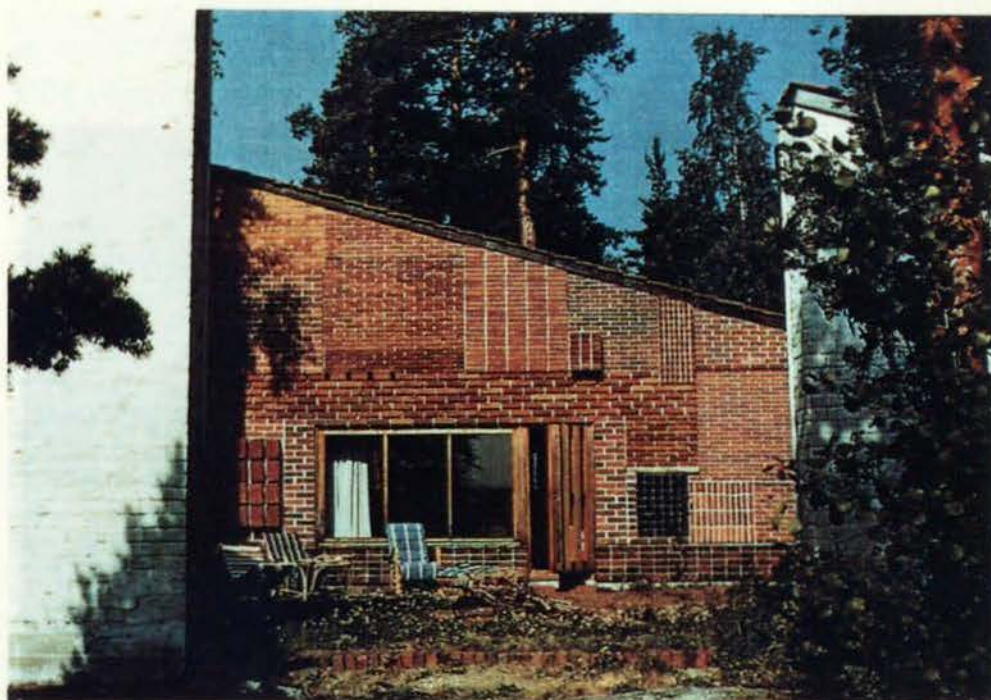


5-68



5-69

- fig. 5-70: Experimental House, Muuratsalo, Finland, 1953. Architect: Alvar Aalto. Exterior view. [Malcolm Quantrill (1983), plate V]
- fig. 5-71: University of Jyväskylä, Jyväskylä, Finland, 1950-. Architect: Alvar Aalto. [author]



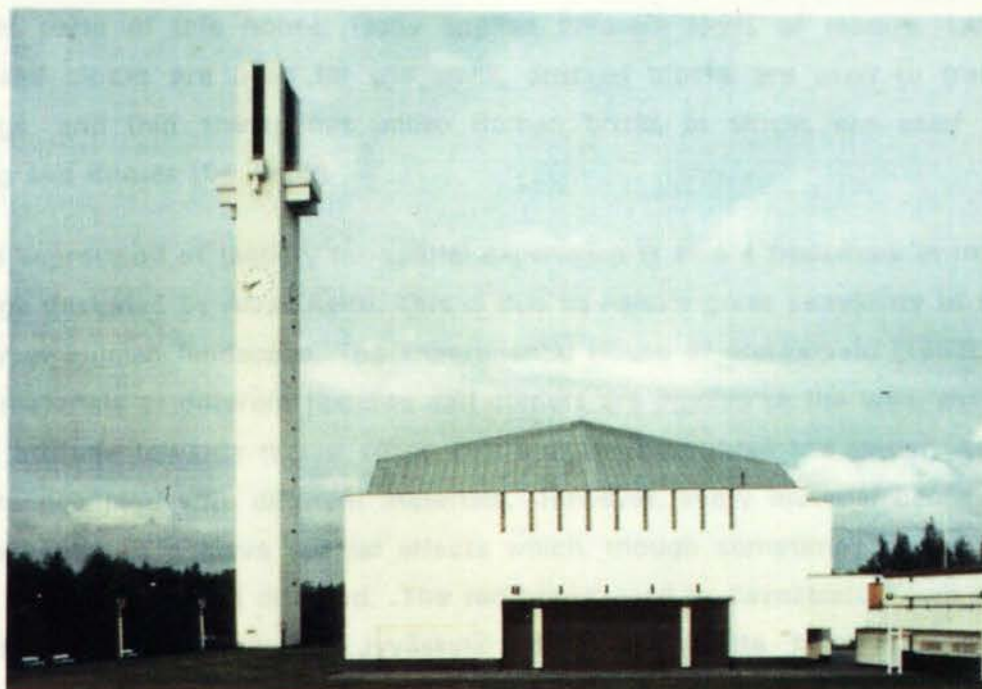
5-70



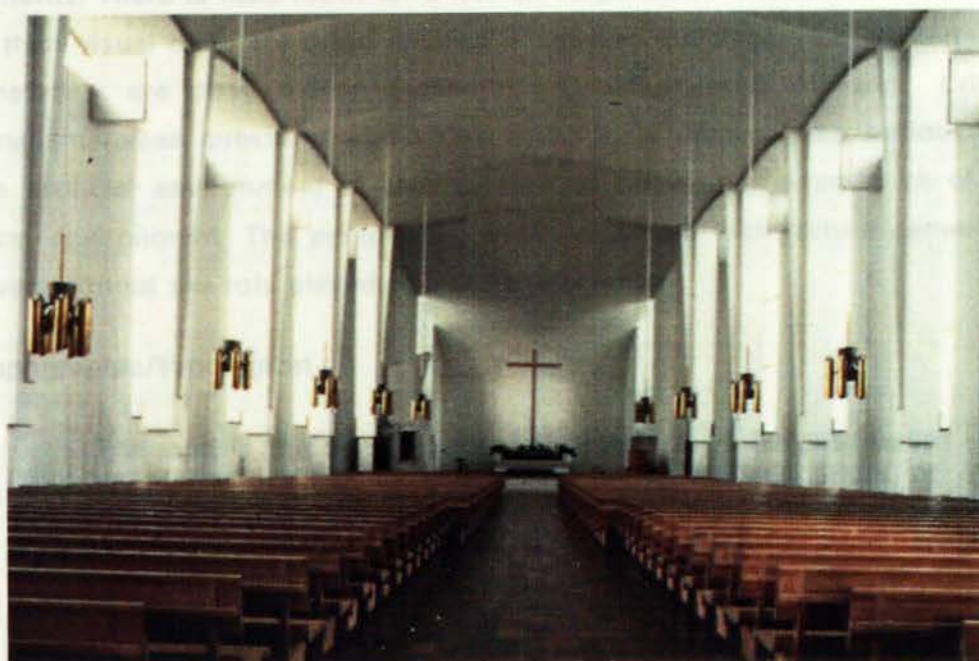
5-71



- fig. 5-72: Seinäjoki Church, Seinäjoki, Finland, 1956-60. Architect: Alvar Aalto. Exterior view. [author]
- fig. 5-73: Seinäjoki Church, Seinäjoki, Finland, 1956-60. Architect: Alvar Aalto. Interior view. [author]



5-72



5-73



Light and heat are surely only two elements as far as the natural conditions are concerned. The use of material is another important consideration. In traditional architecture, tactility is well expressed through local materials. But the emphasis of modern buildings is often on the visuality of the materials which tend to be polished or glazed. By using traditional materials, Fathy's buildings are significant in its tactility. The richness of the texture and patterns of the Reid House in Cairo (1973) epitomises such quality in all his buildings. In different parts of this house, Fathy applied different kinds of texture. Large undressed blocks are used for the walls, dressed blocks are used to frame openings, and thin sheets not unlike Roman bricks in shape, are used for vaulting and domes (fig. 5-69).

The expression of tactility for spatial experience is also a trademark in most buildings designed by Alvar Aalto. This is due to Aalto's great sensitivity to the tactility of Finnish landscape. The Experimental House at Muuratsalo (1953), in which materials of different textures and colours are applied to the wall, shows Aalto's attitude towards tactile sense (fig. 5-70). Throughout his career, Aalto was pre-occupied with different materials. However, every material has been used by Aalto to achieve special effects which, though sometimes are visual, are at most time tactile oriented. The red bricks used in Saynatsalo Town Hall (1950-52) and University of Jyväskylä (1950) and white plaster used in Vuoksenniska Church in Imatra (1956) and Seinäjoki Church and Town Centre (1956-196) are good examples (figs. 5-71, 5-72, 5-73).

Many modern buildings are too dependent on environmental control systems. In these buildings, many aspects are determined by artificial implements. There is little room for a human response to nature. Human senses other than visual ones are often ignored in modern buildings. The attributes of the materials are often hidden behind the visual oriented finishing. Critical Regionalism raises questions about this situation. It opposes the optimisation of the artificial environment at the expense of the human experience of the physical environment. The perspective of an authentic architecture cannot be achieved without the role played by natural elements.

### **Topographic/Typological.**

The land is the simplest form of architecture. Building upon the land is as natural to man as to other animals, birds or insects. In so far as he was more than an animal his building become what we call architecture. ... What then is architecture?

It is man and more. It is man in possession of his earth. It is the only true record of him where his possession of earth is concerned. While he was true to earth his architecture was creative. – Frank Lloyd Wright.<sup>105</sup>

French architectural theorists such as Bonnel, Durand and Quatremere de Quincy, upheld that there was a 'universal' theory of formal composition of architecture and they maintained that it was legitimate to consider architectural typologies both as a function of the history of architectural space and of the design processes employed by architects."<sup>106</sup> Typology, a synthesis of the compositional constituent parts of architecture, is thought by Kenneth Frampton to be a term that pertains to both civilisation and culture. And in the buildings propagated by the Ecole Polytechnic and the Ecole des Beaux-Arts we can witness the rational and universal characteristics of the building based on the building type. This concept has been followed by Modern achitectural development. On the one hand, there are models of space and form for various types of buildings. On the other, there are a number of universally applicable structural frame systems in which different types of buildings can be accommodated. These two phenomena, though seemingly opposite to each other, imply the same concept of universal classification and rationalisation of buildings.

In contrast <sup>to</sup> the dominance of typology in modern architecture, traditional architecture is site-specific. Buildings are part of the landscape which they belong to. The topographic condition is the bedrock from which buildings grow. Traditional buildings are, "so to speak, the concrete appearance of rootedness itself. Nature, even the manipulated manmade nature, is the precondition of its being."<sup>107</sup>

Our sense of a place, and relationship with it are not dependent on any rationalised object but on the relationship between a building and various conditions on and around the site. Critical Regionalism attempts to reconcile the opposition between typology and topography oriented phenomena. "It

---

<sup>105</sup> Frank Lloyd Wright (1955), p. 34.

<sup>106</sup> Roderick J. Lawrence (1987), p. 19.

<sup>107</sup> Kenneth Frampton (1987), p. 25.

manifests itself as a consciously bounded architecture, one which rather than emphasizing the building as a free-standing object places the stress on the territory to be established by the structure erected on the site."<sup>108</sup> 'Place-Form' is the term Kenneth Frampton coined to refer to the results of such a reconciliation.

The Boa Nova Tea House in Leça da Palmeira, Portugal (1958-63), designed by Alvaro Siza shows a great concern with the topography of the site. The Tea House is made up of two restaurant halls, facing West, which are joined by a two floored atrium with the entrance on the opposite side (fig. 5-74). The relationship with the site is mediated by massive rocks, between which the ocean penetrates, transforming the frame of the landscape in harmony with the conditions of weather and tide. A tension is built up by the exterior of the house and the mass of the rocks. The manipulation is so subtle that the composition is reminiscent of the Tea House buried in the earth (figs. 5-75, 5-76). This house, like many others designed by Siza, manifests the fact that Siza's "sense of belonging to northern Portugal is paramount: stony and bright, poor and full of intimacy, where the light of the Atlantic is low and long, illuminating poverty in an abstract way, revealing all surface irregularities, highlighting every change of path around the houses, where every discrepancy is shown up in a manner that is both grand and dry, full of sweetness and melancholia."<sup>109</sup> The house, essentially topographic in nature, testifies to Siza's concern for a place-creation and to his feeling for the earth as a pre-condition of architecture.<sup>110</sup> For Siza, to build is to participate in the transformation of the site. He thinks that "the site is never something frozen. Working on it means to know it is being transformed and that one is participating in this transformation."<sup>111</sup>

In fact, Modernists do not totally exclude the consideration of the topography. In *Maison de Mandort*, Le Pradet, near Toulon (1929-32), a rare Regionalist work by Le Corbusier, a concern for the site is very clear. Le

---

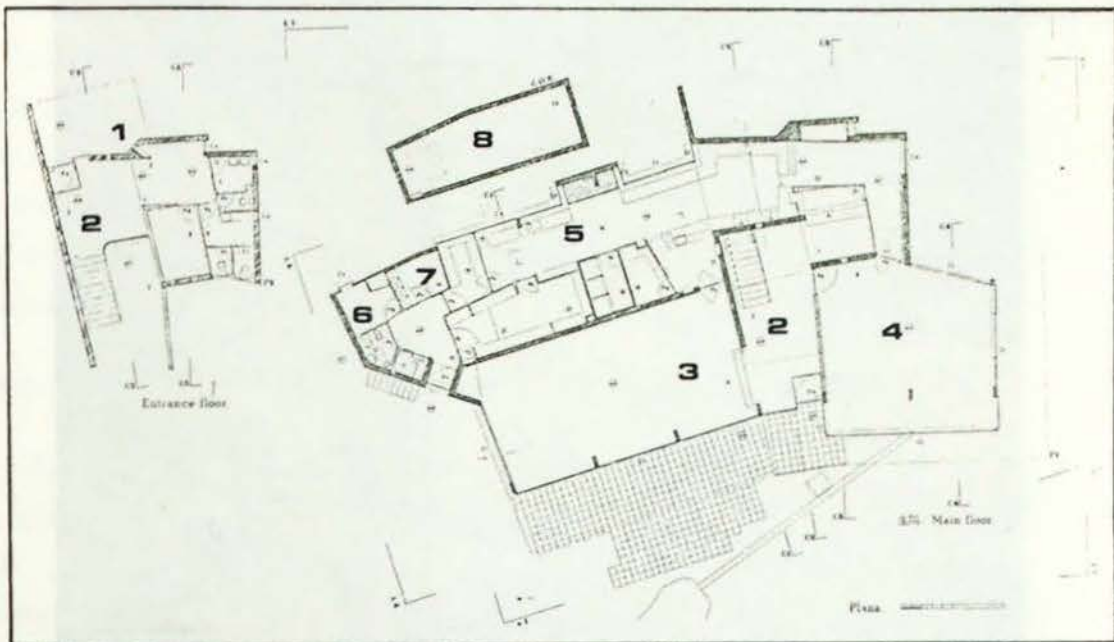
<sup>108</sup> Kenneth Frampton (1985), p. 327.

<sup>109</sup> Vittorio Gregotti (1989), p. 175.

<sup>110</sup> Kenneth Frampton (1989), p. 177.

<sup>111</sup> Alvaro Siza, quoted in Wilfried Wang (1989), p. 190.

- fig. 5-74: Boa Nova Tea House, Leça da Palmeira, Portugal, 1958-63. Ground floor plan. (1. porch, 2. entrance, 3. restaurant, 4. tea room, 5. kitchen, 6. resting room, 7. locker room, 8. cellar) Architect: Alvar Siza. [*A & U*, Extra Edition, June 1989, p. 21]
- fig. 5-75: Boa Nova Tea House, Leça da Palmeira, Portugal, 1958-63. Exterior view. Architect: Alvar Siza. [*A & U*, Extra Edition, June 1989, p. 18]



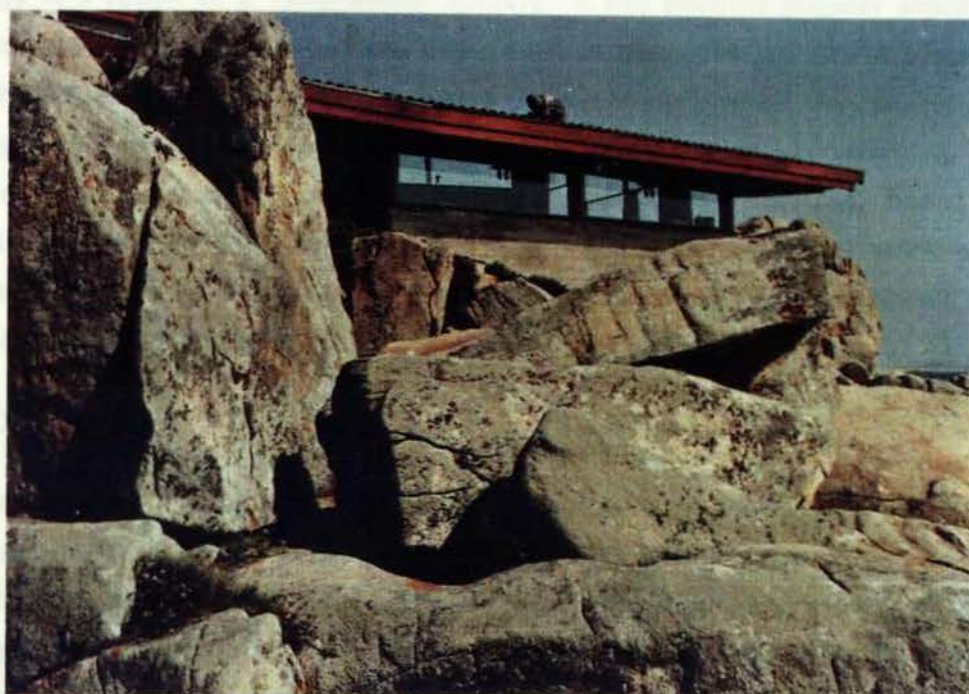
5-74



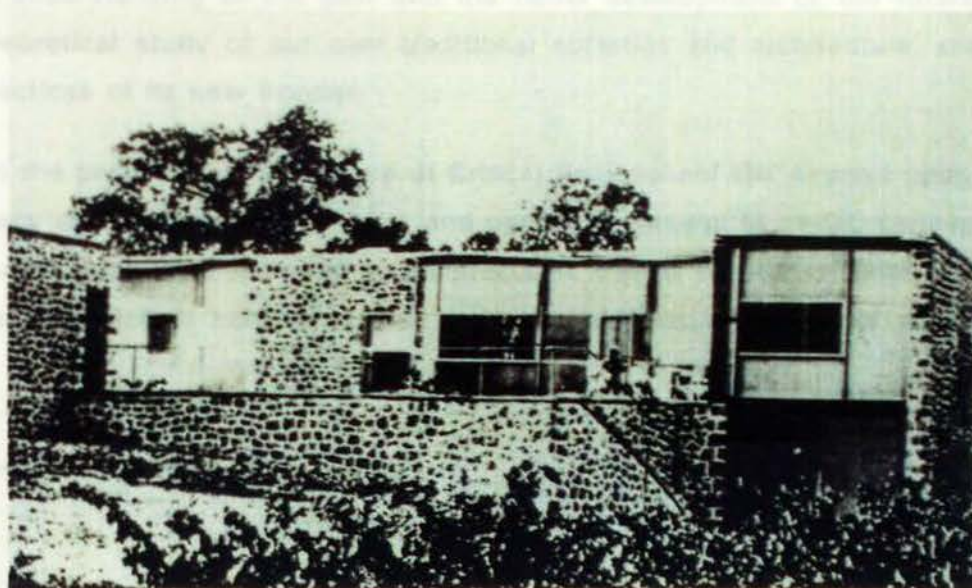
5-75



- fig. 5-76: Boa Nova Tea House, Leça da Palmeira, Portugal, 1958-63. Exterior view. Architect: Alvar Siza. [A & U, Extra Edition, June 1989, p. 17]
- fig. 5-77: Maison de Mondort, Le Pradet, near Toulon, 1929-32. Architect: Le Corbusier. Exterior view. [William Curtis (1986), p. 114]



5-76



5-77

Corbusier organised the house as an oblong on a plinth, providing terraces and a processional stair. "For a feeling of stability and protection", Le Corbusier "followed the hints of the neighbours and used masonry wall."<sup>112</sup> (fig. 5-77) And certainly no one would deny that Fallingwater, in Bear Run (1936), designed by Frank Lloyd Wright, is one of the best pieces of architecture in the world in terms of the marriage of the site and the building.

The exclusion by Modernists of the peculiarities of a site and their belief in typology is a result of a 'rationalistic' society. It has become popular since the eighteenth century because people believed it is necessary to use a typology of architectural forms in order to arrive at a solution when the analysis of existing conditions are too difficult. However, without considering the topography of the site, any building, no matter how well it has been constructed, will negate the sense of place. Topography should work as a critique of the rationalised typology, while such intuitions should be constrained by factors of rationality.

#### **5-4 CONCLUSION :**

After this discussion of the dialectics of Critical Regionalism, it appears that the question 'what is the promise of Critical Regionalism?' can be answered. I think that Critical Regionalism will be increasingly important in the total development of contemporary architecture in the future. The Regionalist approach is able to focus on a very wide, but also a specific range of the problems existing in architecture. Through embracing these problems, Critical Regionalism tackles them more directly and thus, potentially, more adequately than other kinds of approach. Critical Regionalism may become the key to a better understanding of the past and the richer development of the future, to the theoretical study of our own traditional societies and architecture, and to the practices of its new frontier.

Yet the promise and the future of Critical Regionalism still depend upon the adequacy of our interpretation of it, and upon our success in having conceptual and tactical dialectics accepted by architects as well as theorists, – also, on the degree to which it can be applied in real situations. Conceptual dialectics

---

<sup>112</sup> William Curtis (1986), p. 112.

should be constructed as a means towards the understanding of total regional and cultural conditions, and tactical dialectics as tools for design through the integration of metaphysical and physical considerations and the active agencies available for practical work.

Now I am ready to testify to the feasibility of Critical Regionalism by looking at the situation in Taiwan, whose traditional architectural characteristics and emerging Regionalist approaches in architecture will be examined in the next two chapters. Such an examination will enable us to see if Critical Regionalism can achieve a comprehensive definition which is capable of studying the regional structures in diverse regions and serving as a structural-functional pattern for both the understanding and the direction of architectural development, with its increasing conflicts and its need to retain cultural autonomy while simultaneously resolving the differences in a total regional pattern.



# CHAPTER SIX

## LEARNING FROM

### REGIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF

### TRADITIONAL TAIWANESE ARCHITECTURE

#### 6-1 INTRODUCTION

It has been concluded in previous discussions that the Critical Regionalist approach not only has a sound theoretical basis but also has potentialities for architects to develop practically a new kind of architecture. And there have been successful examples, in terms of regional consciousness, designed by architects such as Alvar Aalto, Tadao Ando, Geoffrey Bawa and Alvaro Siza. But could the Critical Regionalist approach be applicable to the architectural development in Taiwan? If, as I argued in Chapter Four, the Critical Regionalist approach depends heavily on the inspiration it draws from vernacular architecture, a successful application of it to the Taiwanese case certainly needs a deep understanding of the regional characteristics of traditional Taiwanese architecture.

Traditional Taiwanese architecture has been interpreted during the last several decades merely as an offshoot of northern Chinese architecture which many scholars and architects treated as the orthodox model. As a result, most research interest in traditional Taiwanese architecture has been devoted to the understanding and interpretation of its similarities rather than the differences with northern Chinese architecture. The ideology behind such interpretation is that there is only *one* Chinese architecture. Consequently, when the attempt is made to illustrate in depth the heritage of traditional Taiwanese architecture one usually finds that it is handicapped by appalling ignorance of the regional particularities of traditional Taiwanese architecture.

Certainly, no one can deny the existence of a basic order upon which traditional architecture in Taiwan and other areas of the Chinese mainland (even in Korea and Japan) has developed. However, after so many generations of development, architecture in Taiwan has established its own unique identity. It is inappropriate to equate traditional Taiwanese architecture completely with traditional architecture in northern China just as one cannot call traditional architecture in Korea and Japan 'traditional Chinese architecture' despite the close relationship existing between them.

To view traditional architecture in Taiwan as more or less an equivalent to northern Chinese architecture is a dangerous thing because it will mislead inconsiderate architects to apply anachronistic and contextless aspects of northern Chinese architecture to new buildings in Taiwan, which will cause the destruction of the *genius loci*. Some buildings designed with a veneer of the northern Chinese style in Taiwan have already proven that their destructive power is no less than that of the International Style buildings and have received severe criticisms. In addition to being determined by the complex socio-cultural life of the people, the placeness of Taiwan's built-environment should also be elaborated by the regional characteristics of its architecture.

Since the 1940s, a number of studies of traditional Taiwanese architecture have been published. Among them, four books are the most important and influential. The Japanese architect Gaijiro Fujishima's *Taiwan no Kenchiku (The Architecture of Taiwan)* published in 1948 is the first academic book on traditional Taiwanese architecture. However, due to insufficient information available at that time, the book is limited to a general description of the subject. *Taiwan Ch'uan-Tung Chien-Chu Chih Kan-Ch'a (A Survey of Traditional Architecture of Taiwan)* published in 1971 by Chang-Lin and Reed Dillingham has an emphasis on documentation although some discussions of the socio-cultural aspects have been included in the second part of the book. Chien-Lang Lee's *Taiwan Chien-Chu Shih (A History of Taiwanese Architecture)* published in 1979 is the first book of this subject written from a historical point of view and has its stress on the development of the building type and the construction method. Huei-Chen Lin's *Taiwan Ch'uan-Tung Chien-Chu Shou-T'se (The Handbook of Traditional Architecture of Taiwan)* published in 1988 is very comprehensive in terms of examples included. But the focus is still on the 'style' and the 'construction method' which are in fact the subtitle of the book. All of these books have contributed significantly to the study and understanding of traditional Taiwanese architecture. However, one thing that may strike the reader of these books is the absence of a complete analysis of the embodiment of the worldview of the people in both built form and spatial organisation.

In this chapter the first aim is to discuss the meaning and formation of traditional Taiwanese architecture. The focus will be on how immigrants from the Chinese mainland established new settlements in Taiwan, and what are the meanings of the settlements and buildings to the immigrants. The second aim

is to review the regional characteristics of architecture in traditional Taiwanese settlements which I have already slightly touched in Chapter Two and the question as to what constitutes a socio-culturally meaningful Taiwanese settlement. It is hoped that the result will function as a critical force of new architectural development in Taiwan. Throughout the discussion the main emphasis will be on the settlement as a whole and two of the most important building types in a settlement, namely, the house and the folk-religion temple. Instead of laying stress on the construction method or style development as other writers have done, my attempt is to expose the worldview, i.e., the idea of Heaven, the idea of Man and the idea of the Earth behind the built environment. The idea of Heaven addresses man's relationship with the supernatural forces; the idea of Man expresses human relationships in the house as well as in the community; and the idea of the Earth ensures man's establishment of a close affinity to the physical environment of a region.<sup>1</sup>

## **6-2 THE MEANING AND FORMATION OF TRADITIONAL TAIWANESE ARCHITECTURE**

1

### **Meaning**

#### **The Settlement.**

Traditional settlements in Taiwan are a mirror reflecting the development of early Chinese immigrant societies. On the one hand, the settlements honestly illustrated the social and religious structure of the immigrants. On the other hand, they reflected the economic and political changes of the island.

In the past, a settlement was not merely a gathering of the people. It was also the place to gain one's identity and orientation in the world and the place to enjoy friendship and to share feelings. Generally speaking, traditional settlements in Taiwan can be divided into three categories, i.e., seaport and riverport settlements, rural settlements, and walled cities. In both early seaport and riverport settlements where no administration seat was present but commercial activities thrived, and rural settlements where agricultural activities

<sup>1</sup> The term 'Earth' in my discussion means aspects related to the natural state of the world, i.e., the physical environment.

dominated, the identity of the settlement was mainly determined by the figurative quality of the settlement as a whole. But in walled cities<sup>2</sup>, city walls contributed essentially to the identity of the place. The morphology of the city walls and the style of the gate towers were never the same in two cities. City walls were also political symbols, the relationship between the level of a city in the administrative hierarchy, the number of the gates, and the area enclosed by the wall was direct and explicit.<sup>3</sup> A city wall was also the boundary of a city from which the inhabitants gained their sense of belonging.

A traditional settlement is conceived by its inhabitants as the centre of the world partly because of natural egotism of the people and partly because of the desire of the people to contact the sacred source of power through a vertical axis which is believed to pass through the centre. Mircea Eliade points out three kinds of formulation of the architectonic symbolism of the centre: "1) The Sacred Mountain – where heaven and earth meet – is situated at the

<sup>2</sup> Erecting a city wall to defend and define the city was a tradition in Chinese history during the imperial dynasties. City walls with towers on the top of the gates were significant features of the Chinese landscape in the past. Walls have been so central to the Chinese idea of a city that the words for the city and the wall are in fact identical in the Chinese language, the character *cheng* standing for both. Before the concept of Western city planning was introduced to China in the early twentieth century, the bulk of China's urban population was concentrated in walled cities. See: Sen-Dou Chang (1977), p.75. Taiwan was constituted a *fu* (prefecture) of Fukien province under the sovereignty of the Ching government in 1683, when K'o-Shuang Cheng, the eldest grandson of Koxinga, Taiwan's first Chinese ruler who fought against the Manchus from 1646 until 1658, surrendered himself to the Ching government. In the beginning, the Ching government imposed a "No City Wall" policy for fear that once a walled city is occupied by the rebels it may become the base of the anti-government movement. Although 1703 riot in Chuloo county led by Liu Ch'euh forced the county magistrate Yung-Ching Soong to violate the government's policy and order the construction the first walled city in Taiwan in 1704, it was treated as a special case. No other city wall was built in the next twenty years. It was the Chu Yi-Kuei anti-Manchu riot in 1721 which forced the Ching government to change its policy and started the construction of other city walls in Taiwan. Before Japanese took over the island in 1895, 28 city walls had been erected. See San-Ching Kwan (1981), pp.230-235.

<sup>3</sup> In *K'ao-Kung Chi* (The Artificer's Record), a *locus classicus* was recorded as the standard for the layout of an imperial capital. It reads: "The artificers demarcated the capital as square with sides of 9 *li* (1 *li* = 0.54 km), each side having 3 gateways. Within the capital there were 9 meridional and 9 latitudinal avenues, each of the former being 9 chariot-tracks in width." Paul Wheatley (1971), p.411. For centuries, imperial and other important capitals were to have two or more gates in each wall while ordinary cities only had one gate in each wall. Basically, a city of *fu* (prefecture) level in Taiwan could have eight gates and a city of *hsien* (county) level could have only four. However, exceptions existed. Taipei had only five gates in spite of its prefectural hierarchy. The missing of three gates was said to be because of geomantic considerations. Fengshan, in spite of its county status also had five gates. The reason for an extra east gate was mainly security. Since Fengshan was the focus of many anti-government riots during the Ching Dynasty, to protect the magazine in the east quarter which the rebels always targeted first was considered more important than following the rule. The largest walled city in Taiwan was Tainan which had a circumference of about 25 *li* (13.5 kilometer). The second largest was Taipei, 15 *li*. According a survey, the city wall of the cities at county level was usually no more than 5 *li* on the Chinese mainland. But in Taiwan, cities of the same level were usually larger than their counterparts on the mainland, ranging average from 7 *li* to 13 *li*. Chien-Lang Lee (1984), p.20.

centre of the world; 2) Every temple or palace – and, by extension, every sacred city or royal residence – is a Sacred Mountain, thus becoming a centre; 3) Being an *axis mundi*, the sacred city or temple is regarded as the meeting point of heaven, earth, and hell.”<sup>4</sup> Eliade also illustrates with several examples how the notion of the centre appears concretely in actual settlements. I shall explain the situation in Taiwan when the discussion is developed to the later part of this chapter. Within the settlement, a variety of building types exist. Among them, the house and the folk-religion temple are the most important ones.

### **The House.**

A family is the smallest social unit in traditional Taiwanese societies. A house is the socio-cultural index to the family as well as its physical shelter.<sup>5</sup> A house is an embodiment of the idea of the family in traditional societies; it delimits a territory for the family and provides the family with essential identity. In the past, a person's orientation and identification within the settlement was decided by both formal and spatial aspects of the house.

Within a traditional house, there exist two codes of human relationship – man to his ancestors and man to his family. The former is achieved by the rituals of ancestor worship while the latter by the modes of ethics. Thus, a traditional Taiwanese house can be interpreted as a physical and symbolical vision of a way of life and its human relationship.<sup>6</sup> A Taiwanese house can also be conceived as space with dual quality, a setting for ceremony as well as a home.

A house with a family dwelling inside becomes a home. The etymology of the word *chia* (home) clearly illustrates this connotation. In the Chinese

<sup>4</sup> Mircea Eliade (1989), p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> In traditional Taiwanese societies, a family usually coincided with a household, a unit for economic cooperation in which the income of various members was pooled and shared. It was the unit which cooked on the same stove and ate together, maintained the same ancestral altar. But in some cases, a house may contain several households which should not be confused with an extended family. Since the size, complexity and degree of autonomy of households in a building vary from case to case, we will simply use the term 'family' refers to a household in a broad sense whether it is a nuclear, a stem, an extended or a composite family made up of more than one household.

<sup>6</sup> Chang-Lin and Reed Dillingham (1971), p.107.

language, the word for *chieh-hun* (to get married) is synonymous to the word *cheng-chia* (to establish a home). A single person may have a luxurious house but will never have a home in the eyes of other Chinese. Only after he gets married can he said to have his home no matter how humble the house is. In other words, the idea of the family is the centre of a meaningful house. Without the presence of a family the house is mere a building, not a home. Within a traditional settlement, a house is a symbol of the family. The concept behind a traditional Taiwanese house is that all the components of the house must depend on the rules which reflect the status of its owner economically, socially and aesthetically. The purpose of the rules, as pointed out by Werner Blaser, is to allow a large number of people to live together in civilised harmony in a very small space.<sup>7</sup>

### **The Folk-Religion Temple.**

The religion of traditional Taiwanese people is not characterised by the elaboration of the doctrine and dogma one finds in Christianity and Islam. In traditional societies in Taiwan, both commoners and elites did not usually belong to an institutionalised sect of religion. However, this should not suggest that religion was excluded from the life of tradition Taiwanese people. Almost everyone in traditional Taiwanese societies participated in some practices of folk-religion which, composed of complicated rituals and beliefs, were woven into the fabric of the family and social life.<sup>8</sup>

In contrast to religions in which there is only one God who is the sole Source and Creator of all being, there are lots of greater and lesser deities in the traditional Taiwanese pantheon. Some of these deities are universally worshipped, but most of them are regional protective deities and are worshipped territorially; religious boundaries also serve as community boundaries.

Centre of the activities, and symbol of the settlement, a folk-religion temple

<sup>7</sup> Werner Blaser (1979), p.8.

<sup>8</sup> Here I follow the terms 'grand religion' and 'folk religion' adopted by most anthropologists in defining religion in Taiwan. The former refers to Confucianism and other ceremonies sponsored and performed by the emperor or governmental officials while the latter refers the beliefs and rituals of the ordinary people.

for local divine guardians in traditional Taiwanese societies is more than just a place for individual worship and supplication. It organises the religious ceremonies for the community, and sometimes also serves less sacred functions such as education and medical treatment. Except in the area around the deity altar, solemnity is not the earmark of a folk-religion temple in Taiwan. Children can play freely in and around the temple provided they don't climb to the top of the altar. Old people play chess or drink tea inside the courtyard and the entrance portico. The square in front of the temple is usually full of activities related or unrelated to religion.

A folk-religion temple in traditional societies in Taiwan is where the supernatural and human worlds meet together; it is also a quasi-political centre that symbolizes, supports, and reinforces the solidarity of the people united in its worship boundary. A temple of a particular settlement is also an index to the settlement. The individuality of a settlement is inseparable from the particular configuration of deities who guide its policy. Accordingly, alliances between men and deities are a common idiom in which historical events in Taiwan were recounted in the past.<sup>9</sup>

### **From China to Taiwan**

#### **The Settlement.**

Although Taiwan was mentioned in Chinese history as early as in the eighth century, the immigration of the Chinese to the island did not begin until the twelfth century. And it was in the seventeenth century when a large scale influx of immigrants started to sail across the Formosa Strait and poured into Taiwan from the coastal provinces of Fukien and Kwangtung on the Chinese mainland. Before the arrival of the Chinese, Taiwan had been inhabited by the aborigines of Malayo-Polynesian stock. Soon after the immigration started, the amount of the Chinese outnumbered that of aborigines who were pushed into rugged mountainous areas and became the minority in Taiwan. Today they represent less than two percent of the total population in Taiwan. Thus throughout my research, the term 'people' denotes mainly the ethnic Chinese groups. A

---

<sup>9</sup> David K. Jordon (1985), p.42.



discussion of the culture and architecture of the aborigines in Taiwan will not be included.<sup>10</sup>

Chinese immigrants from Fukien and Kwangtung to Taiwan belong to various origins. However, there are two dominant ethnic groups: the Minnan and the Hakka. The Minnan people are mainly from Chuanchou and Changchou prefectures of Fukien province and the Hakka from Chiaying, Ch'aochou and Hueichou areas of Kwangtung province. Both Minnan and Hakka people are ethnic groups who had migrated from northern and central China to southern China in the fourth century. They are linguistically and culturally somewhat distinct from other ethnic groups in China. And the languages and cultures of the Minnan and Hakka are also different from each other.<sup>11</sup>

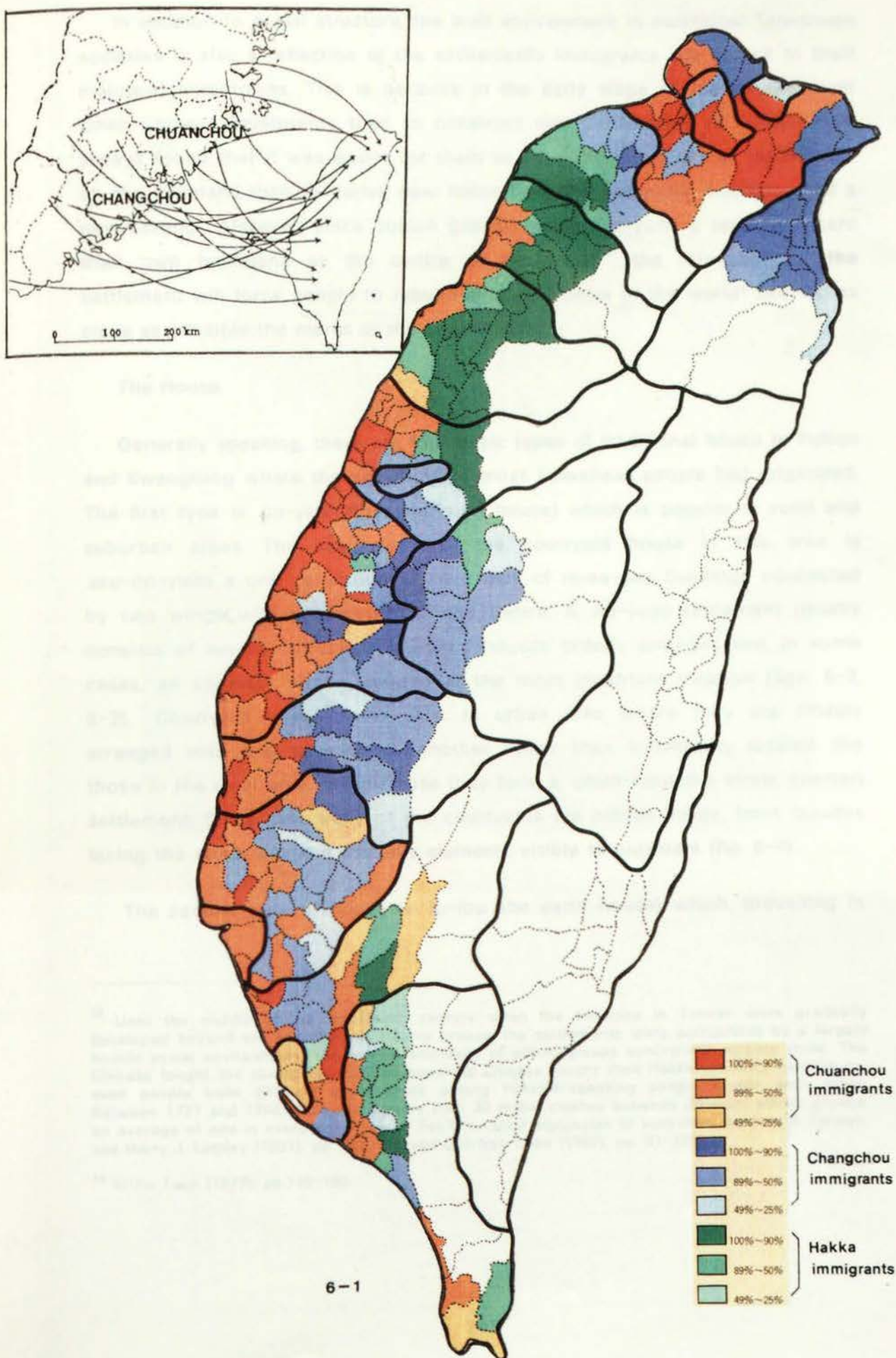
Due to their exclusively clannish character, early immigrants from China generally did not blend with one another, but instead separated according to the townships and villages from which they had originated.<sup>12</sup> An immigrant distribution map of Taiwan based on the 1926 census has clearly illustrated the exclusiveness of the settlement patterns in Taiwan at that time. In some areas more than 90 percent of the people were from the same provenance. People from Chuanchou arrived first; they immediately established settlements around important seaports and the mouths of rivers and expanded rapidly to most of the land in the coastal West plain and the Taipei basin. People from Changchou arrived next; they could only occupy the land left inland and the Ilan plain in the Northeast part of the island which had not been controlled by the Chuanchou people. The Hakka from Kwangtung arrived last and had to concentrate in less productive hill areas in Hsinchu, Maioli, Taoyuan, and Pingtung. Subethnic rivalry in Taiwan in the past also played an important role

<sup>10</sup> For the general history and geography of Taiwan, see San-Ching Kwan (1981).

<sup>11</sup> The Minnan people used to call themselves the Hoklo. But it is less common as the term Minnan widely used now. According to the census of 1926, Chuanchou is the provenance of 44.8% of the population in Taiwan; Changchou 35.2% and Chiaying, Ch'aochou and Hueichou together 15.6%. See: Tsai-Fu Lin (1987), p.62. The same percentage remained almost unchanged until 1949 when three million Chinese of different provenances fled from the Chinese mainland to the island when the Nationalist Party was defeated by the Communist Party after decades' civil war. Since then, the percentage of people's origin has slightly changed. But people from Chuanchou remain dominant.

<sup>12</sup> Ronald G. Knapp (1986), p.89.

- fig. 6-1: Immigrant distribution map of Taiwan. (Based on 1926 census) [*Echa* Vol. 19, 1989, p. 16.]



in forming a settlement as intimate as possible<sup>13</sup> (fig. 6-1).

In addition to social structure, the built environment in traditional Taiwanese societies is also a reflection of the settlements immigrants left behind in their mainland hometowns. This is because in the early stage of the development when Chinese immigrants tried to construct new settlements in Taiwan they always found that it was easier for them to copy the forms of the settlements on the mainland than to derive new forms from the unfamiliar conditions of a new setting. Moreover, since human groups nearly everywhere tend to regard their own homeland as the centre of the world<sup>14</sup>, the relocation of the settlement will force people to rebuild another "centre of the world" bearing as close as possible the marks of the original one.

### The House.

Generally speaking, there are four basic types of traditional house in Fukien and Kwangtung where the ancestors of most Taiwanese people had originated. The first type is *ho-yuan* (the courtyard house) which is popular in rural and suburban areas. The basic form of the courtyard house in this area is *ssu-ho-yuan*, a unit consisting of two rows of three-bay buildings connected by two wings with a courtyard in the centre. A *ho-yuan* settlement usually consists of several individual courtyard houses orderly arranged and, in some cases, an ancestor shrine situated at the most important location (figs. 6-2, 6-3). Courtyard houses also exist in urban area where they are closely arranged with one adjacent to another rather than individually located like those in the rural area. In this case they form a *chieh-fang* (the street quarter) settlement. Since side walls of the courtyards are hidden inside, front facades facing the street become the only elements visible to outsiders (fig. 6-4).

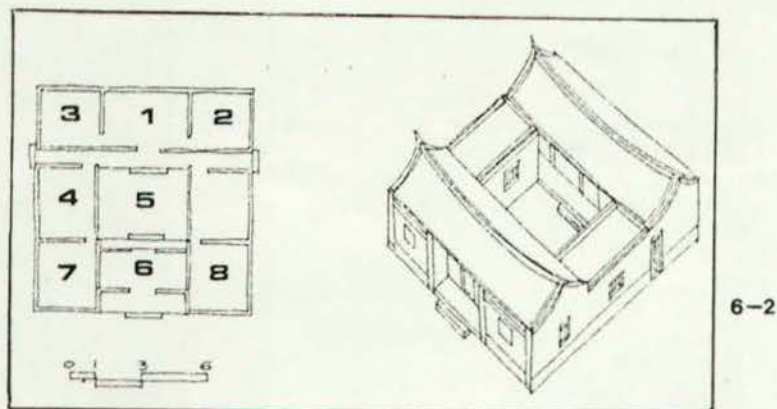
The second type of house is *tu-lou* (the earth house) which, prevailing in

<sup>13</sup> Until the middle of the nineteenth century when the societies in Taiwan were gradually developed beyond the boundary of kinship groups, the settlements were surrounded by a largely hostile social environment. The mutual animosity of ethnic groups continuously various strife. The Chinese fought the aborigines, Hokkien-speaking Chinese fought their Hakka-speaking neighbours; even people from different provenances among Hokkien-speaking people fought each other. Between 1721 and 1860, there were more than 30 major clashes between different ethnic groups, an average of one in every three years. For a detailed discussion of subethnic feuding in Taiwan, see Harry J. Lamley (1981), pp. 282-318 and Chi-Nan Chen (1987), pp. 91-126.

<sup>14</sup> Yi-Fu Tuan (1977), pp.149-150.



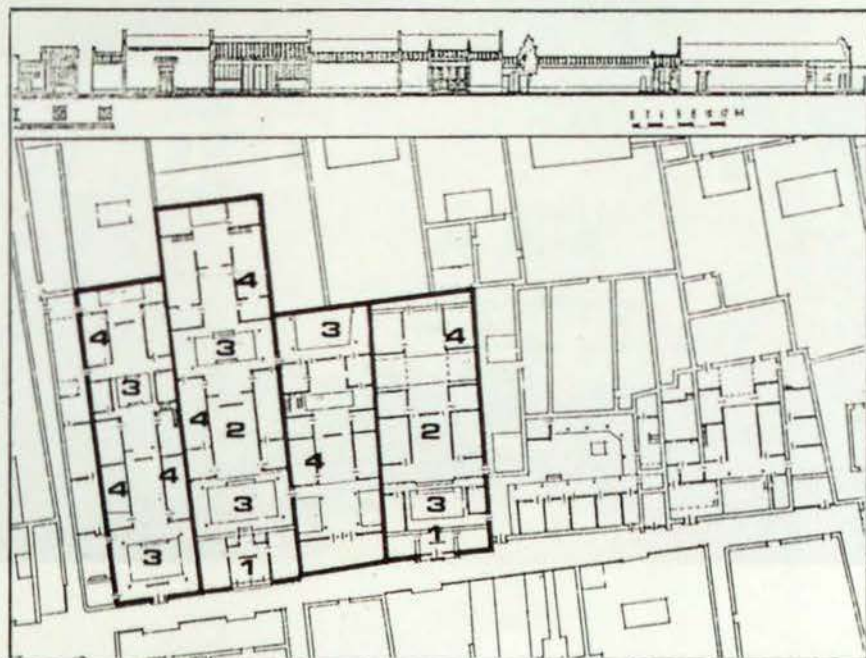
- fig. 6-2: Isometric drawing and ground floor plan of the basic *ssu-ho-yuan* in Fukien. (1. main hall, 2. parents' bedroom, 3. eldest son's bedroom, 4. kitchen, 5. courtyard, 6. gate hall, 7. servants' room, 8. storage room) [Chien-Lang Lee (1978), p. 22].
- fig. 6-3: Panorama of a *ho-yuan* settlement. (Mahsing, Tungan, Fukien) [author]
- fig. 6-4: Ground floor plan and elevation of a *chieh-feng* settlement. (Yi-Chin Fang, Foochow, Fukien) (1. gate halls, 2. main halls, 3. courtyards, 4. bedrooms) [Han-Min Huang (1984a), p. 180]



6-2



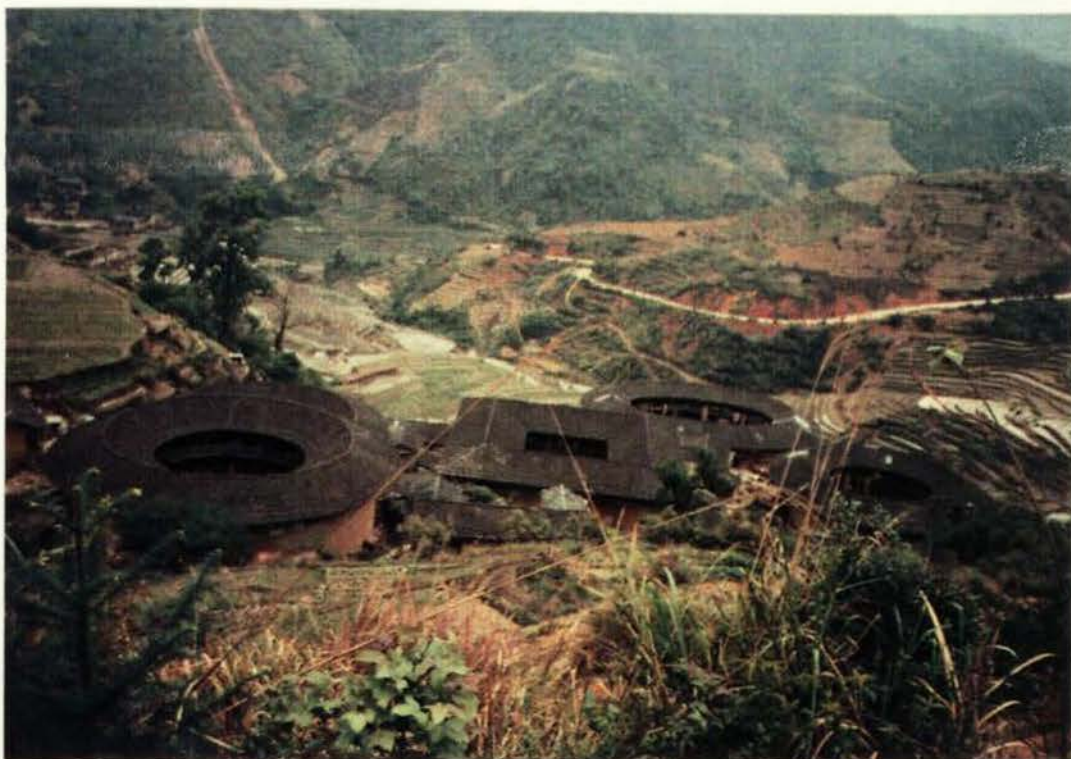
6-3



6-4



- fig. 6-5: Panorama of a group of *tu-lou* (Tienlok'en, Nanching, Fukien) [author]
- fig. 6-6: Exterior view of a circular *tu-lou* (Shun-Yu Lou, Shihch'iao, Nanching, Fukien) [author]



6-5



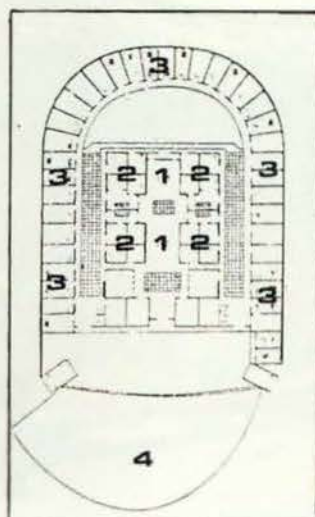
6-6



- fig. 6-7: Interior view of a circular *tu-lou* (Shun-Yu Lou, Shihch'iao, Nanching, Fukien) [author]
- fig. 6-8: Ground floor plan of a *wei-t'sun* (Meih sien, Kwangtung) (1. communal halls, 2. bedrooms, 3. kitchens and storage rooms, 4. pond) [Jo-Pai Li, Fei-Fei Peng, and Hsueh-Cheng Ni (1983), p. 73]
- fig. 6-9: Panorama of a *wei-t'sun* (Meih sien, Kwangtung) [Yung-Ting Lu and Ku-Shen Yang (1988), p. 186]



6-7



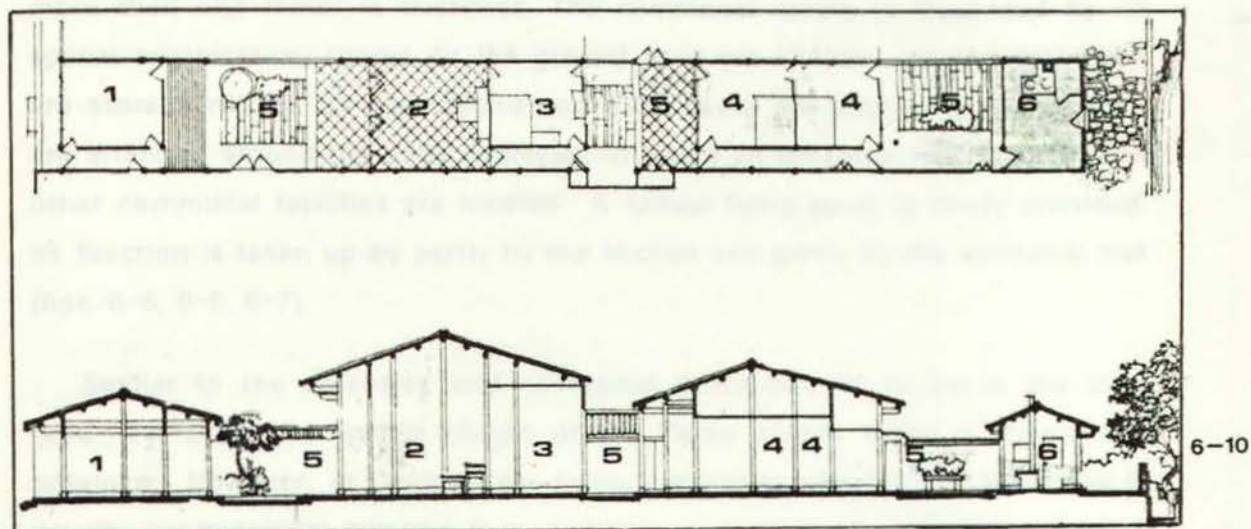
6-8



6-9



- fig. 6-10: Ground floor plan and section of the typical *chieh-wu* in Fukien. (1. front hall or shop, 2. main hall, 3. parents' bedroom, 4. bedrooms, 5. light-wells, 6. kitchen) [Chen-Min Kuo (1987), p. 157]
- fig. 6-11: Exterior view of a group of *chieh-wu* (Houcheng, Chuanchou, Fukien) [author]
- fig. 6-12: Vertical development of *chieh-wu* (Shangti T'sun, Chuanchou, Fukien) [author]





the southern and western parts of Fukien, is made up of earth-tamped multistoried communal houses randomly grouped. A *tu-lou* may be rectangular, square, or circular in the layout. However, all of them possess a strong defensive character and a communal nature. The defensive character is revealed in its built form; the ground floor is windowless and pierced only by one main door and sometimes two small side doors on the wall which can be more than one meter in thickness. The communal nature is illustrated by its spatial organisation; rooms on the ground floor are kitchens, on the first floor are storage rooms, on the second and third floors are bedrooms, all of them are arranged around the huge courtyard in which an ancestral hall, pigsties and other communal facilities are located. A formal living room is rarely provided. Its function is taken up by partly by the kitchen and partly by the ancestral hall (figs. 6-5, 6-6, 6-7).

Similar to the defensive and communal characters of *tu-lou* is the third type, *wei-ts'un* (the walled village) of the Hakka people living in Kwangtung province. However, in contrast to *tu-lou's* irregular site plan, a *wei-t'sun* is usually geometrically planned. In a *wei-t'sun*, a number of small but individual houses are symmetrically situated on both sides of the central axis which is reserved for the prominent ancestral hall (figs. 6-8, 6-9). A *wei-t'sun* may be fortified with a high and thick wall accessed only through a small door. In some cases guardhouses are constructed at four corners and the whole village is protected by moats.

The last type is *chieh-wu* (the street house) which is very popular in towns and cities. A quarter dominated by *chieh-wu* is made up of long but narrow houses located parallel to each other side by side sharing the wall. The width of the front facade of a *chieh-wu* is usually only about four meters but its longitudinal dimension can be as long as thirty meters. In case the lot is not long enough, the house may expanded vertically<sup>15</sup> (figs. 6-10, 6-11, 6-12).

Among these basic types of house, *tu-lou* and *wei-ts'un* did not re-emerge in Taiwan significantly because the number of immigrants who used to live in

<sup>15</sup> For further discussions on architecture in Fukien and Kwantung, see: Chien-Lang Lee, (1978); Han-Min Huang, (1984a) (1984b) (1989a) (1989b); Ronald Knapp, (1986) and Yuan-Ting Lu, (1983a) (1983b).

such houses was small. Both *Tu-lou* and *wei-ts'un* were formed by families of very close kinship. The fact that only a small percentage of the families belonging to the same kinship group could immigrate to Taiwan made the formation of *tu-lou* and *wei-t'sun* very difficult, if not impossible. In contrast, *ho-yuan* and *chieh-wu* had been well transplanted to Taiwan and have developed their own characters. In the earlier stage of the exploitation of Taiwan, the availability of skilful craftsmen and building materials was a big problem for immigrants. They had no choice but to use simple materials from local areas as those in the house of the aboriginal people. Besides, the economic conditions of the earlier stage were so bad, the immigrants tended to apply simple construction methods which costed less. Unfortunately, none of these houses built before the middle of the eighteenth century have survived in Taiwan. Pictorial representations in eighteenth and nineteenth-century gazetteers and travel literature written by missionaries suggest early houses in Taiwan were made of reed, bamboo, grass matting and earth, similar to the houses of the aborigines. This suggestion is reinforced by the fact that a large number of early settlements' names are incorporated with *liao*, *t'so*, *wo*, and *wu* – characters implying dwelling of humble appearance and simply construction for which the English equivalents "hut", "shack" or at most "cottage" would be appropriate<sup>16</sup> (figs. 6-13, 6-14).

By the end of the eighteenth century, bricks were being produced locally and had become widely used in the construction of the house. Skilful craftsmen and building materials of high quality became available for building construction. During that time, agricultural and fishing villages were dominated by small and medium scale courtyard houses while street houses prevailed in commercial areas. From the 1820s, the number of rich merchants, gentry and qualified scholars such as *Chin-Shih* and *Chie-Jen* grew significantly, and their social and economic status allowed them to spend more money on their residences. As a result, large courtyard compounds appeared in both rural and urban areas<sup>17</sup> (fig. 6-15).

<sup>16</sup> Ronald G. Knapp, (1986), p.99.

<sup>17</sup> *Chin-Shin* was the title awarded to the successful candidates of the national examinations in imperial dynasties while *Chie-Jen* was the title awarded to those who passed the provincial examinations. Scholars holding these degree would be able to work for the government.

- fig. 6-13: Portion of a drawing from a book published in 1722 shows various types of early house in Taiwan. [San-Ching Kwan (1981), p. 126]
- fig. 6-14: Portion of a drawing from a book published in 1743 shows the house of the aboriginal people in Taiwan. [San-Ching Kwan (1981), p. 121]



6-13



6-14



- fig. 6-15: Aerial view of a large courtyard compound in Taiwan. (The House of Lin, Wufeng, c. 1860) [Alfred Schinz (1989), p.326]
- fig. 6-16: Mixture of Western and Minnan motifs in a traditional Taiwanese house. (Taan, Taichung, c. early 20th century) [Chien-Lang Lee (1980), p. 237]



6-15



6-16

In 1860, Anping was opened to Western countries as a trade port under the treaty signed by the Ching government and Western countries. This was followed by Fuwei (today Tamsui), Takuo (today Kuohsing), and Chilung (today Keelung). The contact between Taiwan and Western countries intensified. Consequently, more and more motifs of western architecture such as arcades, towers, gables and balustrades started to be adopted in both courtyard houses and street houses in Taiwan. In many cases, buildings in a completely western style were built. The combination of Western and Minnan styles has since then become one of the important features of many Taiwanese buildings (fig. 6-16).

### The Folk-Religion Temple.

Folk-religion temples play a central role in traditional Taiwanese settlements. The development of folk-religion temples in Taiwan is a living history of Chinese migration from the mainland to the island. When pioneering emigrants initially sailed across the sea from Fukien and Kwangtung to Taiwan, they brought with them the statues of the deities who could safeguard their journey from the dangers of the sea. *Matzu* formally called *Tien-Hou* (Queen of Heaven), was the most popular goddess because of her supreme power to protect and rescue sailors in great peril.<sup>18</sup> When immigrants safely arrived at Taiwan they established temples for the goddess in return for her protection during the journey and hoped that she could continue to protect them and guarantee the prosperity of the new settlements (fig. 6-17).

The second stage of the development was the exploitation of the inland area. But what people immediately faced was an unpleasant and undesirable environment which was full of pestiferous animals and insects such as mosquitoes and rats due to bad hygienic conditions in a hot and humid climate. So people established temples for different kinds of *Wang-Yeh*, also

<sup>18</sup> One of the most popular legends claims that *Matzu* was the daughter of a 9th century Fukien official named Lin. She was said to have supernatural power when she was a child. She died at the age of 28 and deified by the emperor. Between 1122 and 1872, *Matzu* was decreed more than 60 times by different emperors. Among the most important ones are *Tien-Fei* (the Heavenly Consort) in 1278, *Tien-Shang Shen-Mu* (Holy Mother of Heaven) in 1680 and *Tien-Hou* (Queen of Heaven) in 1681. *Matzu* was popular with people living along coastal areas in southern China. In Taiwan her populace was heavily due to the following stories. When the Manchus took over China, Koxinga, the royalist of the Ming government, was hemmed in by the Ching armies in the Amoy region. He rationalised his position by invading Taiwan, and defeated the Dutch lived there in 1661. He credited his victory to the support of *Matzu*. When the Ching armies attacked Taiwan 21 years later, they too claimed to have received assistance from *Matzu*. For the stories and worship of *Matzu* see Jonathan Chamberlain (1987), pp. 90-95 and Min-Yu Lin (1987).



- fig. 6-17: Tien-Hou Temple (Temple of Queen of Heaven), Makung, originally established in 1600, is the earliest temple dedicated to *Matzu* [author]
- fig. 6-18: Pu-Chi Temple (Temple of Universal Emancipation), Tainan, originally established in 1684, is one of the earliest temples in which *Wang-Yeh* is worshipped. [author]



6-17



6-18

known as *Wen-Shen* (Gods of Pestilence), whom the immigrants believed to have the power to cure pestilence and kill animals and insects which cause and spread diseases<sup>19</sup> (fig. 6-18).

When the development of the settlement reached a certain degree of stability, dangerous sailing across the sea and the exploitation of pestilential environment became less necessary. Consequently, the role of *Matzu* and *Wang-Yeh* slightly faded away and the regional protective deities worshipped by the immigrants in mainland hometowns regained their popularity. Since the divine guardians of every provenance were different, religious distinctions became the most effective cultural marker.<sup>20</sup> Finally when the settlement became localised and people started to establish their business, the patron gods of different professions such as *Kwan-Kung* for sailors and merchants and *Yao-Huang* (the Emperor of Medicine) for medical doctors and pharmacists began to attract more and more followers.

In addition to the deities just mentioned which were worshiped by particular groups of people, there are other gods which were worshipped universally in traditional settlements. Together they form the pantheon of the folk-religious system in traditional Taiwanese society. Among these centralised deities are *Yu-Huang Shang-Ti* (the Jade Emperor), *Cheng-Huang* (the City God), *Fu-Te Cheng-Shen* (the Earth God), *San-Kuan Ta-Ti* (the Three Great Rulers), and

---

<sup>19</sup> The term *Wang-Yeh* does not stand for any single deity. Varying in number, according to the legend, from 36 to 360, these deities destroy demons which cause plague and other pestilence. The number of the temples of *Wang-Yeh* has been the largest in Taiwan since early development. According to a survey in 1960, there were 717 temples in which *Wang-Yeh* is worshipped as the main deity. Yih-Yuan Li (1976), pp. 46-47

<sup>20</sup> In traditional Taiwanese society, people of Changchou stock worshipped *Kai-Chang Sheng-Wang* (the Saintly King who Settled Changchou) and the Hakka from Kwangtung worshipped *San-Shan Kuo-Wang* (the Three Mountain Gods). In an area where the Chuanchou population predominated, the inhabitants tended to form more discrete worship groups. For example, people from Anhsi, worshipped *Ching-Shui Tsu-Shih* (the Patron Saint of Chingshui); some people from Sanli (Chinchiang, Hueian and Nanan) worshipped *Kwan-Tse Tsun-Wang* (the Venerable King of the Broad Marshes) and some people venerate *Kuan-Yin* (the Goddess of Mercy) as the principal communal deity; and people from Tungan, Chuanchou worshipped *Pao-Sheng Tai-Ti* (the Great Emperor who Protects Life). See David K. Jordan (1985), San-Ching Kwan (1981), and Fung-Wan Tong (1979), (1982), and (1988a) (1988b).



Except those which are dedicated to centralised deities and patron deities for professionals, all other major temples in Taiwan are spiritually related to a so-called parent temple on the mainland. The relationship was established by transferring a pot of smoldering incense and sometimes a duplicate statue of the main deity from the parent temple to the new temple in Taiwan. For example, Lung-Shan Temple in Anhai, Fukien is the mother temple of more than fifty temples in Taiwan bearing the same name (figs. 6-19, 6-20). In order to maintain the legitimate relationship, regular pilgrimages, usually yearly, have to be made to the parent temple for renewal of fire and spirit.<sup>22</sup>

In addition to this spiritual connection, folk-religion temples in Taiwan also strongly resemble temples on the mainland in both formal and spatial aspects. The size and decoration of the temples are totally dependent on the hierarchy of the deities. Temples of *Fu-Te Cheng-Shen* may be as small as a miniaturised shrine, but temples for *Kuan-Yin* may be as large as a Confucian temple consisting of rows of buildings separated by spacious courtyards (figs. 6-21, 6-22). In Taiwan, there are also purely Buddhist monasteries and Confucian temples. The reason why they are not included in my discussion is because most Buddhist monasteries are used by recluse monks and nuns while Confucian temples, subsidised by the government, function as the symbol of

<sup>21</sup> *Yu-Huang Ta-Ti* is commonly called *Tien-Kung* (the Ruler of Heaven) in Taiwan. He is conceived as emperor's celestial counterpart and ultimately responsible for the deification of other deities, or their dismissal from the pantheon as and when necessary. *Cheng-Huang* is the deity posted to govern the spirits residing in each of the major administration district of the emperor. The term *Cheng-Huang* is treated by many people as a position rather than a person. As a result, there are prefecture *Cheng-Huang* capital *Cheng-Huang* and county *Cheng Huang*. Their temples are laid out on precisely the same line as a governmental *yamen* (the administration building). *Fu-Te Cheng-Shen*, commonly known as *Tu Ti Kung*, is a tutelary deity, the governor of a place. He can be worshipped to protect a tomb, a house, a village or a city. The duty of *Tu-Ti Kung* is to police the ghosts and to spy the affairs of his human chargers, and then report to his superiors. In the past people in Taiwan reported vital events to their neighbour *Tu-Ti Kung* as well as to the local police station. *San-Kuan Tai-Ti* the trinity gods, who rule Heaven, Earth and the Waters, are regarded as second only to the Jade Emperor. *Kuan-Yin* is, strictly speaking, an Buddhist bodhisattva, called in Indian texts, Avalokitesvara, who is one of the two assistants of the Buddha Amitabha. Although she is still one of the major figures found in a purely Buddhist temple, *Kuan-Yin* has in Taiwanese folk religion been transformed as the embodiment of loving kindness, giver of male children to childless wives, and source of help in time of need. See Arthur P. Wolf (1978a) and Lawrence G. Thompson (1979).

<sup>22</sup> The pilgrimage was banned in 1949 when the Nationalist government was forced by the Communists to retreat to Taiwan and established a new government on the island. It was only in 1987, when the ban on visiting China was lifted by the Taiwanese authority, the pilgrimage started to resume in a large number.

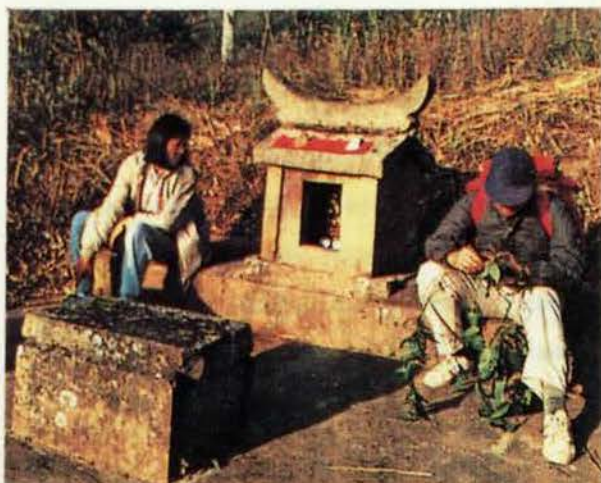
- fig. 6-19: Lung-Shan Temple, Anhai, Fukien, originally established in the 2nd century, is the mother temple of hundreds of temple in Taiwan. [author]
- fig. 6-20: Lung-Shan Temple, Lukang, Taiwan, originally established in 1786, is a daughter temple of Lung-Shan Temple in Anhai. [Po-Teh Han (1980), p. 44]
- fig. 6-21: Miniaturised shrine as the temple of *Fu-Te Cheng-Shen*, the Earth God. [*Sinorama*, July 1989, p. 102]
- fig. 6-22: Lung-Shan Temple, Manka, originally established in 1740, is an example of large courtyard compound temples in Taiwan. [*Echa*, Vol. 19, 1989, p. 57]



6-19



6-20



6-21



6-22

the continuity of orthodox Chinese Confucian culture is Taiwan. Both have little relationship with the daily life of the ordinary people.

### 6-3 CHARACTERISTICS OF TRADITIONAL TAIWANESE ARCHITECTURE – A REVIEW IN TERMS OF THE WORLDVIEW OF THE PEOPLE

After understanding the meaning and formation of traditional Taiwanese architecture, in this section a review will be made of the characteristics of it in terms of the worldview of the Taiwanese people. The majority of the Taiwanese population in traditional societies are believers in folk-religion, a diffused religion that has its theology, rituals, and personnel intimately diffused into other social institutions. *Tien*, Heaven, is the highest power in this system. The idea of Heaven is embodied in both built form and spatial organisation of the built environment.

The traditional Taiwanese family system is, the same as its mainland Chinese counterpart, based on Confucian teachings. The family is considered an important unit linking individuals with society and the state. The principle set up in *The Great Learning* one of the ancient *Four Books*, that only when families were regulated could state affairs be well-managed clearly reveals the centrality of family functions in the Chinese way of thinking. Such Confucian ideas created a society that placed high value on human relationships. The idea of man is inseparable from the formation of the built environment in traditional Taiwanese societies.

The concern with nature, the physical environment, is borne in the mind of everyone in traditional Taiwanese societies. Traditionally, it is viewed that a building is not simply something that sits upon the ground to serve as a convenient site for human activity. It is an intervention with nature. Men are considered to be bonded to the earth, working good or bad upon it and being done good or bad to by it.

Certainly, these three ideas do not function in isolation. They are closely related to each other. For example, the relationship between deities in the folk-religion pantheon echoes that of the family system. In other religions, God is unimaginably superior to man. But in Taiwanese folk-religion, most of the deities are hardly more than human beings deified, possessed of supernatural powers, and far closer to man than to God in the Western sense. Almost every deity in Taiwanese folk-religion has a detailed biography which tells of his or

her human lives. And most of deities have a nickname similar to the title used for a close relative.<sup>23</sup>

On the other hand, although the idea of the Earth makes man become highly concerned with the geographical and climatic conditions of the region, it by no means implies only purely technical solutions to them. To conform with the regional topography and weather is to be harmonious with Heaven. *Feng-shui* brings the idea of Heaven and the idea of the earth closely together. Climate is *tien-ch'í*, the breath of Heaven or the temper of Heaven, and the topographic terrains match the current of *ch'í*, the cosmic breath.

### The Idea of Heaven

People in traditional Taiwanese settlements believed in the existence of an omnipotent power which they called *Tien*, Heaven.<sup>24</sup> The empire was called *Tien-Hsia*, what is below Heaven. The emperor was called *Tien-Tzu*, the son of Heaven; he was the supreme representative of *Tien* in the human world. *Yu-Huang Ta-Ti*, the Jade Emperor, on the other hand, is the embodiment of invisible *Tien*, the supreme deity in the hierarchy of Taiwanese folk-religion. He is also called *Tien-Kung*, the Ruler of Heaven. For traditional Chinese peoples, everything must conform to the will and rules of *Tien* otherwise misfortunes and catastrophes will befall.

The belief that every disaster is caused by the anger of *Tien* was especially taken for granted in the early stage of the development in Taiwan when life was fragile and vulnerable because of the dangerous environment. As a result, everyone became a devotee of the gods whom they conceived as the delegates of *Tien* and of rituals performed to repeat and manifest the Creation and the existence of *Tien*. Yi-Fu Tuan has given an explanation of this phenomenon. He wrote that "when life seemed uncertain and nature hostile, the divinities not only promoted life and protected it, they were also guarantors of order in natural and in society. The legitimacy of laws and institutions

<sup>23</sup> *Kung* (grandfather or granduncle), *ma* (grandmother or grandaunt), and *tzu* (great grandparents) are the most common ones.

<sup>24</sup> For a detailed discussion on Chinese conceptions of *Tien*, see Du Lee (1978), especially Part One of the book.

depended on them. The withdrawal of the presiding presences meant chaos and death."<sup>25</sup>

### Geomantic Perfection as Cosmic Order.

Paul Wheatley has pointed out that the geomantic precaution was the first cosmo-magical element in Chinese city planning in the past because Chinese city builders were well aware that the fortune of a city could be assured only if its site was geomantically perfect.<sup>26</sup> In other words, the city must have a good *feng-shui* condition. The same concerns exist in the construction of houses and graves (which the Chinese call yin-houses) because it is widely believed by Chinese that a house of good *feng-shui* will bring prosperity and wealth to the family and if the ancestral burial ground has good *feng-shui*, future generations would enjoy great fortune and good health.

Solutions to good *feng-shui* differ between geomancers of various schools. Those who of the *li-ch'i* school emphasize the importance of the axuality and cardinal orientation, in deciding the layout of a settlement or a building. Peking is the best example designed and built according to the criteria of the *li-ch'i* school. But in the mountainous provinces like Fukien and Taiwan, it is not always easy to find a desirable site where a geometrically and geomantically ideal settlement or building can be built. Consequently, most geomancers resort to the theory of the *hsing-chia* school, which interprets the shape of the topography as the manifestation of the currents of *ch'i* i.e., the cosmic breath. Settlements and houses were carefully adjusted to the topography in order not to destroy the existing good fortune of the site and to have maximum gathering of *ch'i*. The site for settlements and houses was deliberately chosen or the morphology portrayed certain auspicious creatures in a geomantic effort to secure prosperity and good fortune for the settlement. The city of Chuanchou in Fukien is a case in point. It was laid out in a shape of a leaping carp; from the east gate which symbolises the mouth of the creature, the rising

---

<sup>25</sup> Yi-Fu Tuan (1977), p.150.

<sup>26</sup> Paul Wheatley (1971), p. 419.



sun, a symbol of the pearl, could be seen in the morning<sup>27</sup> (fig. 6-23).

Generally speaking, geomancers in the mountainous areas of southern China were more reliant on the *hsing-chia* school whilst those who lived on the flat lands of northern China needed the compass to detect favourite directions in an otherwise and featureless land. By the late nineteenth century, the two schools were no longer significantly distinct. A geomancer may use both methods in his practice. Although there exist differences between these two major theories in *feng-shui*, their ultimate aim is the same. To achieve an harmonious living condition can only be done by following Heaven's will. The sun's path which concerns the *li-ch'i* geomancers and the shape of the earth which concerns the *hsing-chia* geomancers are at large all part of cosmos.<sup>28</sup>

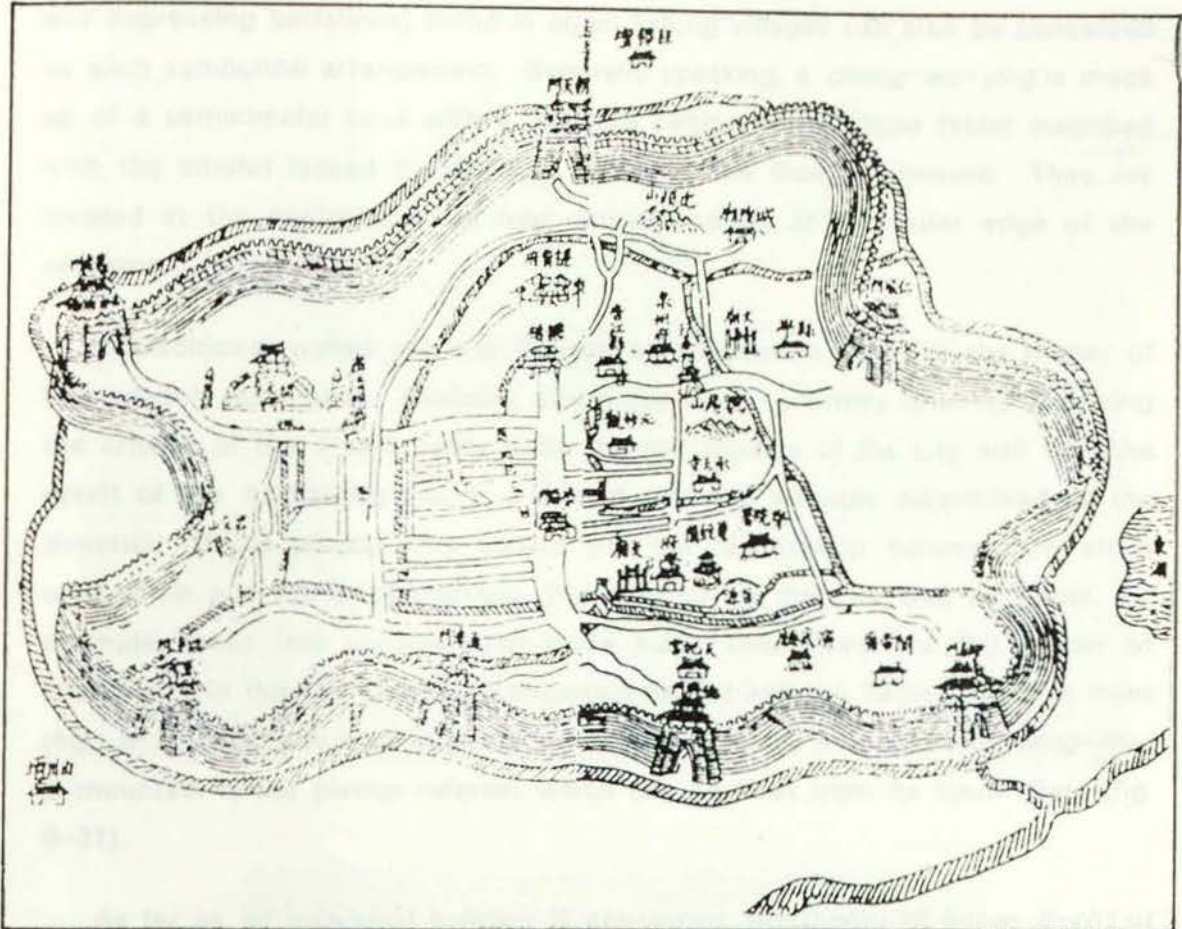
Early seaports and riverports in Taiwan received less influence from the *li-ch'i* theory. Most settlements were so laid out and oriented that the sea or the river would be in front of the settlement while hills or mountains raise behind, a condition considered as good sign in the theory of *hsing-chia* school (fig. 6-24). The canonical rule of the *li-ch'i* theory that a settlement should be south-north oriented was modified because of the geographical conditions.

Certainly the meaning of adjusting the settlement so that the background is mountain and the foreground is water is much more than a purely geographical modification. A simple interpretation is that mountains are the symbol of *yang* while water is the symbol of *yin*. A settlement of such a location is considered the meeting point of *yang* and *yin*, thus the best. Every mountain can also be looked upon as the 'dragon' whose range is the humps of the creature. It is said that where there is a 'dragon' there is a *hsueh*, the lair in the vicinity, in which *ch'i* accumulates. Water implies the presence and direction of waterways around the lair. Therefore, a site having mountains at the back and

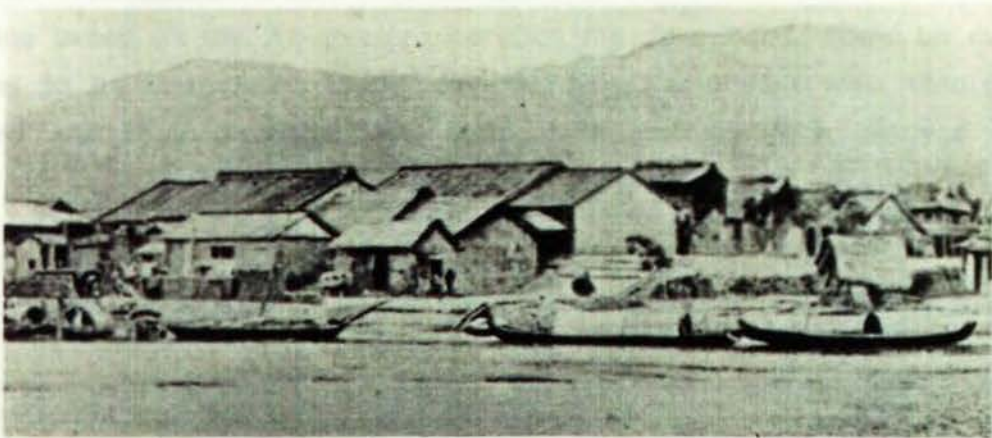
<sup>27</sup> The Chinese words for 'carp' and 'advantage' (利) are phonetically identical: so the carp symbolises a wish for benefit or advantage in business. It is also said that on its journey upstream this fish can jump the rapids in the upper course of the Yellow River (at the Dragon Gate). The feat is compared to success in the state examinations, and is frequently shown in pictures. See Wolframe Eberhard (1986), p. 57.

<sup>28</sup> The *li-ch'i* school is also called the 'compass' school or the 'directions and positions' school while the *hsing-chia* school is also called the 'shapes' school or the 'form and configuration' school.

- fig. 6-23: Old woodcut map of Chuanchou, Fukien. The morphology of the city was portrayed as the shape of a carp. [*Chuanchou Gazetteer*, 18th century]
- fig. 6-24: Relationship between mountains, water and an early seaport settlement in Taiwan. (Toucheng, Ilan) [San-Ching Kwan (1981), p. 294]



6-23



6-24



water in front of it is considered to be a good place.<sup>29</sup>

The absence of apparent reference to cardinal directions such as the city gate in the maritime settlement was complemented by the provision of alternative symbolic buildings. Four temples dedicated to *Fu-Te Cheng-Shen* (the Earth God) may be located at the edge of the the settlement and cardinally oriented. Lukang is a case in point.<sup>30</sup> A set of five *cheng-wu-ying* (five evil-suppressing battalions) found in other fishing villages can also be conceived as such symbolical arrangement. Generally speaking, a *cheng-wu-ying* is made up of a semicircular base with a low wall behind and a stone tablet inscribed with the amulet issued by the Jade Emperor, the Ruler of Heaven. They are located at the centre and the four cardinal points at the outer edge of the settlement (fig. 6-25).

In traditional walled cities in Taiwan, a compromise between the theory of two schools was made. Basically, city gates were cardinally oriented following the criteria of the *li-ch'i* theory while the morphology of the city wall was the result of the *hsing-chia* theory. A walled city was strongly determined by the direction of the pivotal hills behind and the relationship between the city's orientation and the constellations. The erection of the city wall of Taipei, for example, takes into consideration three major references: the Big Dipper of Ursa Major in the sky, Chi-hsing Mountain behind and the Tamsui River in front (fig. 6-26). The city wall of Hengt'sun is also strongly influenced by *feng-shui*. A mountain is the pivotal referent which can be seen from its South Gate (fig. 6-27).

As far as an individual building is concerned, the theory of either *li-ch'i* or *hsing-chia* practice may be adopted. As with the settlement, a building based on the *li-ch'i* theory would be cardinally oriented and have a strong axis. A building based on the *hsing-chia* theory, on the other hand, would be more related to its surrounding topography. However, no matter what theory is applied, and no matter what level of the built environment is involved, the

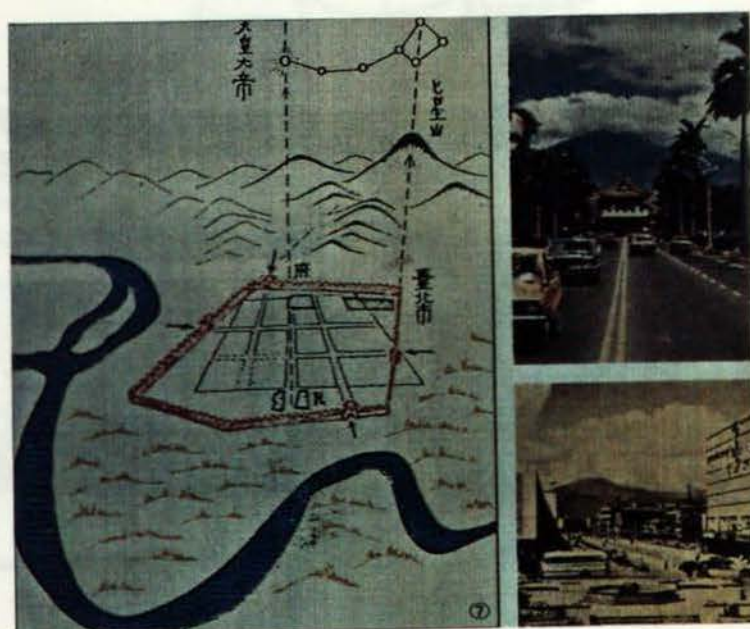
<sup>29</sup> For other discussions on *feng-shui* see Simon Chang (1986), J.J. M. De Groot (1897), Stephen Skinner (1989), and Derek Walters (1989).

<sup>30</sup> Huei-Chen Lin (1979), pp. 105-107. This method may also be applied to a wall city as a kind of reinforcement of symbolism.

- fig. 6-25: *cheng-wu-ying* five evil-suppressing battalions, in the traditional Taiwanese maritime settlement. [Huei-Chen Lin (1989), p. 168]
- fig. 6-26: Analytical drawing of the relationship between the city wall of Taipei, 1879, its surrounding physical environment, and the Big Dipper of Ursa Major. Two photographs on the right side show the relationship between Chi-hsing Mountain and modern Taipei looking from the original locations of the east city wall (above) and west city wall (below). [Taipei Fine Arts Museum (1984), p. 8]

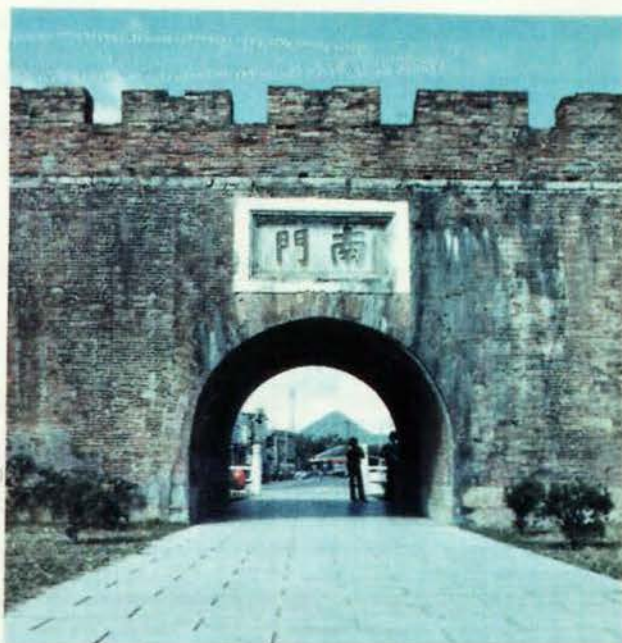


6-25



6-26

- fig. 6-27: South Gate of Hengt'sun, 1875, is pivoted by a mountain which can be seen from the vault of the gate. [author]
- fig. 6-28: East Gate of Penghu, 1887, represents a prototype of the city gate of the traditional Taiwanese walled city. [San-Ching Kwan (1981), p. 264]



6-27



6-28



ultimate goal of geomantic consideration is always to achieve a harmonious relationship with the universe.

In addition to geomantic considerations of orientation and morphology, the built environment in traditional Taiwanese societies can also be conceived as the assemblage of many components, most of which are symbolically significant. Amongst these symbolic components, some are built with a gesture to magnify the cosmic order of a settlement or a house since they address the existence of Heaven and help man to fulfil his role as the cardinal being in the world. The city gate with a tower on top of it in a walled city is an example. Every city gate did not merely offer the shelter in which soldiers performed their duty. Its orientation to a major cardinal direction affirmed the embodiment as the cosmological symbol linking sky and earth (fig. 6-28).

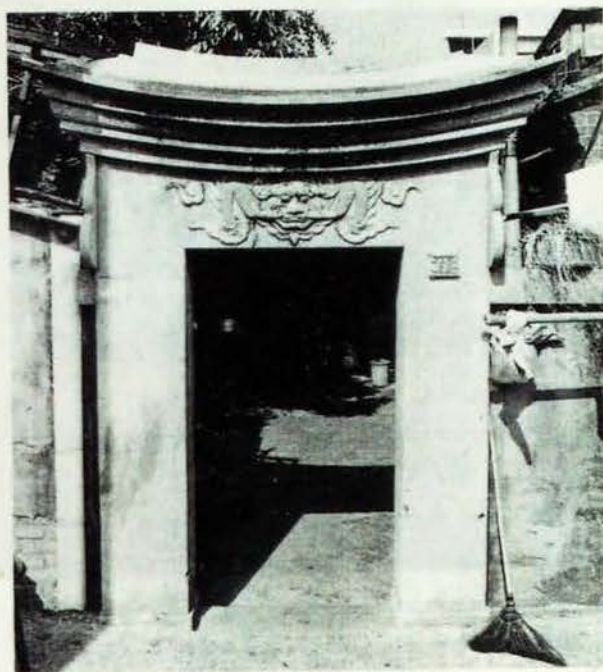
*Shi-gan-dan*, (the evil-resisting stone), ubiquitously located in traditional settlements, is also a kind of symbolic component used to remedy geomantic defects should the settlement be badly located in terms of *feng-shui* or the site be subjected to evil influence (fig. 6-29). *Chien-shi*, (the sword lion), *tai-chi* (the Great Ultimate), and *pa-kua* (the eight trigrams) are also such symbolic decorations which, though they can help people to orient themselves against a chaotic state, are mainly used to reassure that the chance of an attack of the house by evil forces would be at its lowest. The lion is a symbolic animal to the Chinese people. In most cases, they are portrayed as door guardians or altar guardians of temples, palaces and houses of the rich. In Taiwan, lions were used as portal guardians and are usually carved on either the lintel of the door, a protective screen, or a wooden plate (fig. 6-30). The meaning of *tai-chi* and *pa-kau* are so well known that I shall not go into the detailed discussion of them. Similarly to the case of *chien-shi*, a wooden plate carved with the symbol of *tai-chi* or *pa-kau* or the two combined, is usually found hanging on the lintel above the doorway (fig. 6-31).

The attempt to seek for geomantic perfection in traditional buildings can also be seen in the measurement of the building and its components as well as the shape and the number of them. The size of the rooms and the overall dimensions of a building have to match the good dimensions of a geomancer's

- fig. 6-29: *shi-gan-dan*, the evil-resisting stone, in the traditional Taiwanese settlement. [Huei-Chen Lin (1989), p. 166]
- fig. 6-30: *chien-shi*, the sword lion, in the traditional Taiwanese house. [author]



6-29



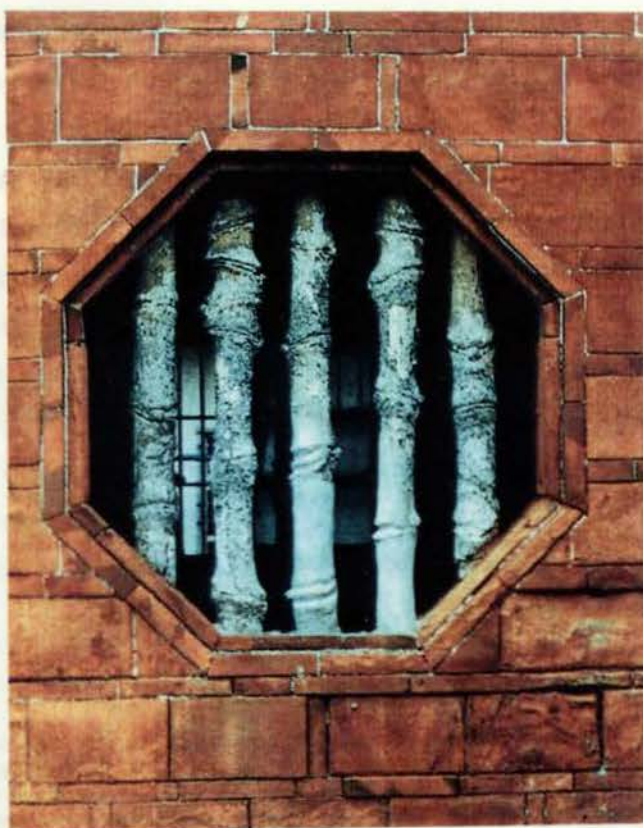
6-30

- fig. 6-31: Wooden plate of *pa-kau* pattern in traditional Taiwanese architecture. [author]

- fig. 6-32: Octagonal opening with odd-numbered mullions in traditional Taiwanese architecture. [*Free China Review*, June 1987, p. 31]



6-31



6-32



rule or conventional *chih-pai* and *ts'un-pai* dimensions used by the craftsmen.<sup>31</sup> The shape of the building elements can be symbolic. For example, an octagonal window metaphorically implies the shape of a *pa-kau*. The space of the room is always divided into odd portions in a house or a temple and the components such as the window mullions are also odd in number to represent the *yang* character (fig. 6-32).

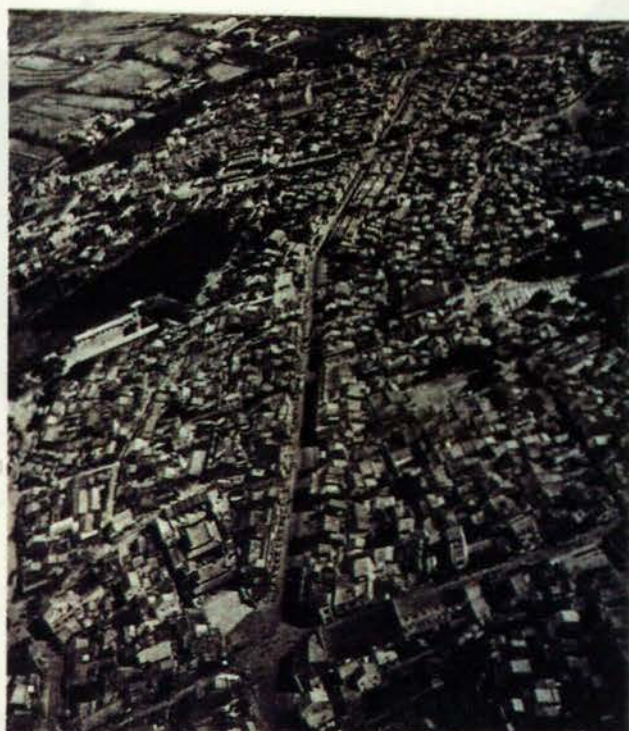
### Folk-Religion Temples as Symbolic Centres.

In order to be connected with *Tien*, people in traditional Taiwanese societies established temples as a mediating place between Heaven and Earth where they could maintain an harmonious relationship between the world of the gods and the world of man. To temples and cosmological symbols, a traditional Taiwanese settlement owed its sacred status. Folk-religion temples in Taiwan are the places where the supernatural and human worlds meet. Temples are the official residences of gods as well as the gathering places for a congregation. Folk-religion temples in Taiwan are symbolic centres of the settlement. Their role as centres is not represented by their centralised location, which they usually have, but by their character of sacredness.

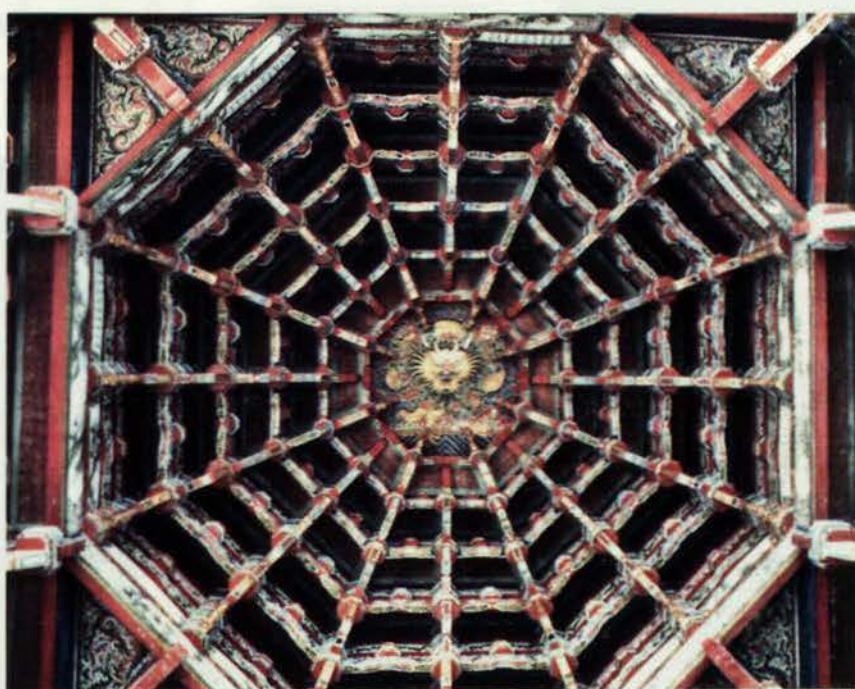
In order to emphasize the sacredness of the temples, temple-builders used to resort to the expansion of the scale and the increase of the symbolic decorations so as to contrast them with the surroundings. Except in some cases of temples for *Fu-Te Cheng-Shen* (the Earth God), temples are higher and wider than houses immediately adjacent to them so that they can be easily recognised. In other words, temples are created as dominant features of the settlement whose visual qualities are determined mainly by the silhouette of the roof and its dynamic relationship with the surrounding environment. When compared with that in a house, the roof of a temple is much more complicated in style and richer in decoration (fig. 6-33). Decorations such as the pagoda flanked by two dragons on the main ridge and octagonal wooden structure for the roof with a dragon painted in the centre all have symbolic

<sup>31</sup> There are several kinds of geomancer's rule. The most common ones are *Luban* rule, *Men-kung* rule, and *Ting-lan* rule. *Chih-pai* is used to decide the good or bad dimensions within the range of 'foot' while *ts'un-pai* is used to determine the good 'inch' dimension. Both of them are passed from the past by oral teaching. For a discussion of this subject, see Yu-Chien Hsu (1980).

- fig. 6-33: Aerial view of a traditional Taiwanese settlement shows the contrast between the folk-religion temples and their surrounding houses. (Lukang) At the corner on the left side is the famous Tien-Hou Temple. In the middle of the right side is the new Hsin-Tzu Temple. [Alfred Schinz (1989), p. 389]
- fig. 6-34: Octagonal roof structure of a folk-religion temple. (Lung-Shan Temple, Lukang) [author]



6-33



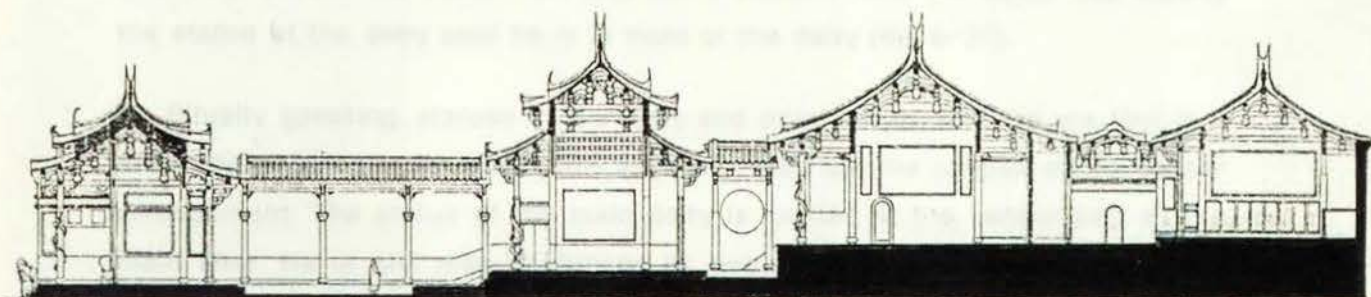
6-34



- fig. 6-35: Occupation of the T-junction site by a folk-religion temple. (Tien-Hou Temple, Peikang) [San-Ching Kwan (1981), p. 293]
- fig. 6-36: Longitudinal section of a folk-religion temple. (Tien-Hou Temple, Tainan) [Chang-Lin and Reed Dillingham (1971), p. 95]
- fig. 6-37: Interchange of lightness and darkness in a folk-religion temple. (Tien-Hou Temple, Tainan) [author]



6-35



6-36



6-37

meanings (fig. 6-34).

By being located at a geomantically undesirable spot where no house would be constructed, a folk-religion temple can also assert its sacred power. A site facing the longitudinal road at a T junction is considered to be a bad location for a house because it is in a condition of *lu-ch'ung* (being hit by the road) according to the traditional *feng-shui* theory. But, many temples are located at such sites. Religiously speaking, this mainly demonstrates the power of the deities in the temple, although spatially speaking, the road in front can eventually create a monumental impression for the temple (fig. 6-35).

Within the temple gate, a temple is usually longitudinally developed to form a sequence of processional space which believers have to pass through before arriving at the altar of the main deity (fig. 6-36). Courtyards and rows of building are alternately arranged along the axis. Such an arrangement allows an interchange of lightness with darkness which can reinforce the sacred atmosphere of the temple. The statue of the main deity is always located at the main hall behind a courtyard where a flood of light contrasts with the darkness of the hall, thus the statue will look more solemn. One will never see clearly the statue of the deity until he is in front of the deity (fig. 6-37).

Ritually speaking, statues of the deity and pots for the incense are foci in a folk-religion temple. Architecturally speaking, they are the centres of the spatial arrangement. The statue of the main deity is located at the central part of the main altar. He or she may be flanked by two secondary deities and other attendants on both sides. Incense pots are located on the table in front of the altar of each deity and in courtyards where the smoke of the incense can rise to Heaven and evoke the communication between two worlds. The square in front of the folk-religion temple is both symbolic and functional. It is the transitional space between the sacred and the secular worlds. On ordinary days, the square functions like a urban square where children play, peddlers sell food, and old people chat. During a festival it becomes an extension of the temple where the offerings can be placed and ceremonies can be held.

### **Ancestral Altars as Symbolic Centres.**

Ancestor worship is one of the most important traditions in Chinese culture. Although it is in many aspects inseparable from the idea of the family, ancestor worship can be conceived as a domestic version of deity worship. In Taiwan,

the tradition of ancestor worship was passed from early Chinese immigrants to their descendants. Everyone is free to believe in the gods or not, but it is almost impossible not to worship ancestors under the bounds of social norms. Family education is built on the supposition that all the living are in the shadow of their ancestors. Parents teach their children that ancestors live among them not only genealogically but also spiritually. Almost every house in traditional Taiwanese society has an ancestral altar located in the most prominent place, usually in the *cheng ting* (the main hall) on the central axis.

Spatial speaking, the ancestral altar is the pivot of a traditional house, every space is centred upon it. An ancestral altar always consisted of two parts: a higher table placed against the wall, and a lower square table in front of it. The higher table is locally called *ang-ke toug*, (table for approaching red, the colour of luck) on which the incense pot, the ancestral tablets and sometimes small statues of the gods are placed. The lower table is commonly known as *pa-hsien chou* (table of the eight immortals) which is multi-functional, formally used for holding sacrificial offerings to the gods and ancestors, but also used as the dining table. In many cases, the ancestral altar will have a backdrop depicting the family's favourite gods, and portraits of the deceased members of the family hang on the wall<sup>32</sup> (fig. 6-38).

The ancestral tablets are the most sacred object on the altar. Inside these tablets dwell the ancestral spirits. An ancestral tablet is a sacred space within a sacred space. It is the centre where the line of the family and the axis to Heaven merge into one. If the fact that a traditional society is hierarchically ordered around a symbolic vertical axis is universally true, the genealogical factors must play an important role of the formation of this axis for the Chinese at home. The ancestral altar, either inside the house or in the family shrine, is the centre of this belief and the focus where the axis passes through. The connection between ancestor worship and *Tien* is also revealed in the *tien-kung lu* (the incense pot for the Ruler of *Tien*) hanging from one beam of the hall. Before worshipping ancestors, people have to face outside and worship *Tien* (fig. 6-39).

<sup>32</sup> For a more detailed accounts on the ancestral altar and ancestral worship, see D.K. Jordon (1985)



- fig. 6-38: Ancestral altar in the traditional Taiwanese house. [author]
- fig. 6-39: Worshipping *Tien*, Heaven, before one worships his ancestors. (The incense pot hanging from the beam is *tien-kung-lu*)  
[*Free China Review*, December 1988, p. 41]



6-38



6-39



The meaning and importance of the ancestral altar is profound. What the ancestral altar is to the house is what the temple is to the settlement. It is the altar that makes a house a symbolic home. A house is a microcosm. The sacredness of the house is achieved by the presence of the ancestral altar where deified ancestors dwell. An ancestral altar is the index to a household. As Stephan Feuchtwang has put it: "households (in Taiwan) are ritually defined. The marks of a fully established household – not just as a separate unit of property and budgeting, but also as a membership of a community – is its domestic (ancestral) altar."<sup>33</sup> In other words, an ancestral altar is a symbolic centre, not merely because it<sup>is</sup> usually centrally located, but also it is the centre around which most of the rituals in a house are performed. Huei-Chen Lin has listed 82 rituals which are performed in a house. Among them 66 take place in the main hall in front of the ancestral altar.<sup>34</sup> Whenever rituals are performed, wine from the altar is splashed on the ground of the courtyard to indicate a sharing of family ritual with Heaven and Earth. Thus, family ethical relations are based on ancestors, and offering sacrifices to ancestors to Heaven and Earth, the cosmological dimension of the forces giving cohesion to the household.<sup>35</sup>

#### **Boundary as the Separation between Cosmos and Chaos.**

Without the existence of a boundary, the inhabitants of a settlement will possess no sense of belonging. Nevertheless, many early seaports and riverports in Taiwan were never enclosed with a city wall. This is because in Chinese tradition a city wall would never be built until there are enough people to protect. Lack of any important administrative seat in these settlements during that time also made the construction of a city wall unnecessary. But this phenomenon should not lead us to conclude that people in these settlements needed no boundary for their territory. Folk-religion temples played an important role in the delimitation of these settlements. Since most deities worshipped in Taiwan have no power beyond the vicinity of their particular abodes, people worshipping the same deities naturally form a basic community because they only feel secure within the boundary covered by the power of the

<sup>33</sup> Stephan Feuchtwang, (1974a), p.106

<sup>34</sup> For a detailed description of these rituals, see Huei-Chen Lin (1990).

<sup>35</sup> Vincent Shen (1988), p. 35.

deities. Several such basic communities form a *ching* which literally means a territory. Several *ching* then form the settlement such as a town.

In the later developed walled cities, the city wall was the concrete boundary of the settlement from which the inhabitants gained the sense of belonging. A traditional Taiwanese walled city is an enclosed space which separates two worlds: dangerous, vulnerable and directionless outside and safe, protected and oriented inside. As an enclosure, a walled city possesses an inner reality and outer quality. Once it is erected and encircles inhabitants within, a walled city simultaneously encloses and exposes its meaning. A city wall is the outer edge of a city if one stands inside it; it is also the beginning of the city if one stands outside it. This dual character is reasserted by the fact that each gate in Taiwanese walled cities has two different names, respectively carved on the outer and inner walls of the gate.<sup>36</sup>

In a single building, the door becomes the threshold of the territory through which members of a family in a house receive their sense of belonging and security. The meaning of the door is valid not only to its owner but also to the outsiders and the incorporation of the evil-resisting symbols on the door also lifts its meaning beyond the human world to the supernatural world.

### The Idea of Man

Architectural development in a continental setting is different from that in a maritime setting not only because the climatic and geographical conditions are different but also because people who grew up in such distinct settings have different socio-cultural concepts and ways of living. In a continental setting, a settlement is usually self-sufficient and inward-looking. In a maritime setting, a settlement's prosperity relies on its communication with the outside world. The island nature of Taiwan has played a crucial role in shaping the regional characteristics of social life and architecture in Taiwan.

<sup>36</sup> Basically, the names on the outer wall are straightforward. The direction is used such as "great east gate", "east gate", or "small east gate" etc. But the names on the inner wall are metaphorical. In many cases, they imply the spatial relationship between the city and its geographical surrounding. For example, the west gate of Chiayi is called *Daihai* (the strip of the sea). In Fengshan the west gate is called *Dienhai* (the stability of the sea) and in Tainan *Chenghai* (the quietness of the sea.)

In contrast to most traditional settlements on the Chinese mainland which had originated in various agricultural settings, many early Taiwanese settlements began their life as fishing and commercial centres. Anping, Huwei (today Tamsui), Chiukang, Lukang, Tungshih, Wuchi and Manka (today Wanhua) were prosperous seaports and riverports along the west coast of Taiwan in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. All of them had witnessed the formation of the early Chinese communities in Taiwan.

Early seaports and riverports were the arrival points of a mixture of immigrants of different backgrounds. Despite the differences in social and economic status, their sense of belonging to the same provenance encouraged these immigrants to settle together physically and psychologically, especially during the time when a variety of restrictions was imposed by the Ching government on the cross-strait migration, making the immigration of the whole family unlikely, if not impossible. Neither women nor the families of the settlers already in Taiwan were allowed to immigrate there before the middle of eighteenth century. Consequently, immigrants were forced to cross over in small numbers.<sup>37</sup> By the middle of the eighteenth century, the development of Taiwan shifted inland, seaports and riverports gradually lost their importance and became the secondary settlements when walled cities emerged. However, the basic socio-cultural structure as well as architecture did not change a lot. Taiwanese houses remained small in scale and were compact in agglomeration. As far as the individual houses are concerned, they show close relationships among body, house, and universe. A courtyard is shaped like a man stretching out his arms to protect those who live there. The main hall is the controlling brain, and the wings are arms, embracing a living space that is linked with Heaven and Earth.

### **The House as the Expression of Human Relationships.**

A popular interpretation of the traditional Chinese courtyard house is that the spatial organisation of it is a mirror reflecting the hierarchy and structure of the family.<sup>38</sup> In Taiwan, the layout of traditional courtyard houses varies from

<sup>37</sup> See Harry I. Lamley (1981), p.297 and Tasi-Fu Lin (1987), pp.131-138.

<sup>38</sup> Chang-Lin and Reed Dillingham (1971), pp. 112-119 and Simon Chang (1986), pp. 71-121.

a single building, a *san-ho-yuan*, a unit consisting of one main row of three-bay building connected perpendicularly by two wings with a courtyard in between, to a large courtyard compound consisting of many buildings. However, no matter what layout a house has, the spatial organisation reflects the of human relationships existing in a house.

In a typical courtyard house, the main hall, located opposite the entrance on the central axis, is the centre of the house. As we have described, it is the room where the ancestral altar is set up, together with family portraits and the statue of the deities family members worship at home. It is also the place for formal dinners, receptions and ceremonies. The meaning of ancestor worship, as I mentioned before, is a domestic version of deity worship. But it is also an embodiment of Confucian ideas. Confucius said that "by cultivating respect for the dead, and carrying memory back to the distant past, the moral feeling of the people will awaken and grow in depth." Reverence for ancestors is a logical extension of filial piety, and worshipping ancestors in the house is a practical millennia old, honouring the continuity of the family over generations.

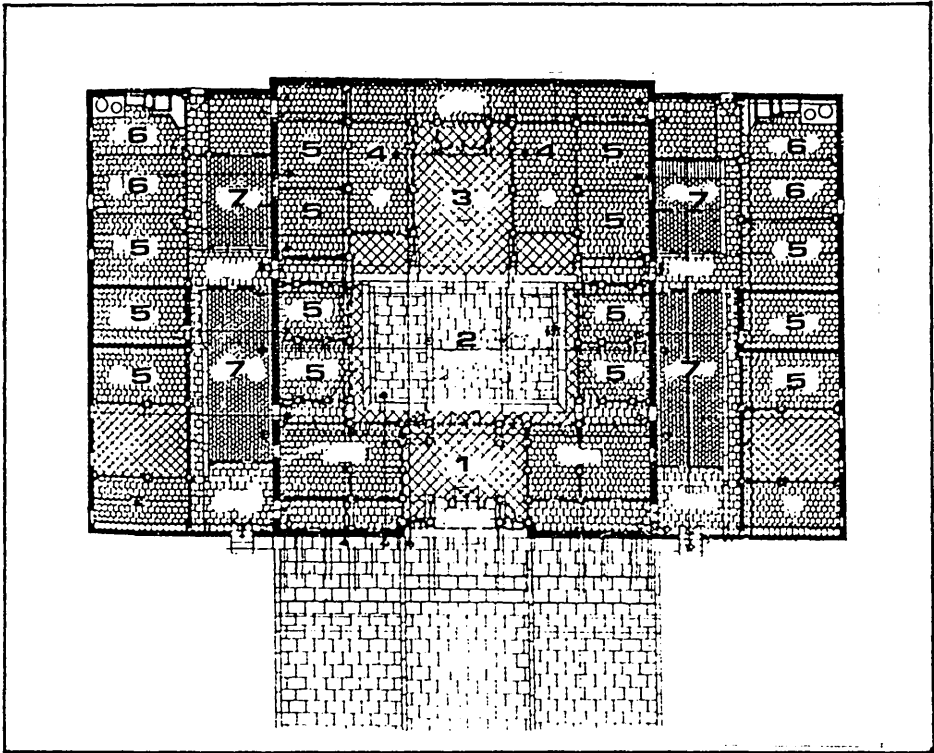
To either side of the main hall are the bedrooms of the family. Whether a small courtyard house or a big courtyard compound, the arrangement of rooms illustrates the web of hierarchical relationships among family members. The allocation is hinged on Confucian ethics. The relationship between father and sons and the relationship between brothers are the most crucial ones. The father-son relationship is basic to the continuity of the descent line; it is a relationship of filiation that emphasizes the descent principle.<sup>39</sup> The brother-brother relationship is basic to the harmony of the family; its emphasis is on the balance between competition and coexistence.

Basically, the head of the family takes the space to the left of the main hall and his younger brothers or married sons take the space to the right of the main hall.<sup>40</sup> Grandparents may occupy a room alone or share bed with their grandchildren, enjoying the warmth of their young bodies and the satisfaction that they have earned by their own efforts to have produced at least two

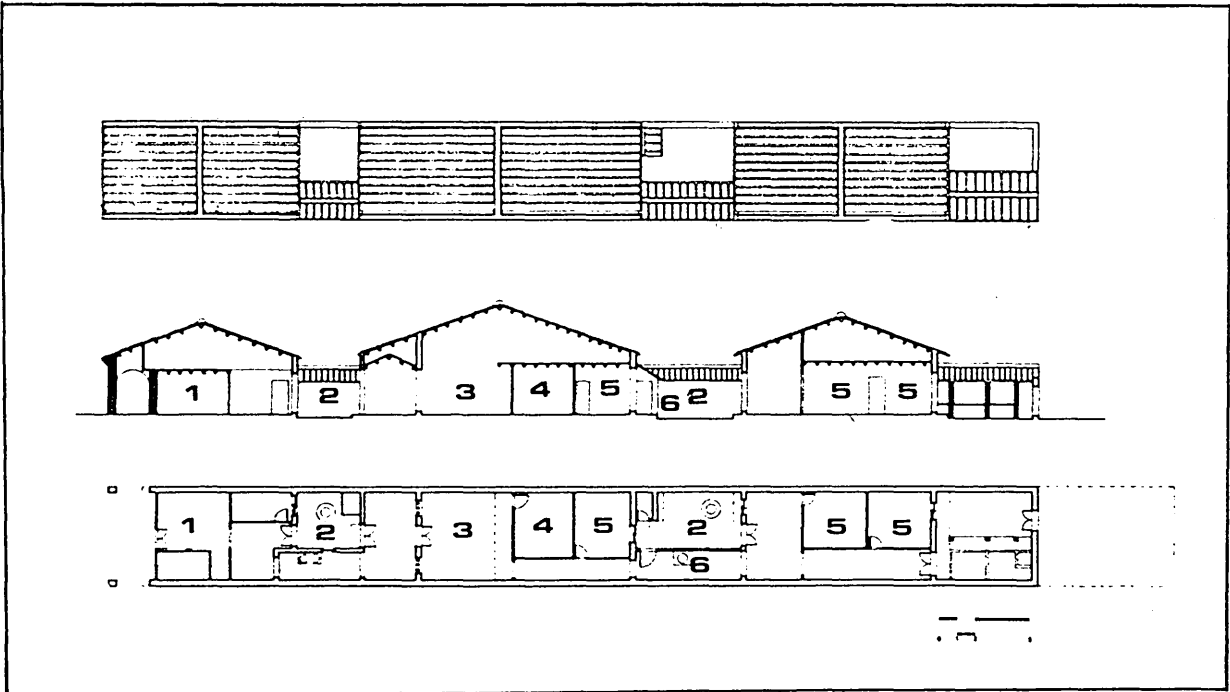
<sup>39</sup> Lung-Sheng Sung (1981), p.363.

<sup>40</sup> When we discuss the traditional houses in Taiwan, the left and the right mentioned are the direction looking from the main hall.

- fig. 6-40: Spatial organisation of the typical courtyard house in Taiwan. (1. gate hall, 2. courtyards, 3. main hall, 4. parents' bedroom, 5. bedrooms, 6. kitchens, 7. light-wells) [Chien-Lang Lee (1979), p. 137]
- fig. 6-41: Spatial organisation of the typical street house in Taiwan. (1. shop or front hall, 2. light-wells, 3. main hall, 4. parents' bedroom, 5. bedroom, 6. kitchen) [Lou-Tsai Huang (1983), p. 137]



6-40



6-41

generations for the family.<sup>41</sup> Located in the wings are rooms for members of lower hierarchy and the kitchen and other service facilities such as bedrooms for the servants and storage rooms. The closer a room is to the main hall, the higher it is in the hierarchy. Privacy is another concern in terms of human relationships in a courtyard house and the entrance gate is a key reference to it. The space close to it has less privacy than the space far away from it. A stranger will never be allowed to enter the gate while a peddler may be asked to show his goods in the courtyard. But in no circumstance will a person be permitted into the main hall and living quarters beyond unless he is a intimate friend or a close relative of the family (fig. 6-40).

Compared with the courtyard, the spatial organisation in a street house is slightly more complicated since it involves the commercial function. But the main hall still dominates the most important location. All of the relationships are pivoted around it (fig. 6-41). Basically, the front row of the street house is a commercial portion. After it is a light-well followed by the main hall. Behind the main hall is another light-well with living quarters around it. Usually, the service facilities such as kitchen and toilet may be located in the light-well or at the rear of the house. If the street house has more than one storey, the upper floors are usually reserved for the female members of the family in order to have good privacy.

#### **The House as the Index to Family Structure.**

Most interpretations of the Chinese house have been focused upon the social meaning of its spatial organisation; and the conclusion that as an index to the family, a house can grow and decline like a family has been well established. "The basic design of the Chinese or Taiwanese house", as Chang-lin and Reed Dillingham have pointed out, "was a form originally adapted for change. Growth, extension, development could all be easily accommodated within the basic organisation."<sup>42</sup> The same view has been shared by many scholars for decades. According to such interpretation, a house can be expanded from a small single-room building to a big courtyard

---

<sup>41</sup> M. Wolf (1968), p.27

<sup>42</sup> Chang-Lin and Reed Dillingham (1971), p.142.



compound as the family grows. However, this is more an ideal concept than a real thing likely to happen. In traditional Taiwanese societies, most houses are small or medium in scale. There are some large courtyard compounds but not every one of them was the result of family growth. The majority of them are merely a reflection of the wealth of a family. Wings and rows of the building in the compound were not constructed piece by piece as the family grew; they were constructed within very few phases.

There are two major reasons behind the fact that the size of traditional Taiwanese houses is small or medium. The restriction of the migration imposed on the immigrant by the Ching Government I have already mentioned is one while the prevailing custom of *fen-chia*, the family division, is another. In a real situation, a house cannot be expanded endlessly; nor can a family. Anthropologists studying Taiwanese families have repeatedly told us that the extended family is not a very common phenomenon in Taiwan. What many people have perceived as an extended family of several generations living in a large compound is in fact a gathering of several divided families. According to surveys by anthropologists, there exists a cycle of family development in Taiwan. And *fen-chia* (the family division) is one crucial moment which may happen when the head of the family dies; when the family has grown beyond a reasonable size; or when the head of the family has lost his power over his sons or brothers.<sup>43</sup>

To divide a family involves the division of the property equally among the members of the family. The ancestral altar and the cooking stove are the most important elements in the family division. For Chinese people, the continuity of the line of the family means the continuity of *hsiang-hou* (the incense and cooking fire). The idea is embodied in the ancestral hall and the kitchen. Once a family is divided, each new family may establish its own altar by transferring some ashes of the incense from the original pot to the new pot in the new family altar. Alternatively, the ancestral altar may remain in the original house but should be accessible to every newly divided family. But the cooking stove is certainly to be separated. In traditional Taiwanese houses there is a large brick cooking stove on which daily meals are prepared. The stove is not merely

<sup>43</sup> For discussions of the division of the family in Taiwan, see: Lung-Sheng Sung (1981), pp.361-380 and Myron L. Cohen (1976), pp.193-226.

a cooking facility: it is equally a substantial symbol of the family as a corporate unit. Possession of a stove identifies a family as an independent entity. In Taiwan the division of a family is commonly called *fen-chau* which literally means "dividing the stove".<sup>44</sup>

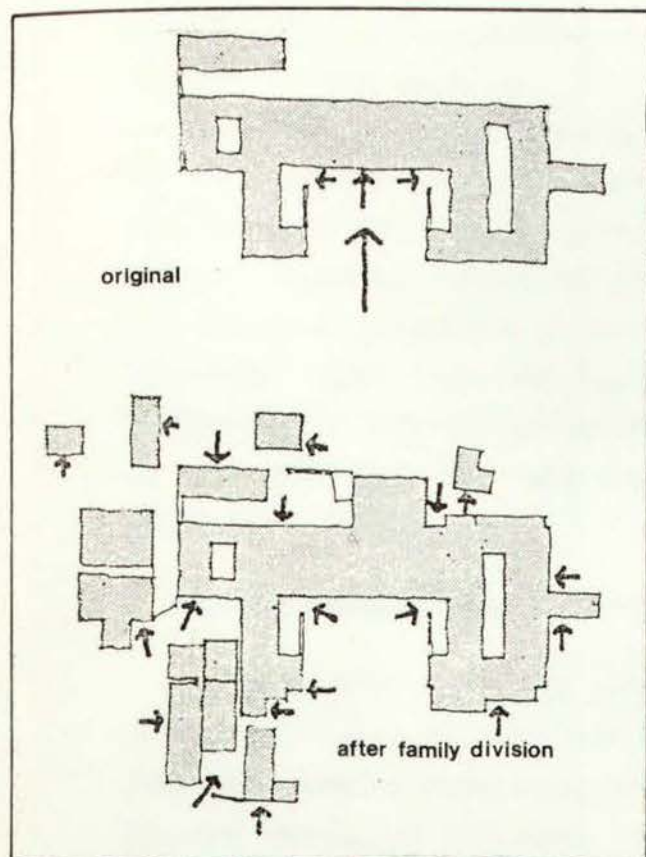
It may seem superficially that the division of a family means the decline of it. But, in fact the division of a family is conceived dialectically by Taiwanese people as a symbol of growth instead of the decline because the number of the family will increase after the division. The sense of family growth in Taiwan is achieved by the increase of other small or medium scale houses near the original house rather than by addition to the wings and rows of the building. This is why small and medium size courtyard houses have dominated the traditional settlements in Taiwan. If the house was originally built in a layout of a big compound, its original function is likely to collapse after several generations. The orientation and the courtyard will lose the meaning first followed by the entrance and the circulation. Various families will establish separate entrances from the outside. In some cases, "the house may be turned inside out", as described by Chang-Lin and Reed Dillingham<sup>45</sup> (fig. 6-42).

As far as the built form is concerned. A remarkable degree of similarity prevails in the house of the same settlements. In a *ho-yuan* (the courtyard house) settlement, the houses are basically similar to each other although their spatial organisation may be different in size. The majority of the houses are oriented towards the same direction, built in the similar style and use similar materials (fig. 6-43). In a settlement where business formed the core of its activities, the continuous built form of the *chieh-wu* (the street house) dominates the morphology of the settlement. The street house is not an invention of the Taiwanese people. It had been popular in commercial settlements in Fukien and Kwangtung provinces on the mainland for a long time. The determinative principle of the street house is its longitudinal development. Long but narrow buildings are grouped side by side on pre-planned lots. Every wall is shared by two houses standing next to each other. The continuous skyline of the main facades is the dominant theme of

<sup>44</sup> Arthur P. Wolf (1978), p.133.

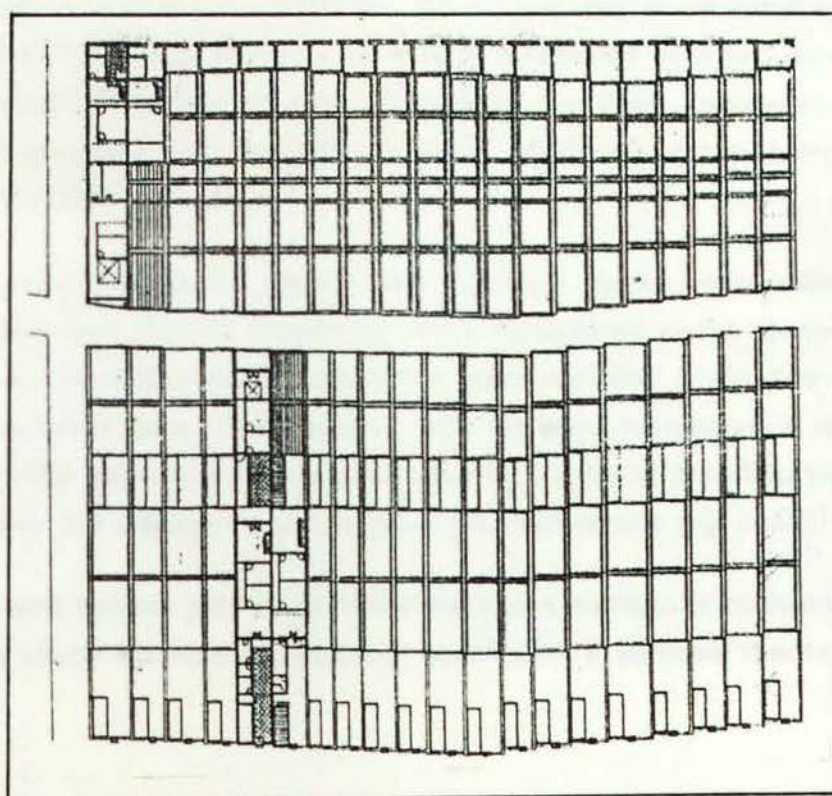
<sup>45</sup> Chang-Lin and Reed Dillingham (1971), p.143

- fig. 6-42: Change of use in a courtyard compound after the family division. [Chang-Lin and Reed Dillingham (1971), p. 143]
- fig. 6-43: Aerial view of a typical traditional *ho-yuan* settlement in Taiwan. [Alfred Schinz (1989), p. 403]
- fig. 6-44: Site plan of a typical traditional *chieh-wu* settlement in Taiwan. [Chang-Lin and Reed Dillingham (1971), p. 79]



6-43

6-42



6-44

the built form while the side elevations which are lifted to different levels in order to receive more light offers another striking tone of the settlement. Downtown Lukang and Tamsui are cases in point (fig. 6-44).

For settlement as a whole, the scarcity of land in urban areas is one reason which forced people to crowd together. But another reason is to keep the defensive territory to a minimum so that families of related clans can quickly respond to help each other. In rural areas where more land exists, the grouping of the courtyard houses is less compact than that in a urban setting. But the principle that houses should be as close to each other as possible remains unchanged so as to leave the maximum amount of land for agricultural purpose. Traditional settlements are hinged upon the community spirit rather than the visual prominence of individual buildings. Unity rather than variety; collectivity rather than individuality were the major principles for the construction of traditional settlements. The built form and spatial organisation of the settlement are representations of the collective sense of the community's integrity.

#### **Personal Inputs in House Construction.**

Although there is a strong sense of collectivity in traditional Taiwanese settlements, it does not mean that every house is completely identical. Subtle differences exist in every house of a settlement. Through these differences personal identity can be seen. The similarities of the built form and spatial organisation in traditional Taiwanese houses are due to people's adoption of archetypal models. But such models are not considered as a restriction and are not unchangeable. Rather, they are treated as the basic framework on which personal expression can be added, if this is within the social norms and does not violate traditional taboos.

Throughout a traditional house, there are many places where individuals can express their own identity. The name of the provenance of the family is usually inscribed in Chinese character above the main door (fig. 6-45). The inscription identifies a family with others coming from the same hometown in the Chinese mainland. The same approach can be used for names of the shop in the street house where the inscription is carved on the main facade (fig. 6-46).

Inside and outside the house, there are also a number of horizontal wooden boards on which the name of personal qualifications, personal merits, or simply



- fig. 6-45: Inscription of family's provenance above the main gate of the traditional Taiwanese house. [author]
- fig. 6-46: Inscription of shop's name on the main facade of the traditional Taiwanese street house. [Chien-Lang Lee (1979), p. 185]



6-45

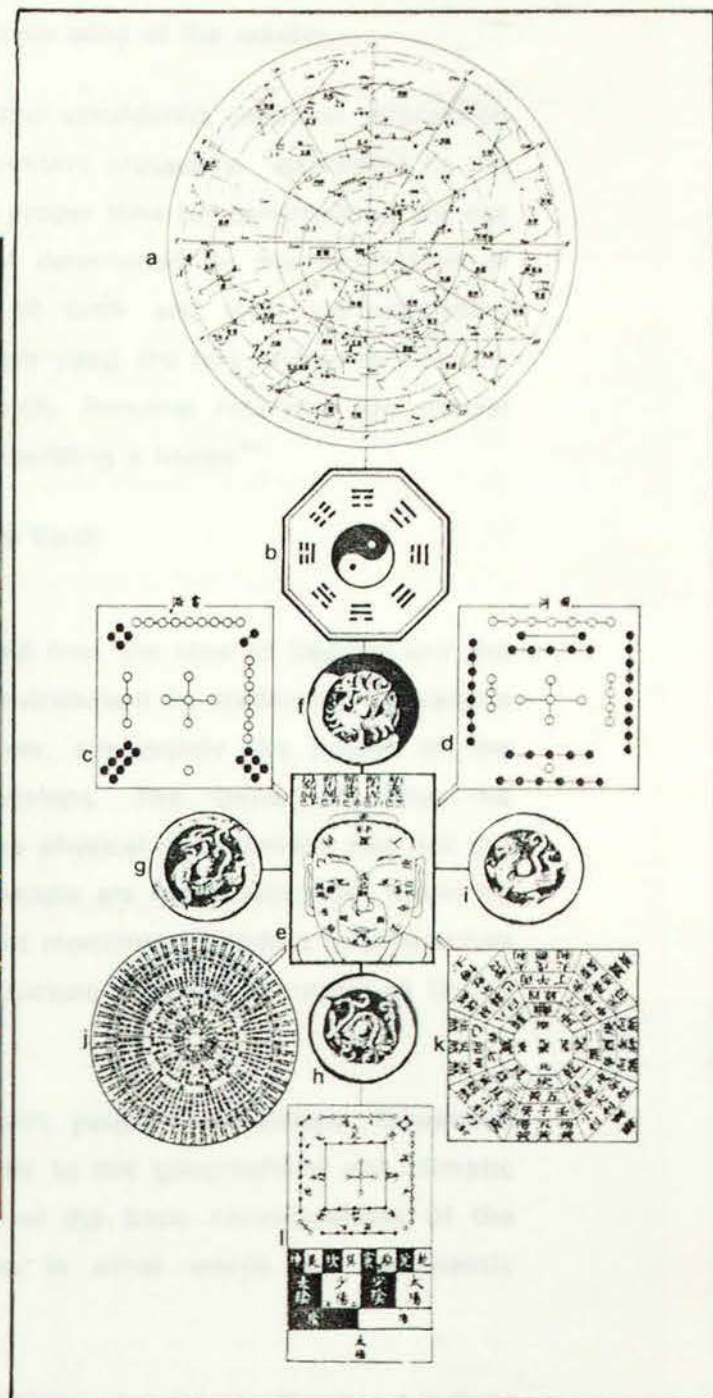


6-46

- fig. 6-47: Wooden board and couplets in the traditional Taiwanese house. [author]
- fig. 6-48: Conceptual drawing of the relationships between an individual and geomantic considerations. [Chao-Kang Chang and Werner Blaser (1987), p. 143.]



6-47



6-48



the words implying good fortune and auspiciousness are inscribed. These boards usually hang on the wall, normally above the door or window or around the ancestral altar. Together with a number of couplets carved on both side of the openings (doors and windows), they offer additional spaces where personal expression can be accommodated (fig. 6-47). Certainly, decorations, sculptures, and colours used in a building are all marked by personal inputs. For example, in the Lin An-Tai's compound in Taipei, many window panels were carved in a six-dragon pattern in order to represent the six sons of the master.

Since every traditional house is *feng-shui* considered, personal interaction with the geomantic considerations is a necessary procedure. According to the *feng-shui* theory, a house's orientation and proper time for construction are not the same for different individuals. They are determined by the interaction of personal data such as time and date of birth and their corresponding geomantic factors such as constellations, *yin-yang*, the five elements, colours, the direction of the compass etc (fig. 6-48). Personal referents are crucial factors in the geomantic considerations for building a house.<sup>46</sup>

### The Idea of the Earth

In the above discussions, I have showed how the idea of Heaven and the idea of Man are embodied in the built environment in traditional Taiwanese societies. What I have dealt with, however, are mainly the issues of the man-supernatural and man-man relationships. The issue of how the relationship between man and the earth, the physical environment, has not yet been explored. Most traditional Taiwanese people are naturalistic; they never try to spoil the earth by erecting any permanent monument which is inharmonious with the nature. Instead, any man-made structure must be so contrived that it will become part of the landscape.

In order to be harmonious with the earth, people in traditional Taiwanese societies carefully adjusted their settlements to the geographical and climatic conditions. In fact, these criteria are part of the basic considerations of the *hsiang-chia* geomantic theory in Taiwan. In other words, the geomantic

<sup>46</sup> The detailed study of this subject is far beyond the scope of this thesis. Therefore, I shall not go into any further discussion. For a preliminary study, see Simon Chang (1986).

perfection that traditional Taiwanese people seek to achieve is in fact inseparable from the consideration of a good relationship between the human settlement and the physical environment. Etymology, *ti-li-shih* (the master of geography), the name given to the geomancer in Taiwanese language, strongly implies this connection.

### **The Sense of Geographical Locality.**

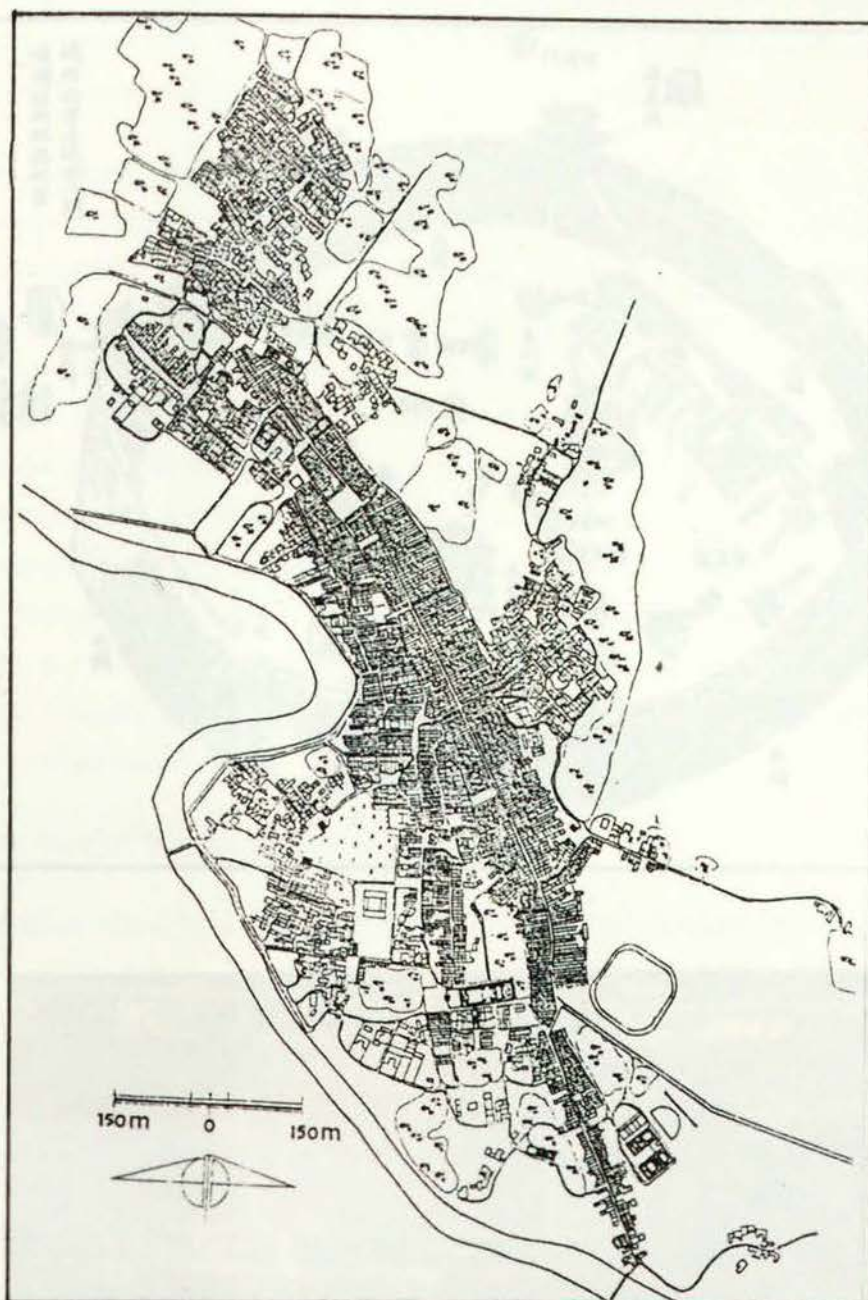
The sea and the river play a crucial role in the built environment in Taiwan. In most traditional maritime settlements, the main axis runs parallel to seashore or riverside so that the maximum length of the waterfront could be developed. The spatial organisation of Tamsui and Lukang especially bear signs of clear response to the maritime environment of the site (fig. 6-49). For every traditional maritime settlement, the sea or the river is the source of life and hope. In such settlements, the river or the sea is the dominant visual reference to spatial organisation of the settlement since the most important occasions for the settlements are the arrival of the ships. Fishing boats bring home the harvest of fish; cargo ships bring daily goods and trade goods; and passenger ships carry members of the family. Wharfs are always crowded with a hodgepodge of people including fishermen, sailors, vendors, merchants and brokers.

In walled cities, people's sense of geographical locality is expressed in both the morphology and the orientation of the cities. Except in the case of Taipei *fu* where a rectangular layout exists, all other walled cities in Taiwan are irregular, oval or circular in the layout (fig. 6-50). The orthodox planning principle to build a ideal rectangular city such as Peking never existed in Taiwan.<sup>47</sup> The reason behind this is complicated. But the geographical consideration is of

---

<sup>47</sup> Nelson Wu's *Chinese and Indian Architecture* (1968), and Andrew Boyd's *Chinese Architecture and Town Planning, 1500 B.C. - A.D. 1911* (1962) have provided a general layout of the orthodox Chinese cities. For a more extensive study, see Paul Wheatley, *Pivots of the Four Quarters* (1971) and Jeffrey F. Meyer, *Peking as A Sacred Center* (1976).

- fig. 6-49: Plan of a traditional Taiwanese maritime settlement shows the relationship between the settlement and the river. (Lukang) [Huei-Chen Lin (1979), p. 58]
- fig. 6-50: Irregular-shaped wall of a traditional Taiwanese walled city. (Makung, 1887) [San-Ching Kwan (1981), p. 264]



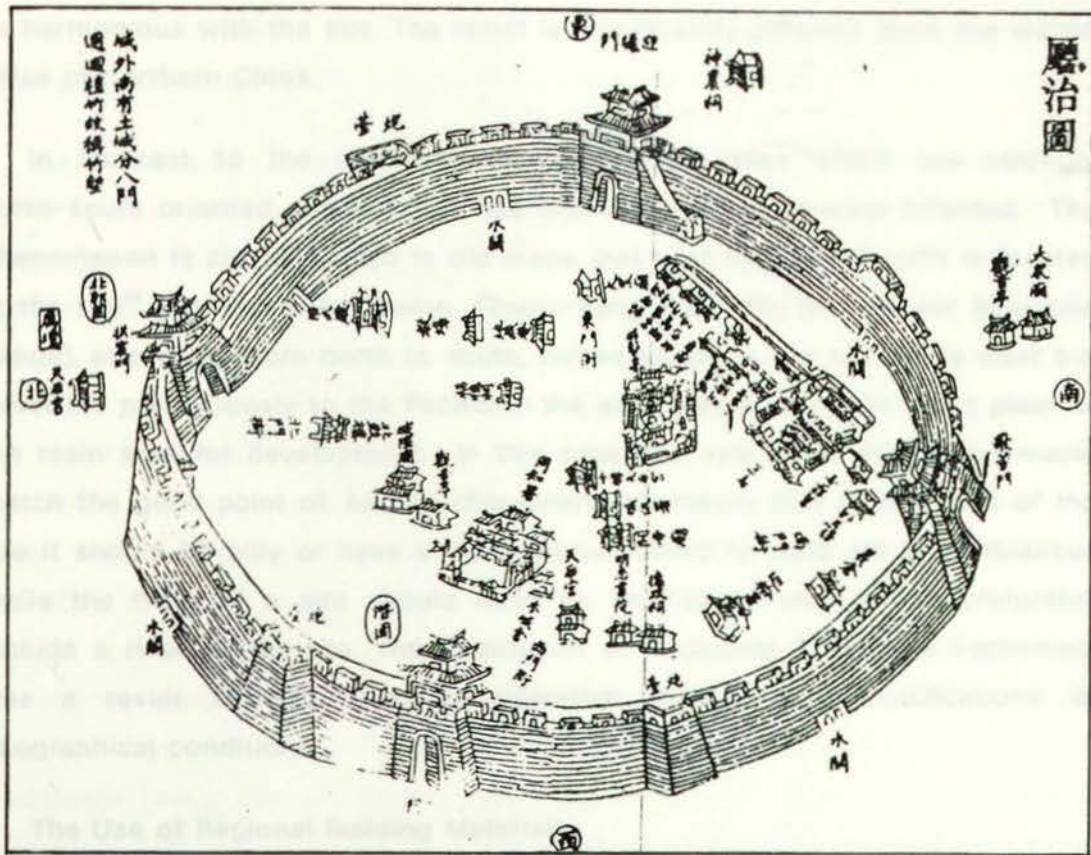
6-49



6-50



- fig. 6-51: Old woodcut map of Chuchien, 1826, with east direction placed on the top. [*Tamsui Gazetteer*, 18th century]
- fig. 6-52: Bricks are the most common building materials used in traditional Taiwanese architecture. [author]



course one of the most important points.<sup>48</sup> The topography of Taiwan is made of numerous hills and mountains. The flat land is limited to the coastal areas. Under this circumstance, to construct a walled city of square or rectangular plan without changing the terrain of the site seems to be impossible. So the city builder in the past had to carefully adjust the layout of the wall in order to be harmonious with the site. The result is significantly different from the walled cities of northern China.

In contrast to the northern Chinese walled cities which are strongly north-south oriented, many Taiwanese wall cities are east-west oriented. The phenomenon is clearly shown in old maps that east instead of north is located at the top<sup>49</sup> (fig. 6-51). In Taiwan *Chung-Yang Shan-Mai* (the Center Mountain Range), stretching from north to south, slopes gently to the sea in the west but descends precipitously to the Pacific in the east, leaving only the West plain as the main area for development. In this case, the east-west orientation would match the good point of *hsiang-chia* geomantic theory that to the back of the site it should be hilly or have a mountainous shield to ward off evil influences while the front of a site should have an unhindered view which preferably include a river or the sea. The orientation of traditional Taiwanese settlement was a result of geomantic consideration through the modifications of geographical conditions.

### **The Use of Regional Building Materials.**

Another important aspect of traditional Taiwanese architecture which clearly

---

<sup>48</sup> The geomantic consideration I have discussed is another one. A third possible explanation is that when people in the past in Taiwan wanted to erect a new city wall, they turned to the archetype left behind in Chuanchou and Changchou areas in Mainland China, the main provenances of Taiwanese people, where no walled city laid out in rectangular or square could be found. Some scholars have attributed the reason to the economic consideration. Sen-Dou Chang suggested that "since circular walls require fewer construction materials per unit of enclosed area than rectangular walls, it may have been considerations of economy that encouraged departure from the cosmological ideal". See: Sen-Dou Chang (1977), p.89. The conclusion is satisfactory in some extent but not convincing completely because it is inapplicable to irregular shaped walled cities which eventually need more materials than a rectangular one. Chang also pointed out the defensive consideration as another factor. He explained that the irregular shapes like Foochow were designed to capitalize on the defensive potential of particular natural features. However, this also contradict the fact that the longer the circumference of the wall, the more vulnerable a walled city is.

<sup>49</sup> Unfortunately this variation has been ignored by scholars in Taiwan so far. In the books reproducing the old maps, the direction indicator is deleted. Only in this circumstance can Peking be treated as a model for discussion.

illustrates the idea of the Earth is the use of regional building materials. Some of the materials are imported from Fukien province, but most of them are locally manufactured. Bricks are the most common materials used in traditional Taiwanese architecture. Except in some houses of the Hakka people where grey bricks are used, the majority of the Taiwanese houses are clad with red bricks. The methods of brick-layering are diverse all over the island and it is through this the craftsmen express their creativity (fig. 6-52).

Various types of stone are also widely used in traditional Taiwanese houses. Since local stone is not of the highest quality, the house of the rich and the temple tend to use stone imported from the Chinese mainland.<sup>50</sup> The most common two types are green stone and Chuanchou white stone (fig. 6-53). They were brought to Taiwan as ballast in ships. In coastal fishing villages and settlements near the river and sea, pebbles, and searocks are also widely used (fig. 6-54). Forests are abundant in Taiwan and wood is one of its major natural resources. However, due to difficulties of reaching the mountainous areas, high quality wood such as cypress and Chinese juniper did not become available until the roads were constructed during the Japanese Occupation period. Before then, only lowland wood such as camphor was used. For high quality fir, which is the main material for wooden structure, import from Foochow was necessary. Besides the structural frame, windows and doors in traditional Taiwanese architecture are usually made of wood. In a traditional Taiwanese building, components made of stone and wood are usually elements where symbolic patterns or historical and legendary figures from the legends are carved.

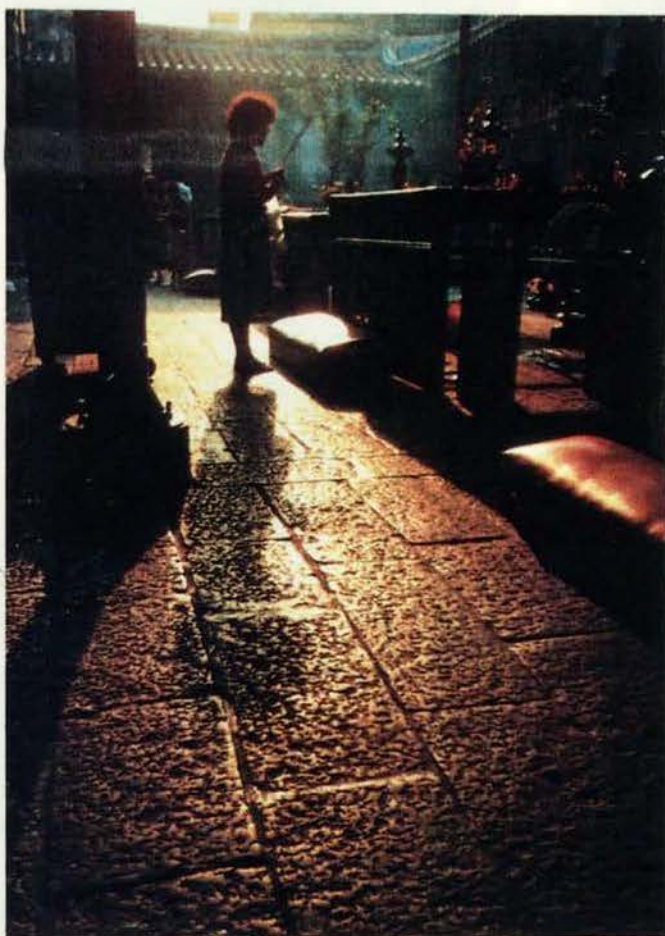
Generally speaking, the use of materials in traditional Taiwanese architecture emphasized their tactility rather than visual appearance although artistic expression played an important role (fig. 6-55). Another important aspect of the use of the materials is that the same material is rarely applied to a large area. Different materials are used for different components which have different functions so that the architectonic quality is explicitly expressed (fig. 6-56).

---

<sup>50</sup> Except for Kuan-yin stone and some marble found on the island's east coast, most of Taiwanese stone is not suitable for carving. It is not durable enough, and its grain is relatively coarse.



- fig. 6-53: Stone is often used as the pavement material in the traditional Taiwanese folk-religion temple. [*Free China Review*, January 1988, backcover]
- fig. 6-54: Searocks are widely used in the buildings in the Taiwanese maritime settlement. [author]

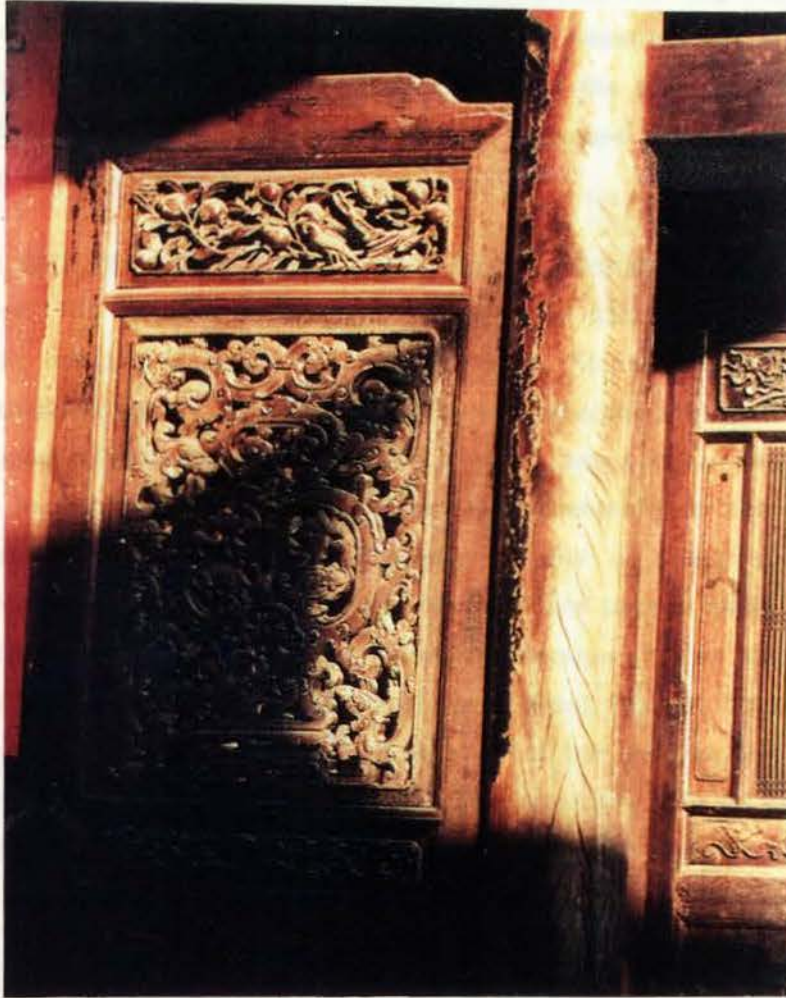


6-53

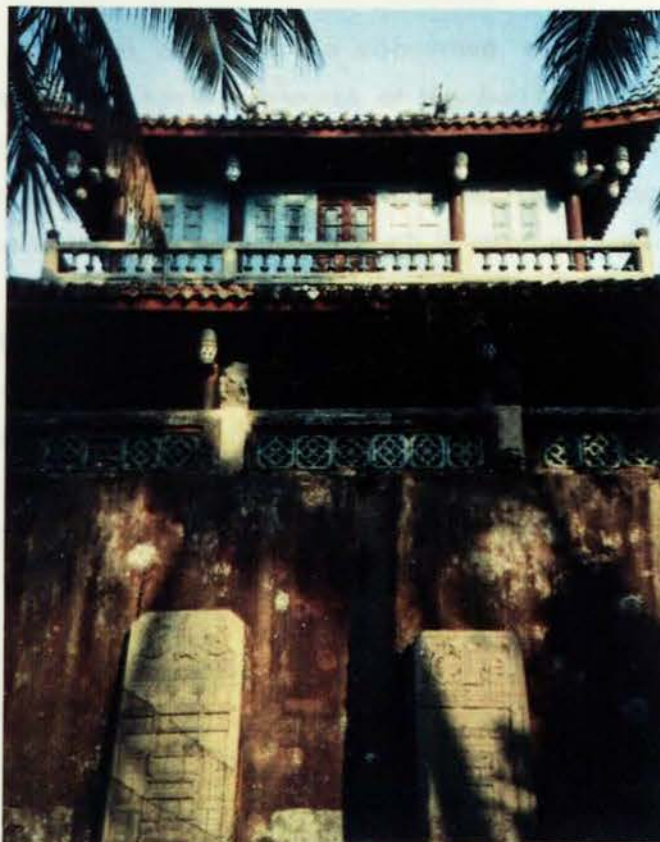


6-54

- fig. 6-55: Wooden door panels carved with traditional patterns in traditional Taiwanese architecture. [*Free China Review*, December 1988, p. 45]
- fig. 6-56: Architectonic quality expressed by local materials in traditional Taiwanese architecture. [author]



6-55



6-56



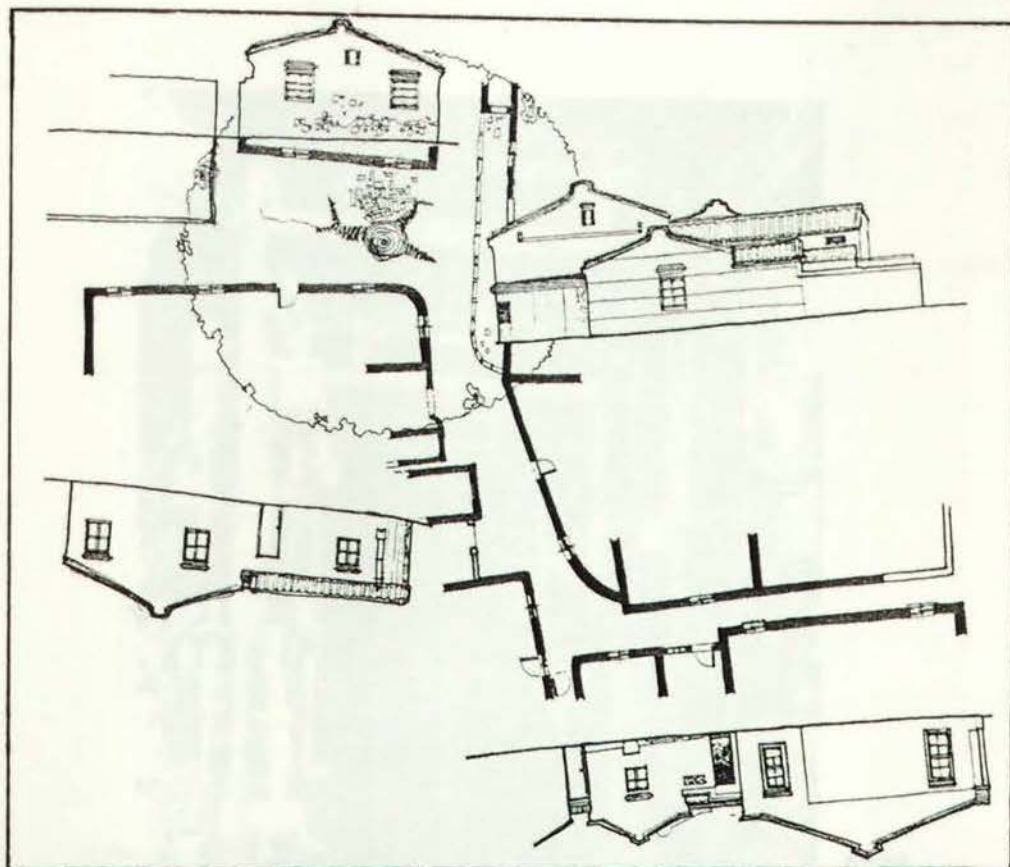
## The Sense of Climatic Variations.

The climate of Taiwan varies in different areas and elevations. But generally speaking, it can be categorised as sub-tropical. Temperatures exceed 30 degrees Centigrade in Summer but rarely falls below 10 degrees in Winter. However, the island's high humidity exaggerates the seasonal changes. Average annual rainfall is more than 40 inches (1,000 ml) in the plain, but may exceed five times that figure in mountainous areas. Typhoons are very common in Summer and are always accompanied by heavy rain.

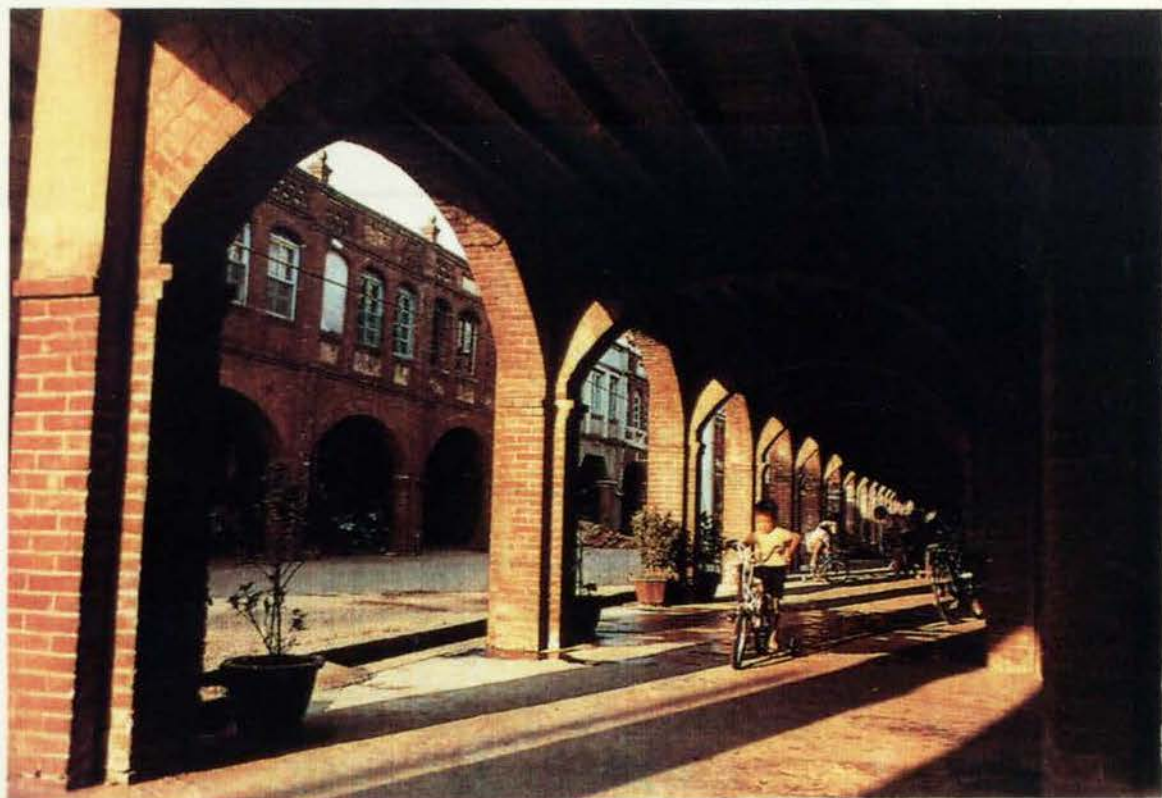
To cope with the hot and humid weather, traditional builders resorted to two solutions. The first is to have as many shady spaces as possible. The second is to achieve a maximum of ventilation. For the first solution, the traditional settlements in Taiwan are always compactly arranged. By being closely grouped together, houses can create shady areas in between which are comfortable in Summer. In fishing villages, or settlements on the outskirts of the commercial centres, there are always a number of shady spaces where children can play, women do their handworks and old people chat. The zigzag spatial organisation of the lanes is common because it can produce more shady areas at the same time it can avoid any direct flow of the strong salty breeze from the sea (fig. 6-57). The emergence of the *chi-lou*, the continuous arcade, in the urban settlements in the nineteenth century, can be conceived as the same response, which provides a continuous roofed commercial space for pedestrians (fig. 6-58). *Pu-chien tien* (literally means see no sky) in Lukang is an example at its most extreme in which the whole street is covered by a continuous roof (figs. 6-59, 6-60).

As far as individual buildings are concerned, the climatic conditions of Taiwan have influenced several features of the buildings, houses and temples alike. The proportion of the courtyard to the whole house is small when compared with its northern Chinese counterpart. The focus of the northern courtyard house is the courtyard itself which is large enough to contain all the activities. But in Taiwan, the main hall is the focus. The courtyard is merely an extension of the main hall. In a humid and hot region like Taiwan, a small courtyard can create more shadow to reduce heat and receive less rainfall and pressure of strong wind which are accompanied by the typhoon (fig. 6-61). Also in Taiwan, the buildings of a courtyard compound are connected by roofed galleries. And the eaves of the roof always overhang or are supported by

- fig. 6-57: Zigzag spatial organisation in the traditional maritime settlement in Taiwan. [Wan-Chiu Lee (1985), p. 47]
- fig. 6-58: Continuous arcade in the traditional urban settlement in Taiwan. [ARCH, No. 4, 1990, p. 146]



6-57

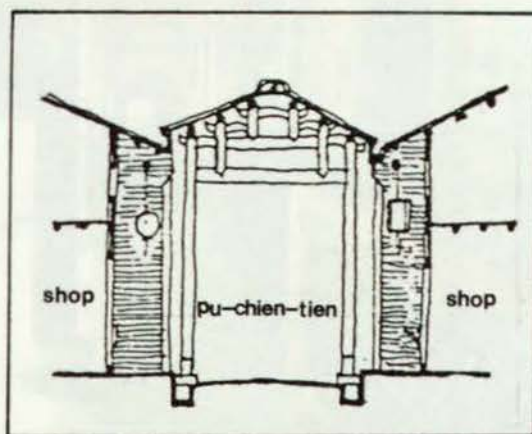


6-58

- fig. 6-59: Interior view of *pu-chien-tien*, Lukang. [San-Ching Kwan (1981), p. 291]
- fig. 6-60: Section of *pu-chien-tien*, Lukang. [Hua-Shan Kwan (1979), p. 183]



6-59



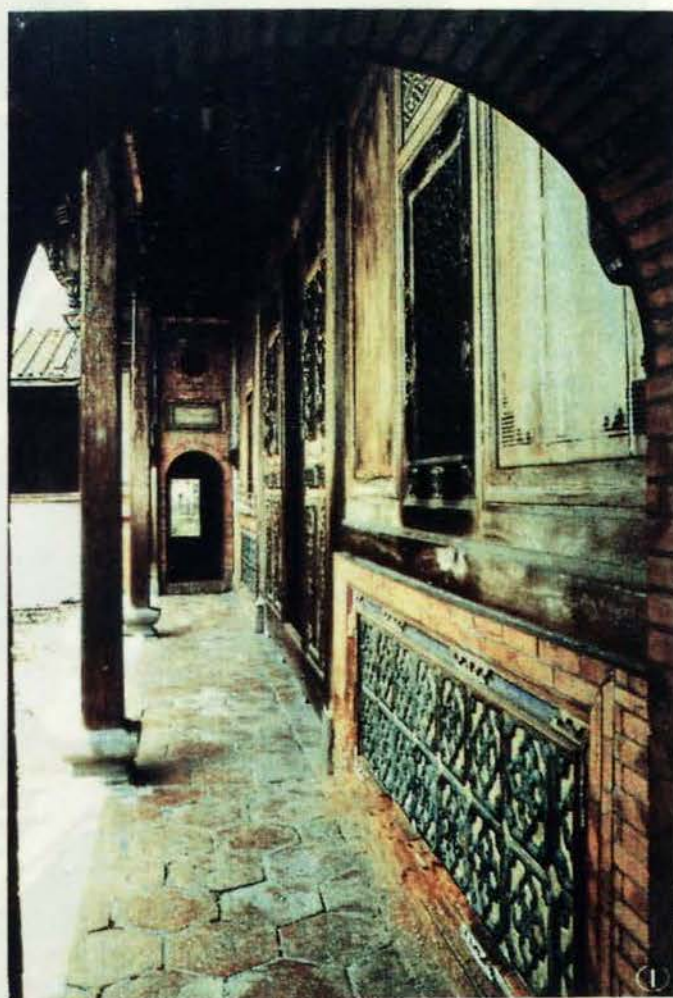
6-60



- fig. 6-61: Small courtyard in traditional Taiwanese architecture. [Chien-Lang Lee (1983), p. 40]
- fig. 6-62: Portico in traditional Taiwanese architecture. [Taipei Fine Arts Museum (1984), p. 2]



6-61



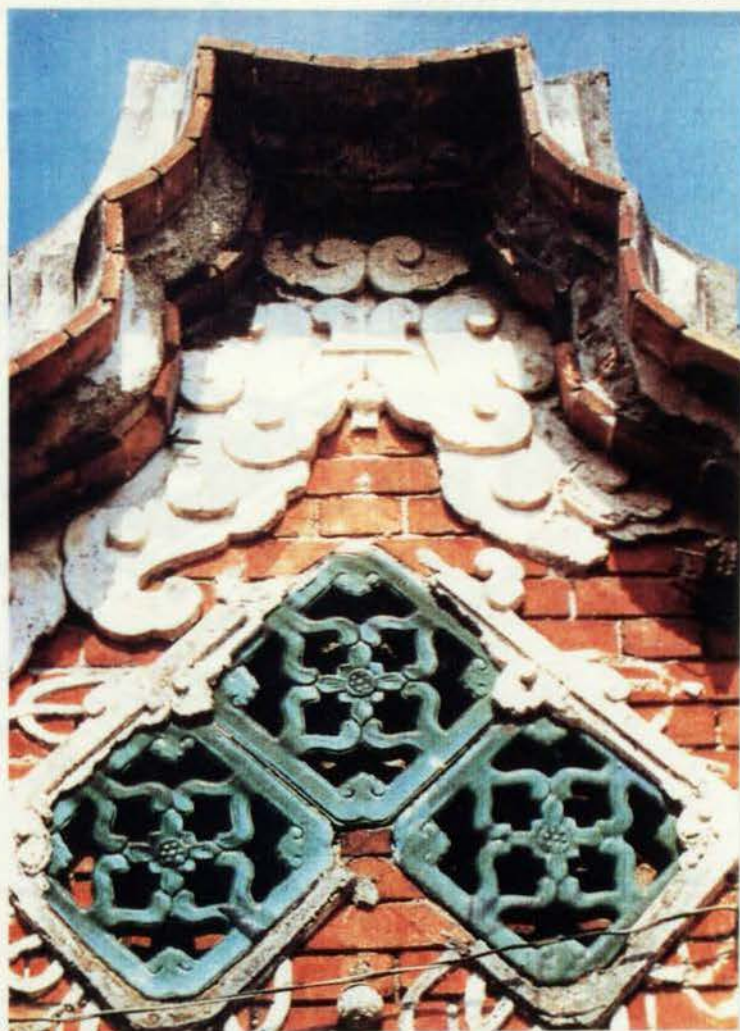
6-62



- fig. 6-63: Lattice door panel in traditional Taiwanese architecture. [*Free China Review*, June 1987, p. 33]
- fig. 6-64: Perforated glazed-bricks on the pediment used as ventilation holes in traditional Taiwanese architecture. [*Free China Review*, June 1987, p.35]

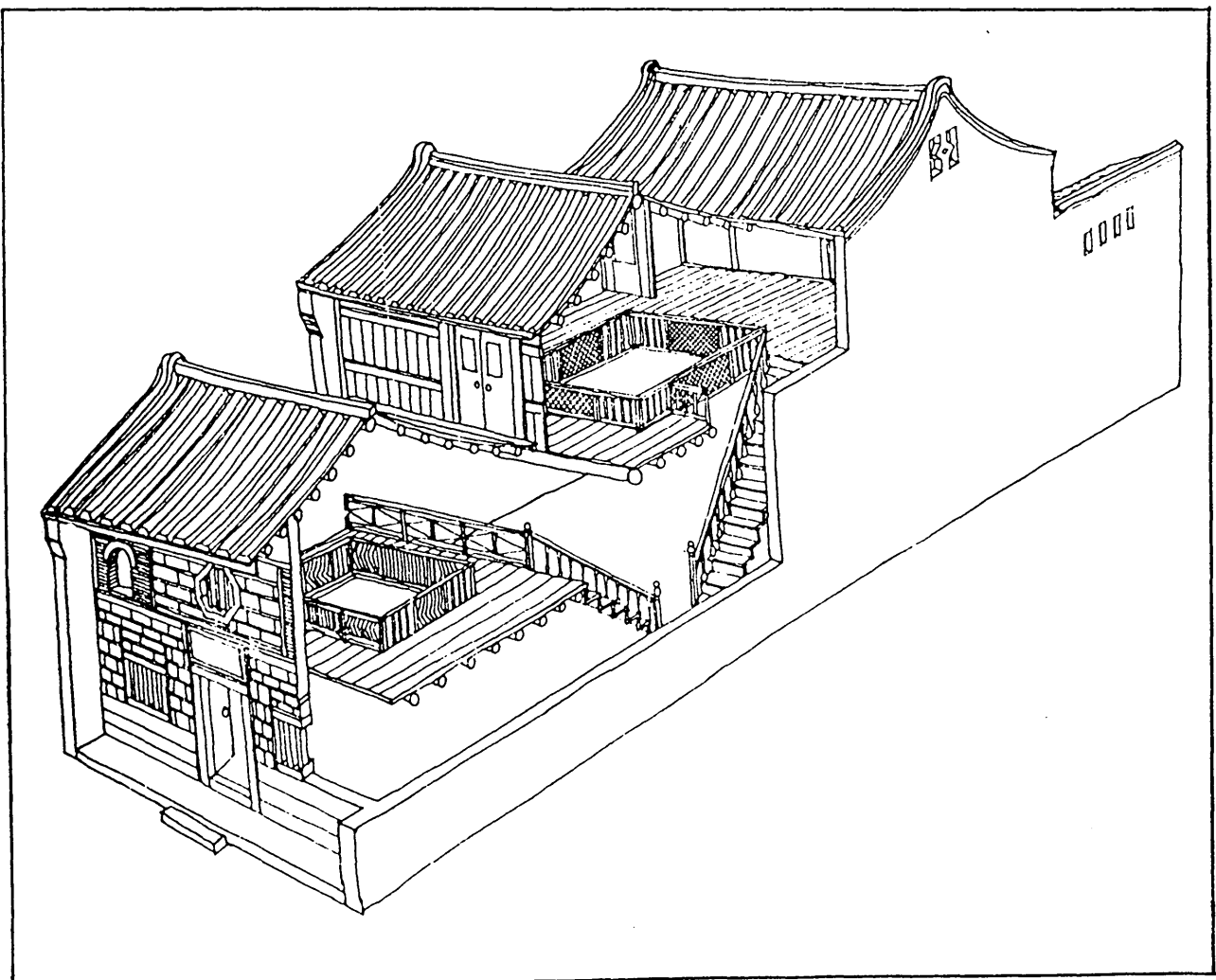
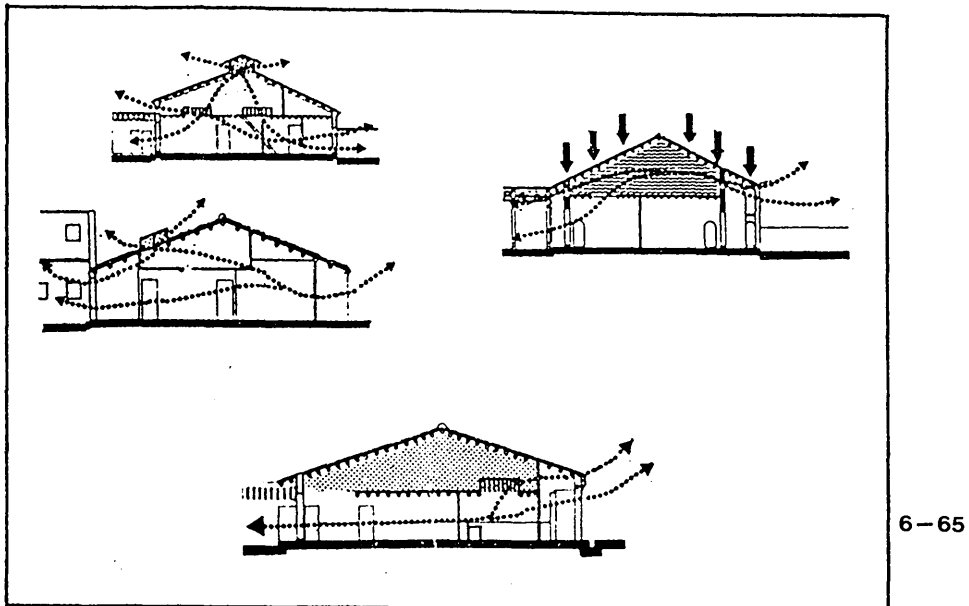


6-63



6-64

- fig. 6-65: Conceptual drawings of air movement through the air-attic in the traditional street house in Taiwan. [Lou-Tsai Huang (1983), p. 54]
- Fig. 6-66: Isometric drawing of the internal atriums in the traditional street house in Taiwan. [Chien-Lang Lee (1979), p. 99]



simple bracket system or columns to form a portico-like space (fig. 6-62). Neither the roofed galleries nor the portico always exist in the northern courtyard compounds.

For maximum ventilation, since air movement affects body cooling, and causes a cooling sensation due to heat loss by convection and due to increased evaporation from the body, the most important thing is to have building so designed that air movement will be accelerated. In a courtyard house, every wall faces directly outdoor space, the lattice door panels, lattice windows, and perforated bricks on the wall are all means of increasing the air movement (figs. 6-63, 6-64). In a street house, which has only narrow front and back facades, 'air-attics' are always provided between the roof and the living floor from which hot air can exit through air holes on the pediment<sup>51</sup> (figs. 6-65, 6-66). The provision of internal atriums inside the street house also help to accelerate the movement of air, thus facilitate the ventilation of the house.

#### 6-4 CONCLUSION

After the above review, the characteristics of the traditional Taiwanese built environment may be summed up as follows. There are a number of settlements in traditional Taiwanese society. Every settlement is conceived by its inhabitants as the centre of the world. Within a settlement, folk-religion temples, symbolic buildings, and symbolic decorations are elements of different levels related to Heaven. Inside a house, the ancestral altar plays the same role. Heaven is connected with Earth through a vertical axis which passes through every folk-religion temple, symbolic building, symbolic decoration, and ancestral altar. Any space passed through by the axis becomes the focus of spatial organisation. Any element passed through by the axis becomes the main theme of built form. The built form and spatial organisation of different houses are the reflection of the human relationships in the community while the allocation of rooms in a house mirror the ethical relationship of the family. A similar relationship exist in the folk-religion temples of a settlement. Both the

<sup>51</sup> The issue of the relationship between climatic conditions and buildings is such a complicated one that a detailed discussion of them will exceed the scope of this these. Therefore I shall not go into any further discussion here. For the general discussion of the subject, see Victor Olgyay's *Design with Climate* (1963). For the climatic considerations for architecture in Taiwan, see Chia-Chi Chen's *A Study on the Climate for Architectural Application in Taiwan* (1987).

built form and spatial organisation of the buildings, however, have to be modified by the physical appearance and climatic conditions of a region in order to achieve a harmonious relationship with nature.

I have gone through the discussion of the characteristics of traditional Taiwanese architecture and elucidated how the worldview of the Taiwanese people is embodied in the built environment. If a comparison is made between these characteristics and the tactical dialectics of Critical Regionalism discussed in the last chapter, a similarity between them will easily be seen. This similarity is by no means accidental. It is because both traditional<sup>a</sup> Taiwanese architecture and Critical Regionalism seek for a wholeness in the built environment which can only be achieved after the worldview of the people becomes embodied. If vernacular architecture can be treated as a reservoir of the inspiration of architects in the West to develop a new architecture which has roots at regional heritage, traditional Taiwanese architecture should be capable of functioning likewise. In the next chapter, I shall assess this possibility.

# CHAPTER SEVEN REGIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN CONTEMPORARY TAIWANESE ARCHITECTURE

## 7-1 INTRODUCTION

Having reviewed the characteristics of traditional Taiwanese architecture, I shall continue in this chapter the discussion of the possibility of developing a new architecture by using them as a critical force. Since 1945 when Taiwan was returned to China by the Japanese Government, two strands of regional consciousness have appeared in the development of modern architecture in Taiwan. The first emerged in the 1950s and 1960s, but it was confined to a very small group of architects and can only be seen in a few buildings designed by them. The second appeared in the late 1970s and since then has become an important trend in contemporary architectural development. The difference between these two strands is that the buildings of the former were basically the result of architects' personal re-interpretation of the traditional heritage, while buildings of the latter are the product of a trend which is heavily dependent on treating architecture as a process of form-creation. The first part of this chapter reviews both of these strands.

The understanding of the characteristics of traditional Taiwanese architecture gained in the last chapter offers a basic framework of criteria by which the development of a new architecture for Taiwan can be judged. As I argued before, the prospects for a new architecture should be determined by a proper understanding of traditional architecture and by using it as a critical force. But the success of a Regionalist approach to architecture in Taiwan is not solely determined by the distinctive characteristics of traditional Taiwanese architecture. It is also decided by whether or not Taiwan possesses all the catalysts I discussed in Chapter Four which facilitate the formation of Regionalism. The subtropical island nature of Taiwan endows her with a unique geographical and climatic conditions that no other parts of the Chinese mainland have. Minnan language, as the mother tongue of the majority of the people, and the folk-religious system on the island also reinforce the solidarity of the people and their culture. The capitalist economy and the democratic system have no counterpart on the Chinese mainland. And tourism is certainly

an issue that the authorities of Taiwan are anxious to promote. In the past, the government emphasized the orthodox Chinese culture as an attraction to tourists. But since China opened its door in the beginning of the 1980s, the regional heritage has become the theme for the government to promote tourism in Taiwan since few would come now to Taiwan to see northern Chinese culture and architecture.

If the resources are abundant and the catalysts are sufficient, the development of a new architecture in Taiwan by a Critical Regionalist approach is nevertheless heavily dependent on how the general public as well as architects view their architectural heritage and to what degree they can learn from it and re-interpret it. Sentimental imitation surely is not an appropriate solution. Both traditional societies in Taiwan and the worldview of the Taiwanese people have changed since the early 20th century. In order to be able to develop an authentic architecture for contemporary Taiwanese society based on its regional heritage, architects must acknowledge this change. The second part of this chapter is an exploration of prospects of developing a new architecture for Taiwan using a Critical Regionalist approach.

## **7-2 REGIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE LATE 1970S AND 1980S**

Many scholars studying social change in Taiwan have concluded that the late 1970s is the time when a strand of regional consciousness emerged in Taiwan in the socio-cultural realm. Beginning from the early 1970s, Taiwan started to suffer from increasing international isolation. On the 25th of November, 1971, the United Nations General Assembly voted by 75 to 36 (with 17 abstentions) to expel Taiwan as a condition of accepting the Communist Government on the mainland as the sole representative of the Chinese Government. This was followed by a series of terminations of diplomatic relations between Taiwan and most countries in the world.<sup>1</sup> Such development gradually became a great stimulus that encouraged the Taiwanese people to search for their own identity rather than relying on foreign models. Vernacularism in literature was most prominent in this wave of regional consciousness. It soon stimulated echoes in the visual arts. The sculpture of

<sup>1</sup> Today, Taiwan only maintains formal diplomatic relations with 28 nations, most of them are rather small Oceanian or Caribbean states.



Ju Ming, the dance of Cloud Gate Dance Ensemble, and films directed by Hou Hsiao-Hsien started to gain their popularity.<sup>2</sup>

In the realm of architecture, this strand of regional consciousness coincided with the establishment of the Centre for Housing and Urban Research at Tunghai University in 1971 led by Han Pao-Teh. The Centre and the Department of Architecture at the same University became a stronghold for research into traditional Taiwanese architecture. Documentations and studies in increasing number have been published on the subject of traditional architecture since then. In 1982, hundreds of traditional buildings built in the regional Minnan style were designated 'National Cultural Heritage' by the government and protected under a new law. The changing attitude of the government towards regional architecture is also witnessed by the fact that the photograph of Nan Yuan, a revivalist Minnan style garden, was chosen as the cover of the 1988 official *Handbook of the Republic of China*, which had been for many decades occupied by buildings of northern Chinese style.

Besides the university and the government, many individuals have been involved in various actions to encourage regional consciousness in architecture. Younger generation scholars such as Lee Chien-Lang and Lin Huei-Chen have been devoted to the study and preservation of traditional Taiwanese architecture. SCALE was established in 1984 by a group of young people with the aim to study and document the regional architecture of Taiwan and to explore the possibility of re-interpretation. It aims to publish a series of books under the title 'Taiwan Regional Architecture Series.' In an article entitled 'Taiwan Hsien-Dai Chien-Chu Ti-Fang Feng-Ge Chih Tsui-Hsun' (In Search of the Regional Style in Contemporary Taiwanese architecture) in *Architecture in Anping* the first of this thesis, the present author advocated the return of using traditional architectural heritage as the aspiration of new architecture.<sup>3</sup> In 1988, he first introduced Kenneth Frampton's Critical Regionalism to architectural

<sup>2</sup> Ju Ming's accomplishments in wood carving was unprecedented in Taiwan in the 1970s. Powerful, vivid figures from Chinese history and legends have been shaped by his facile knife and ax. Cloud Gate Dance Ensemble is the most renowned troupe in Taiwan in the 1970s and 1980s. Led by the innovative choreographer Lin Hwai-Min, the ensemble has managed to successfully combine traditional Chinese dance technique with the contemporary choreography of the West. Most of Hou Hsiao-Hsien's films are about the lives of the Taiwanese people in transitional Taiwanese society. The landscape of Taiwan is often selected for the scene in his films.

<sup>3</sup> See: Chao-Ching Fu (1985b)

circle in Taiwan in the journal *Chinese Architect*<sup>4</sup>

From the beginning of the 1980s, buildings designed with strong regional characteristics started to appear. In order to express their regional consciousness, architects adopted different approaches. Amongst them, revivalist, eclecticist, ornamentalist, and abstractionist are the most prevalent.

### **The Revivalist Approach**

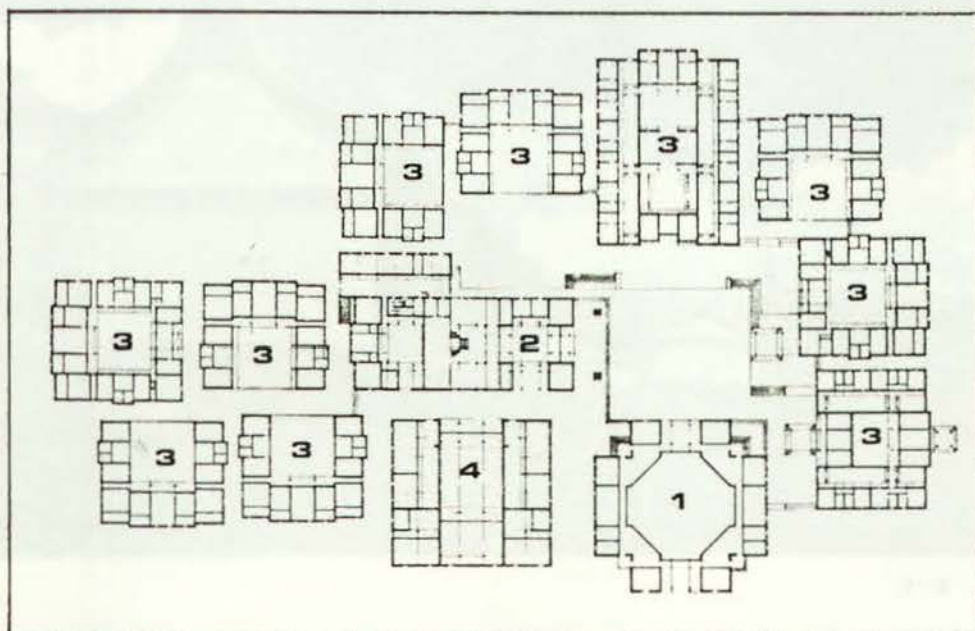
Revivalism is the most straightforward and superficial Regionalist approach. In buildings designed following this approach, aspects, usually visual ones, are copied directly from traditional models without making any major change. The Kenting Youth Centre and Hostel in Kenting (1983), designed by Han-Kwang Architects, is a typical example. The centre and hostel, located within the Kenting National Park in the southern part of Taiwan, is a replica of a traditional *ho-yuan* settlement. Ten courtyard houses, diverse in size and style, are arranged around the centrally located refectory, seminar rooms, assembly hall, and offices. A square is provided in front of the assembly hall in an attempt to evoke an image of the square in front of a folk-religion temple. The assembly hall itself, being the richest in terms of the style and decoration, is the main focus of public activities and is portrayed by architects as a traditional folk-religion temple. In general, the built form and spatial organisation of all buildings in this centre and hostel follow the principles of traditional models, though some are not very skilfully copied. However, the wooden structure used in the traditional house is replaced by modern reinforced concrete in most places (figs. 7-1, 7-2, 7-3).

Nan Yuan, which literally means the Southern Land, in Hsinchu (1984), designed by the same architects, also demonstrates architects' over-reliance upon copying traditional models.<sup>5</sup> The project, located on a piece of sloping land, is surrounded by hills on three sides, and on the other, has a panoramic view towards the valley. Geomantically speaking, its location is in a 'lair' which

<sup>4</sup> See: Chao-Ching Fu (1988a)

<sup>5</sup> Nan Yuan is officially called "The Staff Recreation Centre of the United Daily News Group." It was built by Wang Tih-Wu, the president-director of the United Daily News Group as a holiday resort for his family and the staff members of his enterprises.

- fig. 7-1: Kenting Youth Centre and Hostel, Kenting, 1983. Architects: Han-Kwang Architects. Ground floor plan. (1. assembly hall, 2. refectory, 3. dormitories, 4. seminar rooms) [*Chinese Architect*, June 1985, p. 58]
- fig. 7-2: Kenting Youth Centre and Hostel, Kenting, 1983. Architects: Han-Kwang Architects. Exterior view of the assembly hall. [*Chinese Architect*, June 1985, p. 61]



7-1



7-2



- fig. 7-3: Kenting Youth Centre and Hostel, Kenting, 1983. Architects: Han-Kwang Architects. Exterior view of the dormitory. [author]
- fig. 7-4: Nan Yuan, Hsinchu, 1984. Architects: Han-Kwang Architects. Aerial view. [*Free China Review*, August-September 1986, pp. 4-5]



7-3



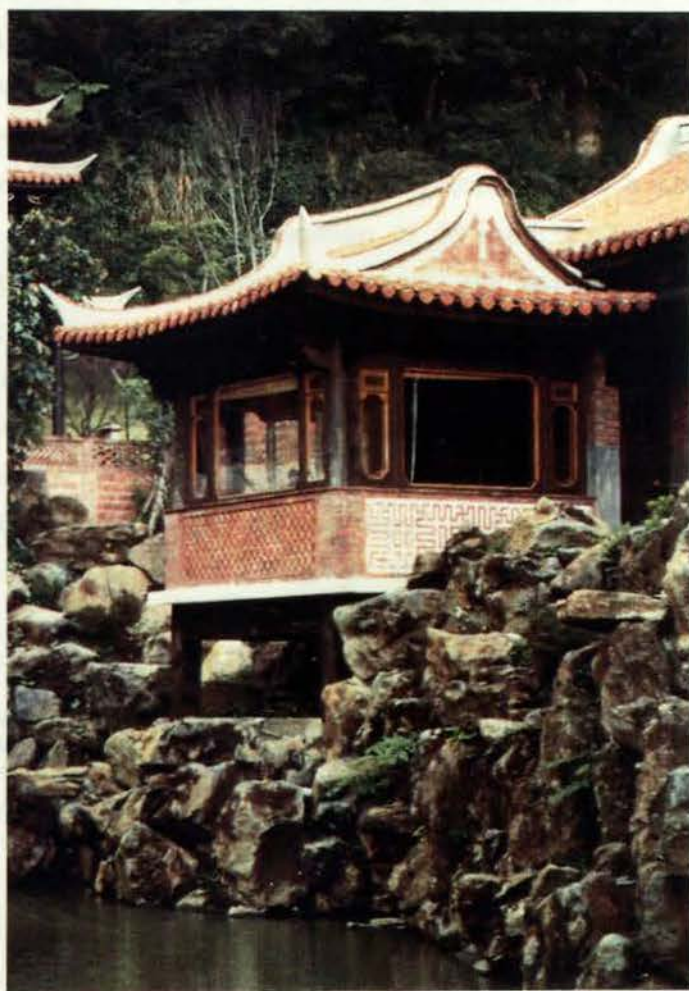
7-4



- fig. 7-5: Nan Yuan, Hsinchu, 1984. Architects: Han-Kwang Architects. Panorama of the valley from Nan Lou, the Southern Building. [author]
- fig. 7-6: Nan Yuan, Hsinchu, 1984. Architects: Han-Kwang Architects. View of the pavilion. [author]



7-5



7-6

is good in terms of *feng-Shui* theory. The project is made up of a free-form pond surrounded by pavilions and galleries along with a main building called Nan Lou (the Southern Building) which is reserved as the lodging for the owner. All buildings were designed in the Minnan style. The styles and materials used in these buildings are basically modelled on traditional buildings. The pond flaunts small boats, an arched bridge, a zigzag bridge, and a cascade. Surrounding it are stones piled into various shapes, beside some weeping willows. However, the result amounts to nothing but a collage of buildings of various styles (figs. 7-4, 7-5, 7-6).

### The Eclecticist Approach

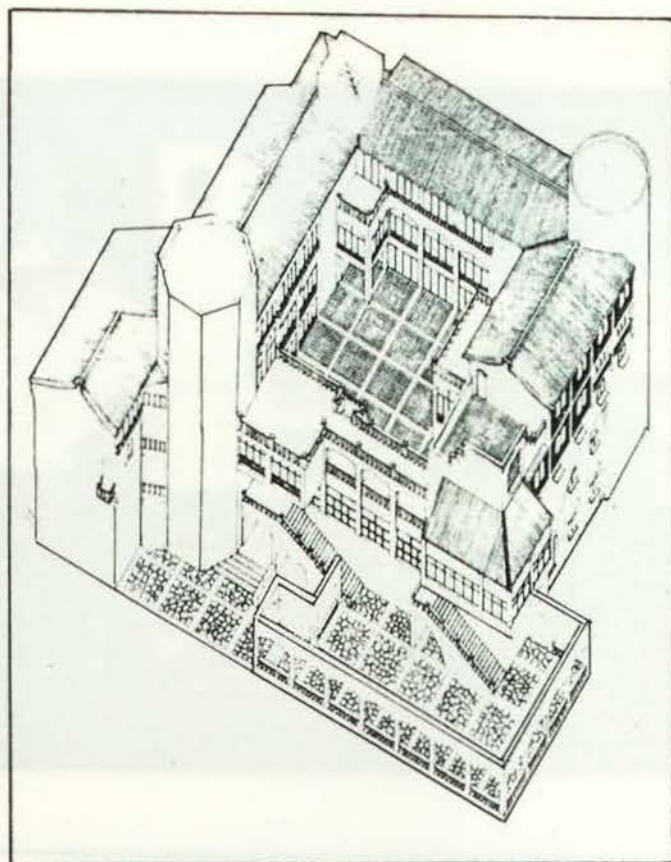
Very easily confused with the revivalist approach is the eclecticist approach. The difference is that the former follows the basic principles of the traditional model in a building, though different buildings may rely on different models, while the latter usually draws elements from different sources and applies them to a single building without following any strict rules of traditional models.

The Penghu Youth Centre and Hostel on Penghu Island (1984), which was also designed by Han-Kwang Architects, exemplifies this approach. Rooms of various functions are arranged to form a central courtyard by which the architects attempted to imply metaphorically the image of a fortification in order for the users to retreat from the strong wind and sunshine on the island.<sup>6</sup> Although the built form and spatial organisation of this building contain traceable elements from traditional Taiwanese architecture, a conscious break with it by way of the eclectic application of different traditional elements is clear. The northwest and southeast corners are occupied respectively by circular and octagonal circulation cores. At the northeast and southwest corners, space is used either for function rooms or lavatories. Between these corners are rooms crowned with roofs of different styles. The rustic searocks used in the lower part of the building, which are a local product, are combined with a whitewashed plaster wall on the upper part of the building to form a contrast. To the west of the building, an arched-frame made of searocks is

<sup>6</sup> Han-Kwang Architects (1984), pp. 40-41. Penghu, or the Pescadores as called by the westerners, is made up of 64 small islands to the west of the main island of Taiwan. It is noted for its gustily windy weather.



- fig. 7-7: Penghu Youth Centre and Hostel, Penghu, 1984. Architects: Han-Kwang Architects. Isometric drawing. [*Chinese Architect*, September 1984, p. 39]
- fig. 7-8: Penghu Youth Centre and Hostel, Penghu, 1984. Architects: Han-Kwang Architects. Exterior view. [*Chinese Architect*, September 1984, p. cover]

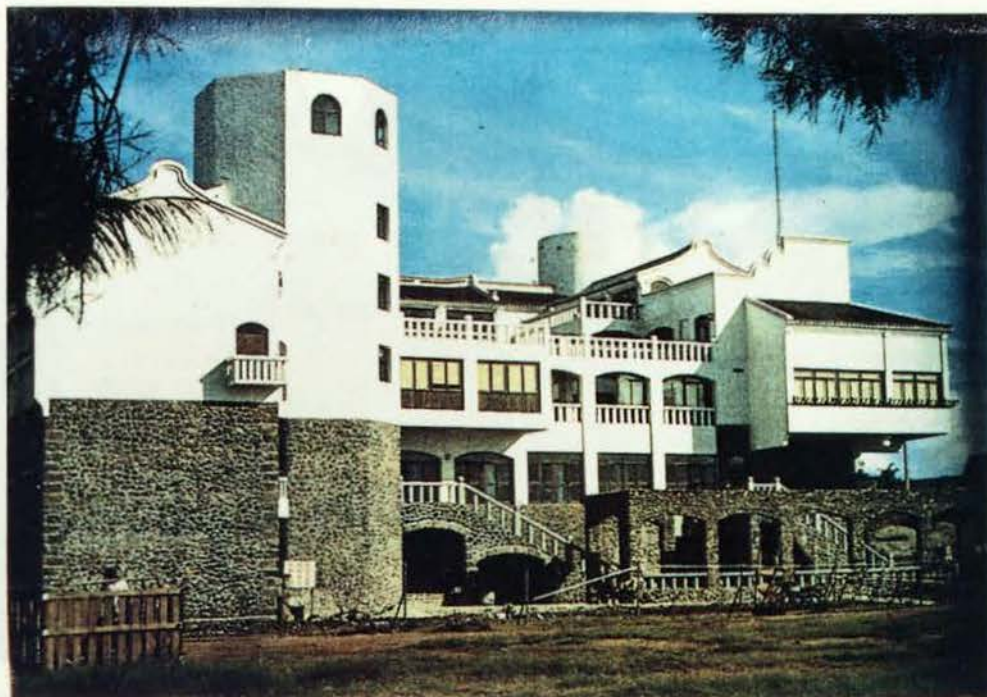


7-7

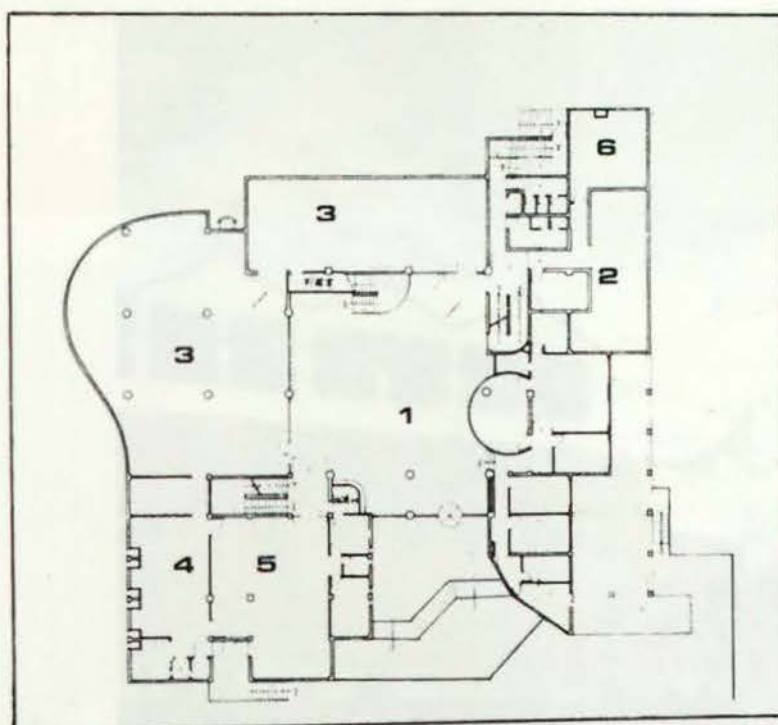


7-8

- fig. 7-9: Penghu Youth Centre and Hostel, Penghu, 1984. Architects: Han-Kwang Architects. Exterior view. [*Chinese Architect*, September 1984, p. 40]
- fig. 7-10: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, Taipei, 1985. Architects: Han-Kwang Architects. Ground floor plan. (1. lobby, 2. office, 3. exhibition room, 4. storage room, 5. maintenance and repair room, 6. mechanical room) [*Chinese Architect*, January 1986, p. 92]



7-9



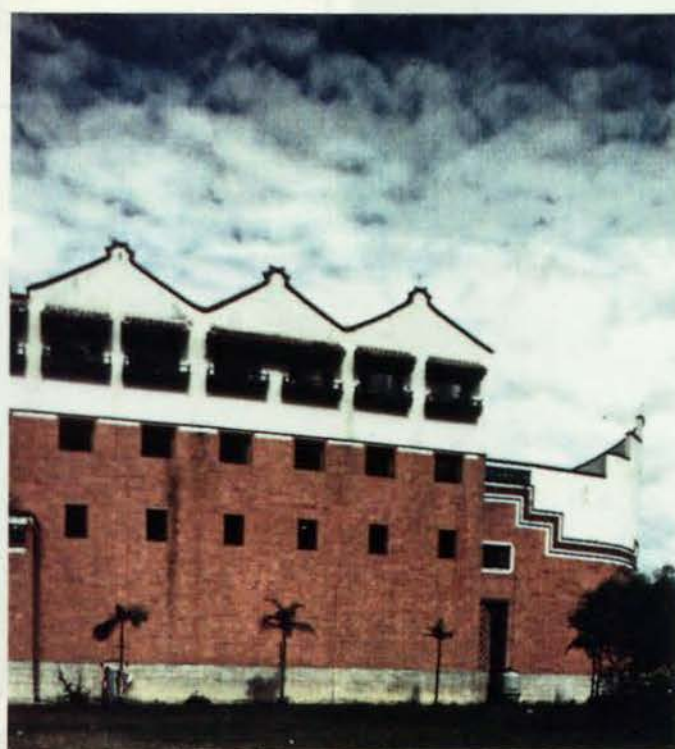
7-10



- fig. 7-11: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, Taipei, 1985. Architects: Han-Kwang Architects. Exterior view. [*Chinese Architect* January 1986, p. 90]
- fig. 7-12: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, Taipei, 1985. Architects: Han-Kwang Architects. Exterior view. [author]

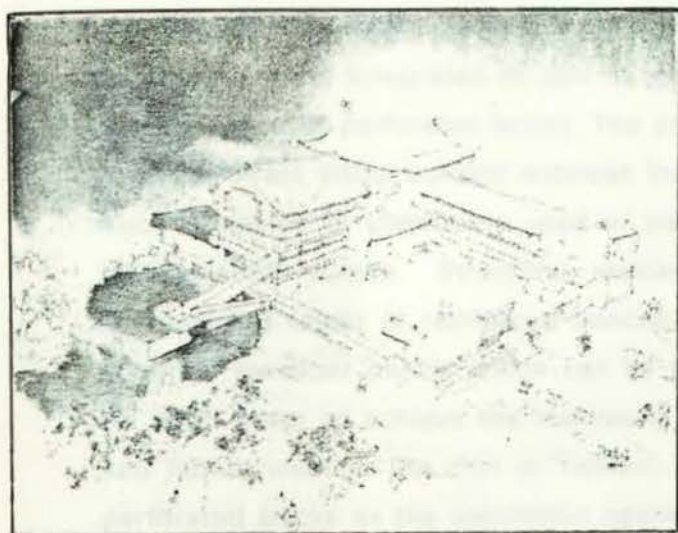


7-11

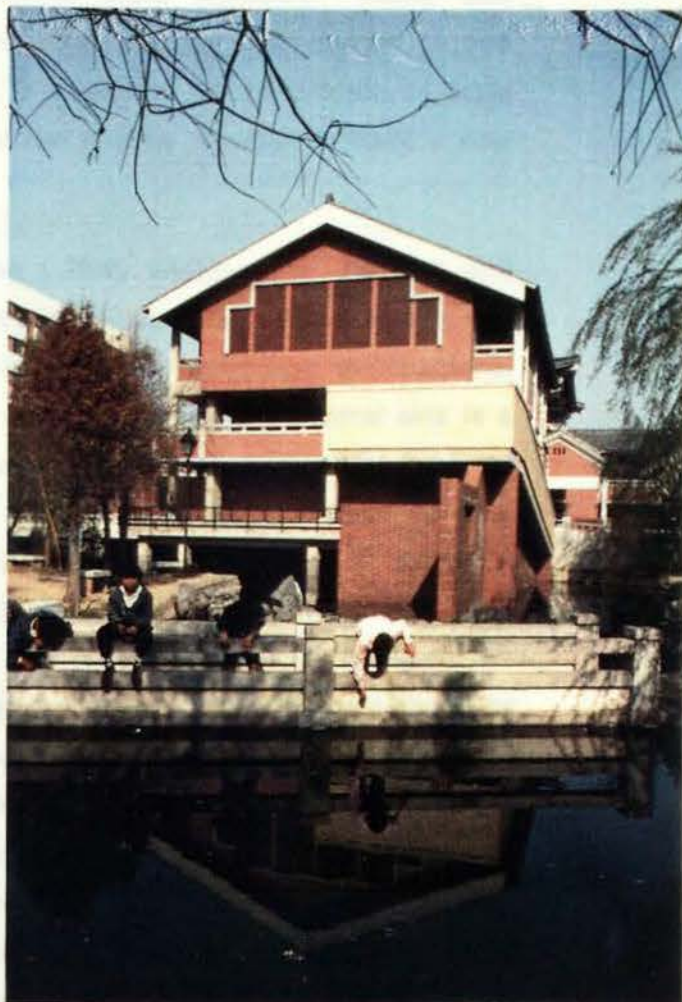


7-12

- fig. 7-13: Centre for the Elderly, Taichung, 1984. Architects: Zan H.F. and Chuang F.H.. Perspective. [*Chinese Architect*, March 1984, p. 70]
- fig. 7-14: Centre for the Elderly, Taichung, 1984. Architects: Zan H.F. and Chuang F.H. Exterior view. [author]
- fig. 7-15: Centre for the Elderly, Taichung, 1984. Architects: Zan H.F. and Chuang F.H. View from the garden. [author]



7-13



7-15



7-14

used as an element to delimit the territory of the centre. Throughout the building, there are consciously created juxtapositions of different elements (figs. 7-7, 7-8, 7-9).

A very similar approach by the same architects can be seen in the Institute of Ethnology at Academia Sinica in Taipei (1985). The lower part of the building is now replaced by red bricks while the upper part remains the whitewashed plaster wall which is pierced by traditional style windows. Roofs and decorations of different styles are randomly used, usually with certain degree of mutation or exaggeration. For example, a pediment of the traditional style was cut ironically by the architects right in the middle in order to have a row of windows (figs. 7-10, 7-11, 7-12).

The Centre for the Elderly in Taichung (1984), designed by Zan H.F. and Chuang F.H., can also be categorised as an eclectic building. The building has a L-Shaped plan which is fenced by a waist-high wall decorated in traditional manner. Jars are integrated as part of the wall. Located on the central axis is a screen, made of perforated bricks. The screen functions as a transitional object to avoid direct visual contact between the people inside and passersby outside. Such a device is commonly used in traditional houses where it is called an evil-resisting screen. Structural elements, inspired by traditional structural systems but made of reinforced concrete, are clearly expressed. Between the columns are door panels which can be opened completely when necessary to do so in order to achieve the maximum ventilation which is important in a hot and humid weather like that in Taiwan. The use of the long eave, and that of perforated bricks as the ventilation opening on the pediment, are both gestures responsive to regional climatic and functional needs. The building also includes some modern innovations so as to mark its contemporaneity. The ramp connecting the building and the garden is a case in point. (figs. 7-13, 7-14, 7-15).

### **The Ornamentalist Approach**

Both revivalist and eclecticist approaches are, in some sense, restrictive, because they aim to create the image of traditional models. Under such circumstance, their application is limited to low-rise buildings located on spacious sites. They can hardly meet the needs of a dense urban setting. In order to seek for proper solutions, some architects have boldly tried a new



alternative which I call the ornamentalist approach. In this approach, traditional architectural motifs are applied mainly as ornaments to give the building a regional colour. The proportion of the applied motifs to the whole building is so small that the image of traditional models no longer exists.

The Ta-An Public Housing Project in Taipei (1984), designed by Lee C.Y., is a pioneering example of such an approach. The project is located on a site consisting of two blocks. To the west of the site is an elevated highway. The architect put a group of taller buildings, ranging from 13 to 18 storey, on the western block, while several 7-storey buildings are placed in the eastern block. The reason why the architect made such a site plan is partly to maximise building volume under a given floor area ratio of 4.2, and partly to create an inward looking urban space by using taller buildings as the boundary.<sup>7</sup> In the middle of the taller buildings is a communal Chinese garden designed in strong Post-Modern style. All the flats in this housing project are oriented towards south, and have three balconies, which are preferred from their climatic and geomantic benefits.

However, the most striking element of this project is its skyline in which the architect experimented with the possibility of crowning high-rise buildings with traditional style pediments. Different 'horse-back' traditional pediment styles are applied to the top of high-rise towers. The motivation of this application is mainly to give the high-rise buildings a new look; the original meaning and function of such traditional pediments are ignored. A number of people have criticised such pediments as being similar to the shape of the traditional tombstones; but such responses caught the architect totally by surprise. Lee says that "this is purely a matter of imagination and is completely beyond what an architect can forecast."<sup>8</sup> However, no one seems to deny the skyline of this housing project contributes greatly to enrich the monotonous city-scape of Taiwan (figs. 7-16, 7-17, 7-18).

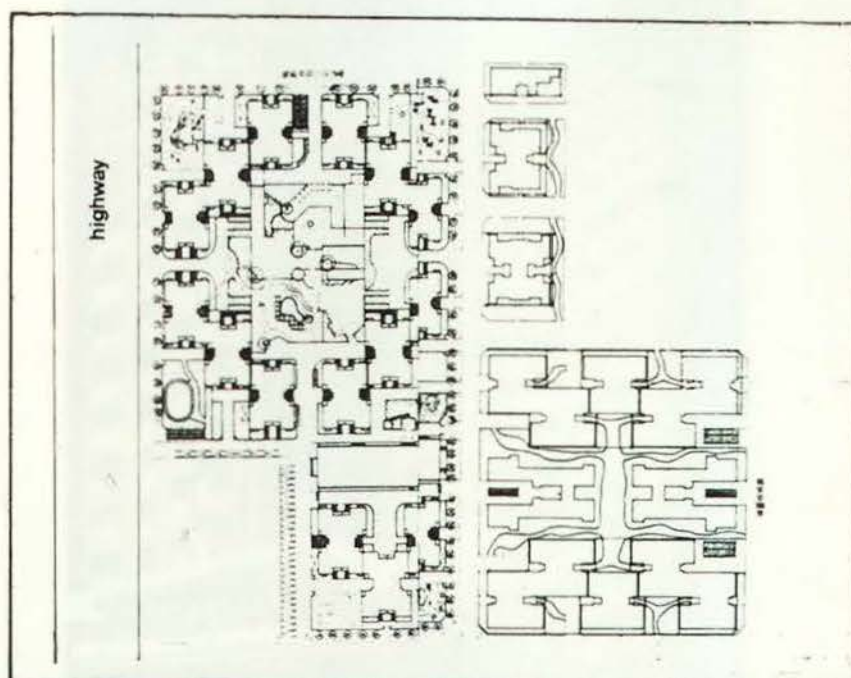
Despite the controversial debate on the Ta-An Public Housing, Lee C.Y. continued his experiments in Tung Wang Han Kung, another housing

<sup>7</sup> C.Y. Lee and Associates (1985), p. 72.

<sup>8</sup> C.Y. Lee, quoted in Chiao-Hao Chang (1987a), p. 18.



- fig. 7-16: Ta-An Public Housing Project, Taipei, 1984. Architect: Lee C.Y. Site plan. [*Chinese Architect* June 1985, pp. 68-69]
- fig. 7-17: Ta-An Public Housing Project, Taipei, 1984. Architect: Lee C.Y. Panorama of the project. [*Chinese Architect* June 1985, pp. 68-69]



7-16



7-17

- fig. 7-18: Ta-An Public Housing project, Taipei, 1984. Architect: Lee C.Y. View from the communal garden. [author]
- fig. 7-19: Tung Wang Han Kung Housing Development, Taipei, 1987. Architect: Lee C.Y. Panorama of the development. [ARCH, Trial Issue, December 1989, p. 47]



7-18



7-19



- fig. 7-20: Tung Wang Han Kung Housing Development, Taipei, 1987. Architect: Lee C.Y. View of a residential tower. [*ARCH*, Trial Issue, December 1989, p. 46]
- fig. 7-21: Tung Wang Han Kung Housing Development, Taipei, 1987. Architect: Lee C.Y. Details of the facade. [*Free China Review*, June 1987, p. 15]

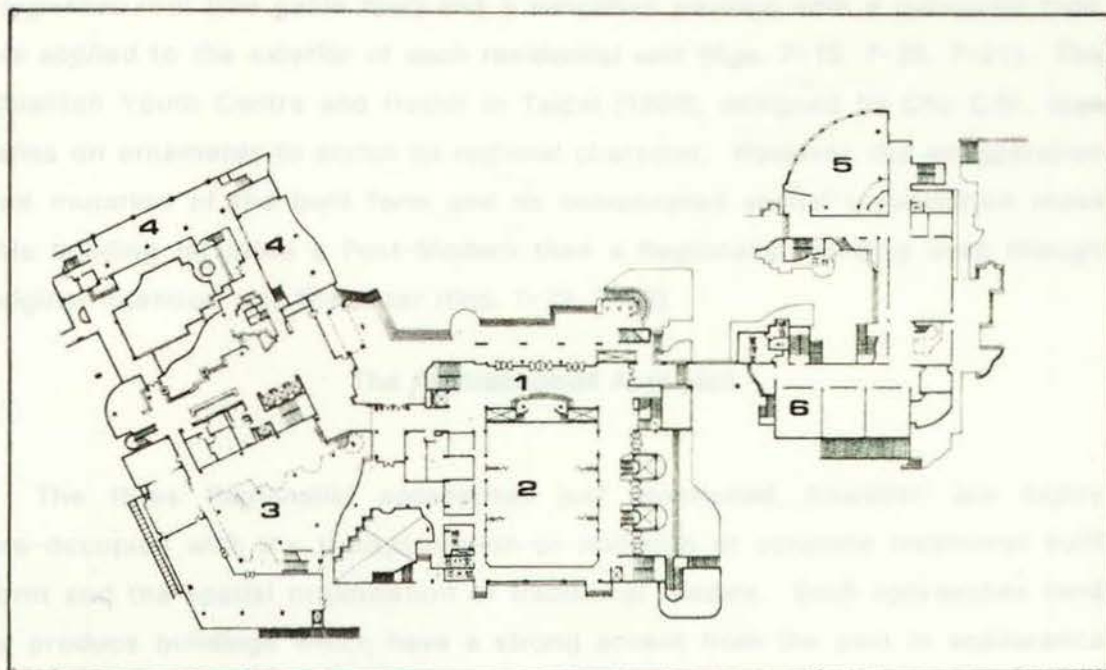


7-20



7-21

- fig. 7-22: Chientan Youth Centre and Hostel, Taipei, 1988. Architect: Chu C.M. Ground floor plan. (1. lobby, 2. auditorium, 3. refectory, 4. coffee shop, 5. lecture room, 6. offices) [*Chinese Architect*, January 1989, p. 123]
- fig. 7-23: Chientan Youth Centre and Hostel, Taipei, 1988. Architect: Chu C.M. Exterior view. [*Chinese Architect*, January 1989, p. 123]



7-22



7-23

development in Taipei (1987). Similar to the Ta-An Public Housing, the forms of rooftop are derived from traditional models (in this case the distinction between the Minnan style and northern Chinese style is not made clear by the architect). However, the skyline is not the main theme of the experiment as it was in the Ta-An Public Housing. In this development, the main theme is the facade, on which two types of traditional image, a moon window with a *ying-shan* roof (the gable roof) and a simplified pavilion with a pyramidal roof, are applied to the exterior of each residential unit (figs. 7-19, 7-20, 7-21). The Chientan Youth Centre and Hostel in Taipei (1988), designed by Chu C.M., also relies on ornaments to enrich its regional character. However, the exaggeration and mutation of the built form and its complicated spatial organisation make this building far more a Post-Modern than a Regionalist building even though original intention was the latter (figs. 7-22, 7-23).

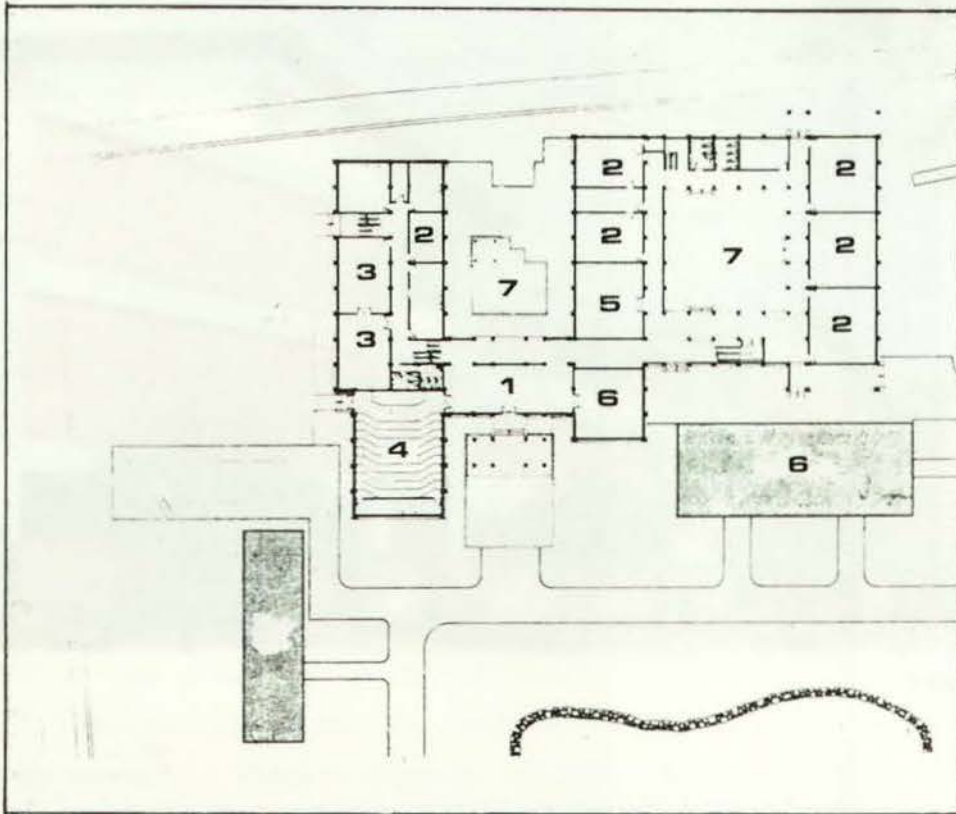
### **The Abstractionist Approach**

The three Regionalist approaches just mentioned, however, are highly pre-occupied with the transplantation or imitation of concrete traditional built form and the spatial organisation of traditional models. Such approaches tend to produce buildings which have a strong accent from the past in appearance rather than a building with an emphasis on contemporaneity. Some architects have realised this danger and tried to abstract traditional elements so that the buildings can be designed and built within the parameters of modern architecture.

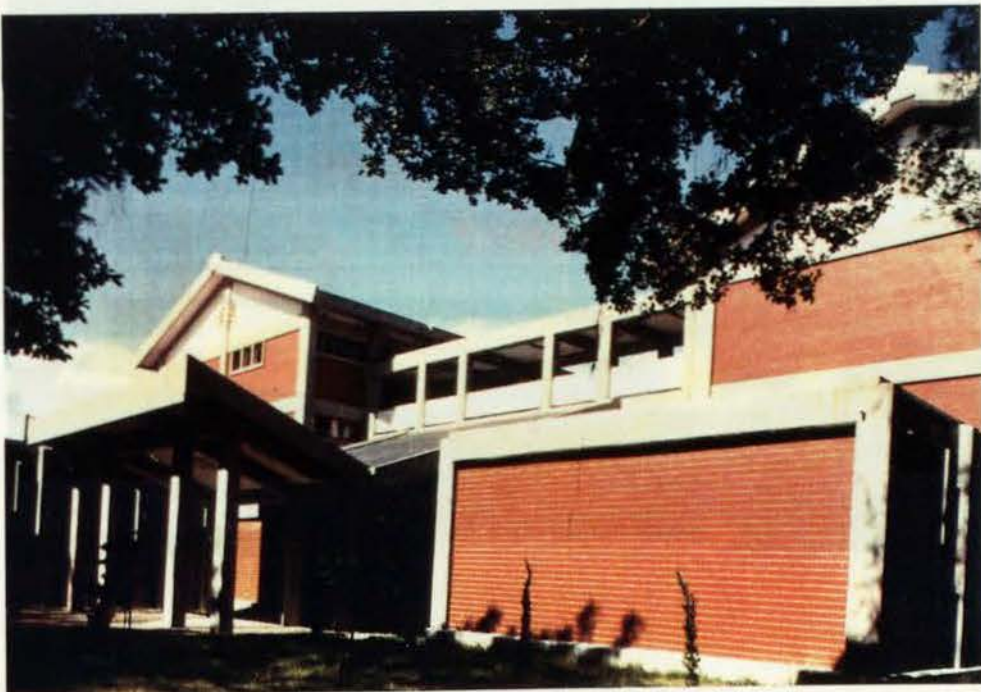
The Faculty of Letters at the National Cheng-Kung University in Tainan (1984), designed by Wang Da-Hong, is a case in point. In this building, the architect did not use any elements directly from the past. Nevertheless, traditional models are still traceable in its abstract form. Spatially, classrooms and offices are arranged around two courtyards. Within one courtyard there is a pavilion which is also abstracted from a traditional model. All beams and columns are exposed to achieve an architectonic quality similar to that of traditional houses. Roofs and entrances are derived from the traditional models, but the complicated bracket system and decorations are excluded. In the entrance portico and the ventilation openings on the pediment, mutations are consciously created to distinguish the building from a traditional one (figs. 7-24, 7-25, 7-26).



- fig. 7-24: Faculty of Letters, National Cheng Kung University, Tainan, 1984. Architect: Wang Da-Hong. Ground floor plan. (1. lobby, 2. offices, 3. library, 4. lecture room, 5. seminar room, 6. exhibition room, 7. courtyards) [*Chinese Architect*, July 1984, p. 78]
- fig. 7-25: Faculty of Letters, National Cheng Kung University, Tainan, 1984. Architect: Wang Da-Hong. Exterior view. [author]



7-24



7-25



- fig. 7-26: Faculty of Letters, National Cheng Kung University, Tainan, 1984. Architect: Wang Da-Hong. Exterior view. [author]
- fig. 7-27: Tz'u-An Building, San-Dao Buddhist Monastery, Taipei, 1984. Architect: Wang Chao-Fan. Exterior view. [author]



7-26



7-27

Since certain basic concepts such as the structural frame system, curtain wall, and modular system of modern architecture have their equivalents in traditional Taiwanese architecture, some architects tend to think the regional character of a building can be achieved by the 'abstraction' or 'simplication' of structural elements. Tz'u-An Building of San-Dao Buddhist Monastery in Taipei (1984), designed by Wang Chao-Fan, has witnessed this tendency. In this building, the traditional roof rafters are re-interpreted by the architect through the exposure of small beams under the balcony of each floor in order to create an image of the traditional tower or pagoda. Instead of reviving the traditional styles and appropriating decorations directly, the architect tries to transform the image of the traditional models by using modern expression. (fig. 7-27)

There is no doubt that there are good qualities in some buildings designed by revivalist, eclecticist, ornamentalist, and abstractionist approaches. And they do contribute, varying in degree, to the resistance to the increasingly internationalised built environment of Taiwan. But problems and dilemmas always accompany these approaches. Buildings designed by the revivalist approach might superficially evoke people's nostalgia of the past and offer them the opportunity to experience the traditional space. But their contribution is limited. As it happens, these buildings are often treated by people as kinds of 'museum' or 'folk village' which are deliberately created to entertain visitors visually.<sup>9</sup> They do not reflect the real socio-cultural aspects of modern Taiwanese society, let alone its tradition. Buildings designed by the eclecticist approach differ very little from the Western Post-Modern buildings in terms of the attitude and manipulations of the architects except for their use of traditional Taiwanese architectural motifs. They are more critical than their revivalist counterparts, but the emphasis is still on their visual prominence. In many cases, those who are obsessed with the revivalist approach tend to design eclectic buildings as well. Han-Kwang Architects are such an example. One of the main concerns of revivalist and eclecticist architects is to evoke

<sup>9</sup> For example, one writer compares the journey to Nan Yuan with that of the tale of a fisherman's trip to 'the Land of Peach Blossoms' narrated by Tao Chien (372-427 A.D.) The tale tells that during the reign of the Eastern Tsin Emperor Hsiayu (376-396 A.D.), a fisherman, losing all awareness of the extent of his travel along a small river, suddenly came on a grove of blossoming peach trees by a pool of water at the base of a hill. Then he followed a narrow path and reached a piece of open land, with houses and other structures set at intervals in fine fields dotted with bright ponds, mulberry trees, bamboos, and the like. He claims that the traveller may lose track of both distance and time in Nan Yuan, as did Tao Chien's fisherman. See: Yung-Li Tseng (1986), pp. 2-11.

emotional links with the past by adopting traditional motifs and materials. This is witnessed in Han Pao-Teh's explanation of his use of them:

Materials play a pivotal role in the integration of traditional and modern motifs. For example, wood was the preferred material in the past. Since it was the basic construction material, the framework for construction also was formed of wood. ... From a practical point of view, it is not the best material for modern construction because the material does not last long enough. However, wood does have emotional value, and this cannot be forgotten.<sup>10</sup>

The ornamentalist approach seems to be a better alternative than either revivalism or eclecticism because it does not confine itself to the rigid image of the traditional models and can meet the needs of a highly urbanised setting, while at the same time maintaining a link with the place and the past. When talking about the motivation of his design of the Ta-An Public Housing Project, the architect Lee said that "I would like residents to be able to identify their houses by their particular characteristics, such as a unique roofline or a specially shaped façade, rather than just by street names and floor numbers."<sup>11</sup> Even though such aim is very difficult to achieve satisfactorily, the contribution of the buildings designed by the ornamentalist approach to save Taiwanese cities from the danger of becoming architecturally indistinguishable from other international cities should be given some credit.

Buildings designed by the abstractionist approach are basically modern in appearance. They faithfully reflect the attitude of their designers who on the one hand believe in the tenets of modern architecture, and on the other hold to the concept that a building should be 'regional' to some degree. One difficulty of this approach is that since it emphasizes the 'major' elements of the building such as the roof and the structure, it tends to ignore the 'minor' elements such as decoration which are also important in traditional buildings.

There is no doubt that the integration of traditional motifs with modern architecture creates some new possibilities. And the buildings I just discussed show a certain freshness when compared with the monotonous International

<sup>10</sup> Pao-Teh Han, quoted in Chiao-Hao Chang (1987a), p. 9.

<sup>11</sup> C.Y. Lee, quoted in Chiao-Hao Chang (1987b), p. 19

Style and extravagant northern Chinese style buildings. But in all these approaches, the majority of the architects draw their inspiration mainly from formal elements, particular the roof style, and the notion of the courtyard house. They have not yet found a completely satisfactory answer either to themselves or to the public. Those who are in favour of a re-creation of traditional formal elements are easily trapped into the danger of producing pastiche. Those who emphasize the application of traditional spatial arrangements can become obsessed with treating architecture as merely a tactic of space. Without considering their suitability, traditional spatial concepts might become only a constraint to the expression of a design.

The problem is that in all of these Regionalist approaches, the emphasis, as in many other approaches, is given to the external appearance of the building. Their success is judged by their ability to mediate the conflicts between the physical appearance of the built environment and how well they function spatially. They lack the inner qualities which reflect the worldview of the people. Scarcely any architect could plausibly explain how and why some features of traditional Taiwanese architecture consistently persisted through the whole traditional period and are still applied in many new houses. Architects are puzzled about their application of various traditional elements to new buildings because the criteria for choice do not exist. Many of them tend to deal with aspects of architecture that are only very superficial and peripheral to its value as architecture.

### **7-3 REGIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE 1950S AND 1960S**

In spite of the fact that regional consciousness became significant in the late 1970s and early 1980s and from that time the subject became an issue frequently talked about and vigorously debated, there emerged as early as in the 1950s ( when most new buildings in Taiwan were designed with northern Chinese style or the International Style) a subtle strand of regional consciousness in the work of some architects. During the 1950s and 1960s, the idea of 'Regionalism' was not yet considered as a concept and an approach in Taiwanese architectural circles. Yet some buildings built during that time demonstrate a subtle attempt to give achitecture a regional identity.

The first phase of campus development of Tunghai University in Taichung (1955-c.1960), designed by Pei I.M., Chang C.K., and Chen C.K., is one of the earliest examples in Taiwan designed with a conscious attempt to create a new

style of architecture for Taiwan. Buildings are arranged along a central axis which has a chapel at one end and a bell at the other. The traditional courtyard house was used as the model for designing most buildings. Most of them have a two-storey main building symmetrically flanked by a one-storey building at each side. A gate house is often provided in a courtyard unit, and the whole courtyard compound is connected by roofed galleries. The materials (grey tiles for the roof, red bricks for the wall, concrete for the structural frame of the buildings, and wood for doors, windows, and the structure of the roofed galleries) are simple but 'regional' in character (figs. 7-28, 7-29).

The design of these buildings was not focused on their visual prominence, but based on a humanist attitude in order to be harmonious with the forest surrounding the site. The materials are clearly expressed and the architectonic quality achieved through the detail of the joints of different components made of different materials. Such manipulation was "a great shock to the architectural circles at that time, because it emancipated architects from treating architecture as merely surface expression which was the most common approach adopted by Taiwanese architects during that time. The expression of the authentic quality of every material used in these buildings was clear."<sup>12</sup> The response to the climate is also expressed in many ways. The ventilation is well achieved by the windows on both longitudinal sides of the classrooms, and offices and roofed galleries protect people from rain and strong sunlight.

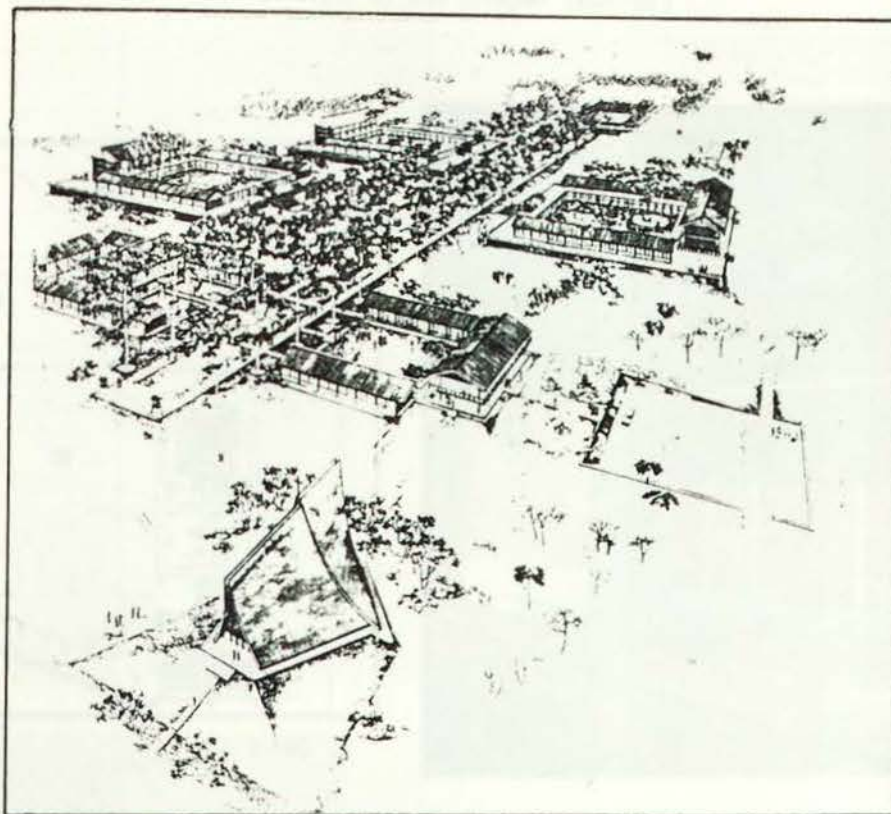
The Pi-Yeh Catholic Seminary in Tainan (1960), designed by He Chen-T'zu, uses traditional referents throughout the whole building. The seminary consists of a gatehouse, a chapel, several classrooms and living quarters. The wall of the gatehouse is made of red bricks and is pierced by traditional perforated green glazed-bricks. The panels of the main gate have a dimension whose proportion is based on the traditional model and its bright red colour also reinforces the sense of regional identity. Immediately after the main gate is a moon gate, from which a central axis leads towards the chapel which is connected with other buildings by a network of galleries. The chapel is surrounded by water which helps to create a sense of tranquillity. The red brick wall of the chapel is a contrast to the whitewashed walls of the classroom. Its

---

<sup>12</sup> Li-Fu Wang, Chien-Lang Lee and Chao-Lee Kuo (1985), p.39.



- fig. 7-28: First Phase Campus Development, Tunghai University, Taichung, 1955-c.1960. Architects: Pei I.M., Chang C.K., and Chen C.K. Perspective. [*Chinese Architect*, July 1984, p. 51]
- fig. 7-29: First Phase Campus Development, Tunghai University, Taichung, 1943-c.1960. Architects: Pei I.M., Chang C.K., and Chen C.K. View of a typical courtyard building on the campus. [author]



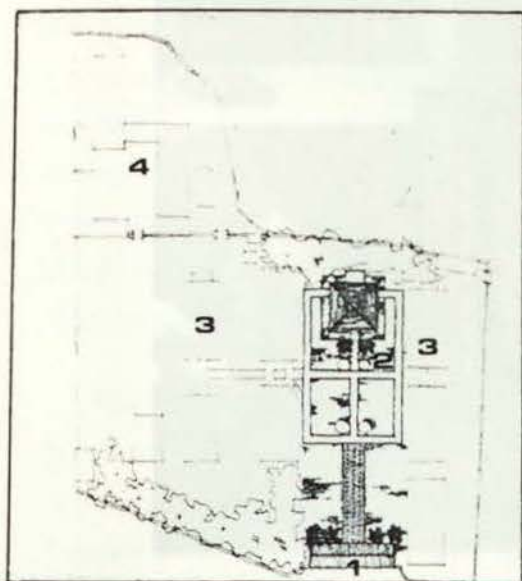
7-28



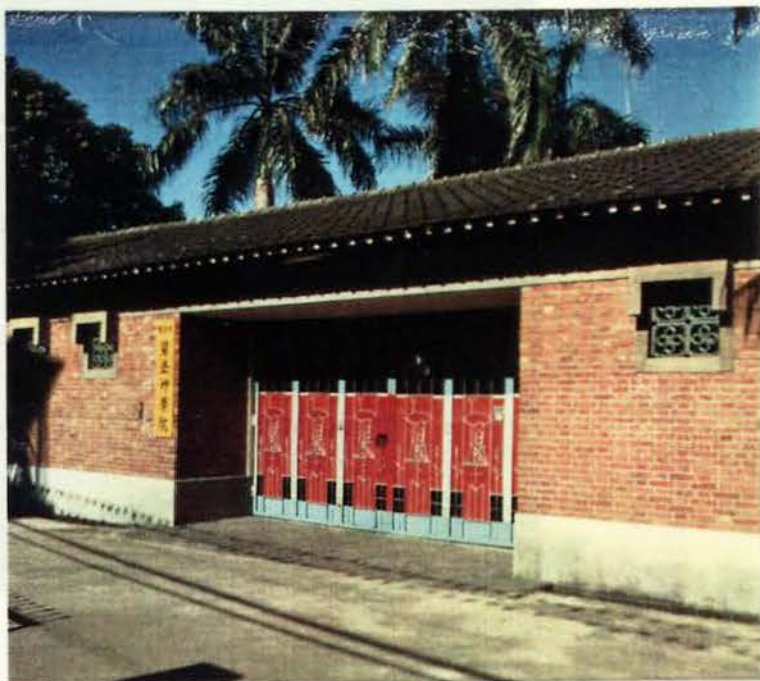
7-29



- fig. 7-30: Pi-Yeh Catholic Seminary, Tainan, 1960. Architect: He Chen-T'zu. Site plan. (1. gatehouse, 2. chapel, 3. classrooms, 4. dormitory) [*Chinese Architect*, July 1984, p. 65]
- fig. 7-31: Pi-Yeh Catholic Seminary, Tainan, 1960. Architect: He Chen-T'zu. Gatehouse. [author]
- fig. 7-32: Pi-Yeh Catholic Seminary, Tainan, 1960. Architect: He Chen-T'zu. Exterior view of the chapel. [author]



7-30



7-31



7-32



- fig. 7-33: Pi-Yeh Catholic Seminary, Tainan, 1960. Architect: He Chen-T'zu. Interior view of the chapel. [author]
- fig. 7-34: Pi-Yeh Catholic Seminary, Tainan, 1960. Architect: He Chen-T'zu. Details of the chapel. [author]
- fig. 7-35: Pi-Yeh Catholic Seminary, Tainan, 1960. Architect: He Chen-T'zu. Galleries. [author]



7-33



7-34



7-35

pyramidal roof and exposed concrete structural elements all evoke the image of traditional buildings. Inside the chapel, the exposed beams of the ceiling, and the altar located at the far end which has traditional Chinese patterns, are also architect's attempt to create the solemnity of Catholicism by adopting and re-interpreting elements of a traditional house (figs. 7-30, 7-31, 7-32, 7-33, 7-34, 7-35).

One critic praised this building in which "the architect successfully grasps the ambiguity of the subtle relationship between traditional consciousness and the connotations of Western missionaries. Such understanding enables him to create an atmosphere which is religious in character. The building shows an intention to break with the purist languages of Modernism and expresses a strong sense of Post-Modernism as early as in the 1960s."<sup>13</sup> However, 'Post-Modernism' seems not to be a suitable word to describe this building since none of the elements used in it is double-coded, as are those in Post-Modern buildings. Rather, it shows a strong link with the regional heritage.

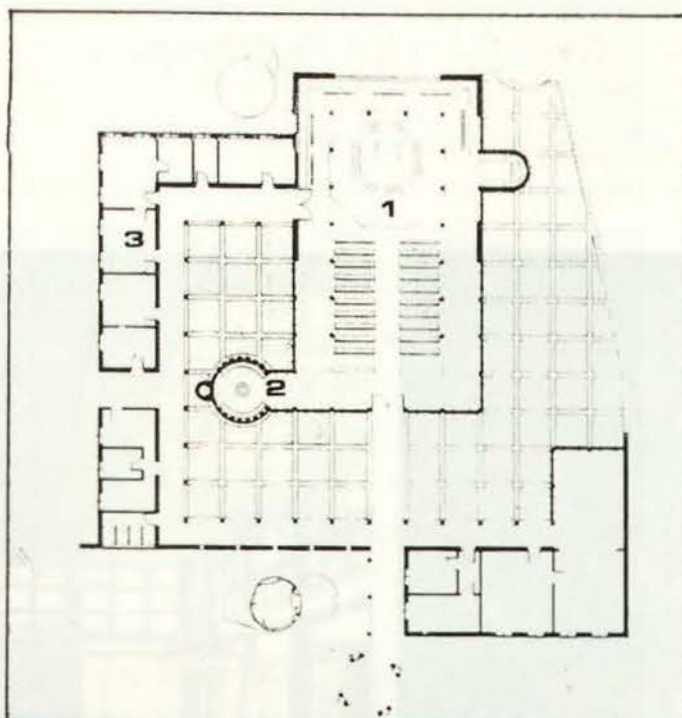
The Chingliao Catholic Church in Chingliao, Tainan (1961) was designed by the German architect Gottfried Bohm in collaboration with Yang Chia-Ching, the local architect. In comparison with the church in the West, this one in Taiwan is simple in its spatial organisation, a rectangular plan with an altar occupying about one-third of the space. A small apse is added to the side of the altar and a circular baptistery is connected to the front part. Outside the main building is an L-shaped block of accommodation and offices for the clergymen. In spite of its simplicity in plan, the built form is richly manipulated. On the top of the altar is a pyramid roof covered with aluminum while the roofs of the apse and baptistery are conical. Although the roofs and spatial organisation are Western in character, the regional colour is seen in the removable glass door panels between columns whose red colour and proportion are undoubtedly region-inspired. These door panels not only provide a visual contrast to the whitewashed wall and shining roofs but are also a response to the hot and humid climatic conditions of southern Taiwan. The gallery outside the accommodation runs through the whole block. It allows people to move around the buildings without exposure to the elements. Inside

---

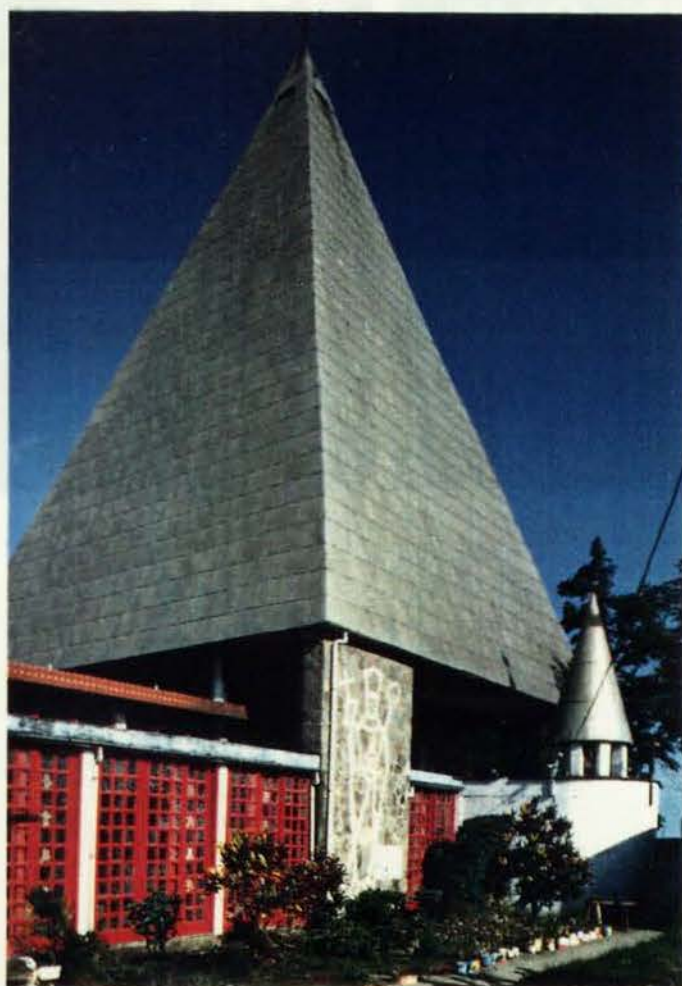
<sup>13</sup> Jseng-Lung Wang (1984b), p. 65.



- fig. 7-36: Chingliao Catholic Church, Chingliao, Tainan, 1961. Architect: Gottfried Böhm and Yang Chia-Ching. Ground floor plan. (1. altar, 2. baptistery, 3. dormitory) [*Chinese Architect*, August 1986, p. 41]
- fig. 7-37: Chingliao Catholic Church, Chingliao, Tainan, 1961. Architect: Gottfried Böhm and Yang Chia-Ching. Exterior view. [author]



7-36



7-37

- fig. 7-38: Chingliao Catholic Church, Chingliao, Tainan, 1961. Architect: Gottfried Böhm and Yang Chia-Ching. Interior view. [author]
- fig. 7-39: Chingliao Catholic Church, Chingliao, Tainan, 1961. Architect: Gottfried Böhm and Yang Chia-Ching. Details of the altar. [author]



7-38



7-39

the church, the altar is octagonal. On it stands an incense pot, which is folk-religious in nature. Such an arrangement is to bridge the gap between the image of a traditional folk-religion temple and that of a western church so that people will feel more comfortable inside the church. The ceiling is also octagonal in order to achieve visual conformity. The synthesis of regional and foreign elements within the tenets of modern architecture is achieved in this building (figs. 7-36, 7-37, 7-38, 7-39).

When compared with the Regionalist buildings of the 1980s, these earlier examples show a much greater concern about the way of life in the building. They are also more responsive to the climatic conditions of Taiwan. In these three examples, architects did not emphasize the adoption of formal motifs from traditional architecture as did the architects of the 1980s. Reasons behind this phenomenon are multifold. The first is that during the time when Taiwanese regional consciousness was not encouraged by the government, scarcely any architects dared use the Minnan style directly. The second is that architects of these buildings are either foreigners or those who came to Taiwan from the Chinese mainland after 1949.<sup>14</sup> These architects bore in mind the importance of the regionality in architecture. But their lack of knowledge of traditional Taiwanese architecture often forced them to stress on spatial organisation drawn from archetypal Chinese models rather than using regional motifs which they were less familiar with. However, they used local building materials in the building which, when combined with the characteristics of spatial organisation and the elements responsive to the climatic conditions, endow these building with implicit but detectable regionality. However, the regional consciousness of these architects did not spread widely during that time when Taiwan was obsessed with its economic growth and search for modernity. Ideas imported from foreign countries were given much more attention than to the regional aspects of Taiwanese architecture.

<sup>14</sup> In Taiwan, architectural education at the university level did not begin until 1944 when the Department of Architecture was established at the Tainan Institute of Engineering (today National Cheng Kung University). In the 1950s, most practicing architects came from the Chinese mainland and had their architectural education there.



#### 7-4 THE CRITICAL REGIONALIST APPROACH AS AN ALTERNATIVE

From this discussion of the Regionalist approaches prevailing in Taiwan in the 1980s, and re-examining the early strand of regional consciousness in the 1950s and 1960s, it may be concluded that architects in Taiwan do have the ability to design buildings that are clad physically with regional characteristics. However, the overall representation of the nature of architecture by these buildings is far from satisfactory. In most of the examples I have described, the internal aspects of architecture, which are so crucial in traditional Taiwanese architecture, are largely absent. Traditional Taiwanese architecture is surely not a product of the simple fulfilment of functional and aesthetic needs. Purely decorative or utilitarian elements rarely exist in it. Rather, traditional Taiwanese architecture is highly socio-culturally oriented and it reflects the worldview of the Taiwanese people. Therefore, it would be an impossible task to achieve an authentic architecture for Taiwan, if the worldview of the Taiwanese people were not referred to during the design and construction process.

Critical Regionalism is a suitable alternative approach for Taiwanese architects to follow since, as I argued in previous chapters, it treats architecture not only as external expression, but also as an embodiment of the inner aspects of a region and its culture. To adopt the Critical Regionalist approach, architects should first of all be willing to learn from traditional models. By saying this, I do not mean that architects in Taiwan should follow blindly every characteristic of traditional Taiwanese architecture which I examined in the last chapter. But certainly these regional characteristics can be looked upon more critically in designing new buildings.

In Chapter Five I discussed the ritual/mechanical and symbolic/utilitarian dialectics of Critical Regionalism and in the last chapter I pinpointed 'geomantic perfection as cosmic order', 'folk-religion temples and ancestral altars as symbolic centres', as well as 'boundary as the separation between cosmos and chaos' as characteristics of traditional Taiwanese architecture that are responsive to the idea of Heaven. But how can these be re-interpreted and expressed in contemporary Taiwanese architecture?

Before answering this question, I want to stress again two important phenomena of modern Taiwanese society. The first is that architects in modern Taiwan cannot re-create people's religion through designing and constructing new buildings, although they might magnify the sense of sacredness or the

sense of spirituality through the built form and spatial organisation. The second is that a genuine traditional society that is completely centred upon religion no longer exists in Taiwan. Any discussion of the prospects of developing a new architecture in Taiwan should be placed within such a context. Conflicts in belief exist in modern Taiwan society. People may still worship deities and participate in religious rituals in folk-religion temples and worship their ancestors at home while accepting a scientific worldview which says that *Tien* and the spirits of ancestors have no reality of any kind. Architects with the Critical Regionalist approach in their mind must know that the development of a new architecture which can reflect the people and the society in modern Taiwan lies in the possibility of accommodating many such contradictions.

In spite of the fact that many people denounce *feng-shui* as merely a form of superstition, there are trends to return to this tradition in architectural circles. The Journal *Chinese Architect* started to publish articles related to *feng-shui* from the middle of the 1970s and in July 1988 devoted an issue completely to the subject. In that issue the editor suggests that we should re-examine *feng-shui* in a more rational but critical way:

Since *feng-shui* is a way that human beings determine the important aspects of dwellings and settlements, it can be interpreted as a kind of environmental science. Some theories of *feng-shui* can be explained in terms of considerations in modern environmental control system and landscape planning. ... Today we should not blindly believe in *feng-shui*. Neither should we totally exclude it.<sup>15</sup>

In recent years, more and more architects have started to consult with geomancers about their design and used *feng-shui* considerations as critical criteria, especially in site orientation, room location, and furniture arrangement. Han Pao-Teh, the principle of Han-Kwang Architects, described in an interview how he changed his attitude towards *feng-shui*.

I thought what I had learned (in the university) was what I should put into practice. But later on I found out that was very difficult if not impossible to achieve. When I am ready to build, all my analysis and supporting theories based on functional

---

<sup>15</sup> Chang-Mai Huang (1988), p. 19.

rationale can be easily overthrown by a word of a geomancer. This was a very big cultural shock. But later on, I gradually realised that although geomancy is irrational, it is still part of Chinese thought. So I have to do my best to understand it.<sup>16</sup>

*Feng-shui* is a traditional way of viewing the world and the relationships between man and the universe. In some sense man is placed in a relatively passive position in this system. But it does not mean that he should be completely subservient to the existing conditions. People should use geomantic adjustment more critically to improve the relations between themselves, nature and society. *Feng-shui* should not be treated as a kind of superstition or something that is mythical. It should rather mean, as de Groot said almost a century ago, "a quasi-scientific system, supposed to teach men where and how to build graves, temples and dwellings, in order that the dead, the gods and the living may be located therein exclusively, or as far as possible, under the auspicious influences of Nature."<sup>17</sup>

Besides the orientation of the building, the allocation of rooms, the arrangement of furniture, *feng-shui* considerations can also be used more critically in deciding the number, colour, dimensions, and shape of the building components. By bringing *feng-shui* back to use in architecture, the ritual aspect of the building construction can also be resurrected since *feng-shui* is itself ritual. Certainly no one will agree that *feng-shui* determinations shall be allowed to overshadow architects' ability and become the sole criterion of the design and building process. But to design a new building which is also *feng-shui* considered is not an impossible task. In modern Taiwan, one should not be surprised to see a geomancer standing on the top of a building, with a geomancer's compass in his hand, looking towards a forest of high-rise buildings, and trying to find a better *feng-shui* condition for his client. (fig. 7-40)

In Chapter Two, I pointed out that, due to the decline of religious commitment, the folk-religion temples have lost their significance in terms of physical appearance in the settlement. But I also described how, despite this,

<sup>16</sup> Chiao-Hao Chang (1987a), p. 13.

<sup>17</sup> J.I.M. de Groot (1897), p. 935.

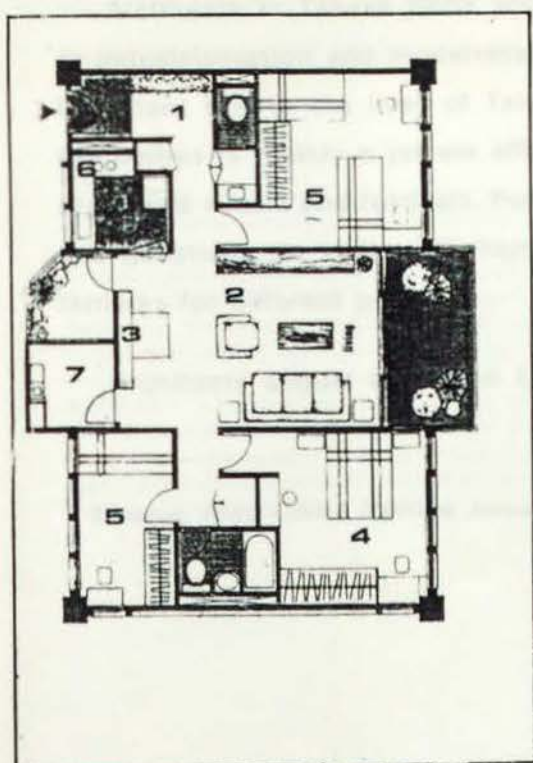
- fig. 7-40: Geomancer in practice in modern Taiwanese city.  
[*Sinorama*, May 1990, p. 20]

- fig. 7-41: Floor plan of a flat with an ancestral altar at the centre.  
(Downtown Tainan Public Housing Project, Fu Chao-Ching, 1983. 1.entrance, 2. living-dining room, 3. ancestral altar, 4. parents' bedroom, 5. bedrooms, 6. kitchen, 7. laundry) [Chao-Ching Fu (1983), p. 102]

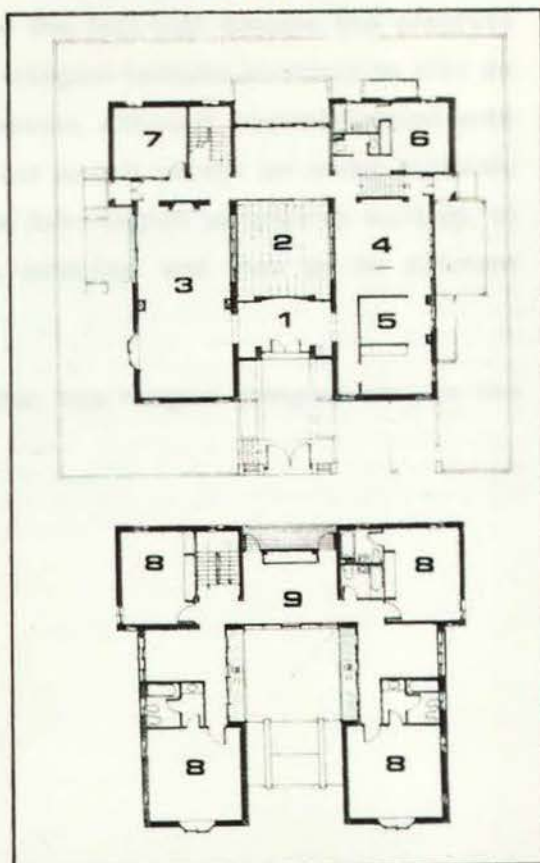
- fig. 7-42: Floor plans of a villa with an ancestral altar at the centre.  
(Villa Tung-Fa, Yangmingshan, Taipei, Yu Chao-Ch'uan, 1988. 1. gate hall, 2. courtyard, 3. living room, 4. dining room, 5. kitchen, 6. guest room, 7. study room, 8. bedrooms, 9 ancestral altar) [*Chinese Architect*, October, 1988, p. 112]



7-40



7-41



7-42

the number of the folk-religion temples in Taiwan keeps increasing although the role of them has been changing. Without the existence of the folk-religion temples, the Taiwanese built environment would be less significant in its socio-cultural meaning and less unique in its physical appearance. Folk-religion temples have become another kind of focus in Taiwanese modern social life though they have become less sacred in a strictly religious sense. Folk-religion temples continue to speak a language other than the quiet converse between worshipper and suppliant. Stone, wood, bricks, and tiles have their own aesthetic and social meanings. Calligraphic scripts on the walls tell of ancient heroes as well as recent benefactors. All elements in a folk-religion temple in modern Taiwan still "exhort one to ethical heights, and they warn of unacceptable conduct. From soaring dragon and phoenix on the rooftops, to the historical battles carved on pillars, to the symbolic birds and flowers that grace the base of the walls – here is the story not only of the folk-religious pantheon, but the panorama of Chinese cultural experience."<sup>18</sup>

The traditional sense of religion is on the decline in Taiwan. Folk-religion has developed into a new kind of belief. In the thousands of folk-religion temples that are situated in cities, towns, and villages, people find solace, encouragement, and fulfillment in the practical, daily dimensions of life. Sociologists have pointed out that the more alienated a society is, the more its inhabitants need spiritual comfort. This explains why the number of folk-religion temples has increased in modern Taiwanese society while it has become less religious. In a recent island-wide social survey, 65 percent of the adult population in Taiwan were still identified as believers in folk-religion.

Architects in Taiwan must acknowledge the fact that despite the progress of industrialisation and modernisation, folk-religion temples continue to play an important role in the lives of Taiwanese people, although communication with the deities is mainly a private affair for most people except for some routinely organised rituals and festivals. People go to folk-religion temples to worship, to ask questions, to make offerings, and to socialise, and they go to different temples for different purposes.

Architects should recognize the role that folk-religion temples play in the

---

<sup>18</sup> Editorial, *Free China Review*, January 1989.

modern Taiwanese built environment not only in terms of their physical appearance but also in terms of its socio-cultural meaning. When an architect has the opportunity to built new buildings next to a folk-religion temple, he should respect the temple and try not to overshadow it. This can be done by keeping a certain distance away from the temple or by adopting a contextualist method.

Moreover when an architect has the opportunity to renovate a temple (which happens frequently because most folk-religion temples used wood as the material for the structural frame which is apt to decay in a period of about four decades) he should not use any cheap material or adopt any inappropriate technology just to be economic. Many folk-religion temples in Taiwan of high artistic value were badly damaged or neglected in the past because of careless maintenance or renovation. When they were re-built, they often retained their appearance, but their inner quality and meanings were destroyed. Concrete and cement was used to replace the expensive stone and wood used earlier. Also temple painting were done by amateurs, while the wood and stone carvings were mass-produced by machine. Only very few people were willing to spend time in the renovation of a folk-religion temple in the past. Lee Mei-Shu's attitude in his involvement in the repair of Tzu-Shih Temple in Sanhisa is a rare and good example to follow.<sup>19</sup>

What has happened to the folk-religion temple in the settlement has an echo in the ancestral altar inside a house. The role of ancestor worship and the function of the main hall where the ancestral altar is situated have now changed. Although people might use the main hall for other functions, ancestor worship is still retained in the majority of families. Chinese people have long believed that a person would be eternally remembered if he retained

<sup>19</sup> In 1947, when Tzu-Shih Temple was being planned for renovation, Lee Mei-Shu, a fine arts professor, was invited to supervise the project. Lee, who had studied fine arts in Japan, argued strongly for a project that would systematically restore the temple according to traditional architectural method, with the decorations made entirely by hand. He gathered together a group of outstanding architects and craftsmen, and started the renovation project in August 1947. Lee dedicated the rest of his life to the work. When he died in 1983, he was content to see the completion of the arched entrance hall, the drum tower, the bell tower, the front temple with its majestic bronze statues of the four guardian gods, and the main temple with most of its decoration. A workshop was originally set up at one side of the temple; forty years later many of the same craftsmen who began their work on the project as young men are still spending their days there. Many of the elder craftsmen have already passed away, but their places have been taken by their apprentices whose skills have matured through nurture and extended work. See Yung-Li Tseng (1988), pp. 50-56.



a good name and left a good impression on the memory of his offspring. Ancestor worship is not merely directed to obtaining protection and prosperity, and to averting the calamities which might ensue upon a neglect of such worship, it is also treated as a family affair when the members of the family gather to show their respect and obedience of deceased parents and remote ancestors.<sup>20</sup> Modern Taiwanese people may not believe in their ancestors in a religious sense, but ancestor worship persists and the provision of an ancestral altar is still taken seriously by most Taiwanese families.

However, the lack of a significant space for the ancestral altar in a modern flat always forces people to locate the altar wherever space is available. They often do not have a chance to place the altar in a prominent location even though they realise its importance. An ancestral altar is symbolic in meaning, but it is also a physically and spatially unique characteristic of a traditional Taiwanese house. In other words, an ancestral altar contributes greatly to the regionality of a Taiwanese traditional house. Many Western missionaries have in their houses and churches an ancestral altar-like space in order to attract local people to attend the church, and this shows how important such an element is to the Taiwanese people.

Architects should pay more attention to the possibility of providing a proper space for the altar. I showed in a project in 1983 that within the size of a modern flat, one can provide a space for the ancestral altar in an important location. (Of course the space can be used for other functions if the people who live in the flat do not worship their ancestors.) (fig. 7-41) In Villa Tung-Fa in Yangmingshan (1988, Yu Chao-Ch'uan), the architect demonstrates the same conviction. An ancestral altar on the central axis on the first floor is provided without sacrificing other facilities (fig. 7-42). Certainly, the symmetry of the flat plan, as shown in these two examples, is not a prerequisite for the provision of the ancestral altar. There should always be sufficient flexibility for a space reserved so the ancestral altar can be accommodated.

As far as the idea of Man is concerned, I discussed the dialectics 'house as

<sup>20</sup> According to the Chinese people, those who behave in a way damaging to a family's reputation not only insult the ancestors, but also would not, in turn, be worshipped after death. Merits accumulated during the life time of ancestors influenced the fate of their descendants, and the success of these descendants provided evidence of the virtue of the ancestors.

home/house as physical shelter' and 'process/production' of Critical Regionalism in Chapter Five. I also explained in the last chapter how a house is the expression of the family and the index to family structure as well as how personal inputs are shown in the house in traditional Taiwanese architecture. But could these be applicable to modern Taiwanese society in which not only people's attitude towards *Tien*, Heaven, has changed, but also human relationships in the community and within a house have altered?

Two sets of government-compiled data substantiate the changing family structure in Taiwan. A survey conducted in 1980 by the Taiwan Provincial Family Planning Institute shows that parents living separately from their married children accounted for 19.7 percent of those interviewed. A similar survey held in 1986 showed that the percentage had risen to 27.1. And according to statistics released recently by the Ministry of the Interior, the average size of families in Taiwan has dropped from 5 persons in 1978 to 4.2 persons in 1988, due largely to the increase in the number of nuclear families.<sup>21</sup>

In response to this tendency, most modern flats are designed to accommodate small families. However, this presents a subtle, but serious problem. It might be true and acceptable in other developing countries that young people move out of the family home and live away in their own flats, and this might be an unavoidable phenomenon in an industrialising country. Yet in Taiwan the situation is much more complicated and presents more difficulties. Because of expectations formed in line with China's long cultural tradition, especially those derived from Confucian ethics, it is unimaginable to let the parents spend their later years alone. In Taiwan, grown-up children have both filial and legal obligations to support the lives of their parents. Despite the changes in many basic Chinese values as a result of rapid industrialisation, these obligations are still firmly observed. Most independent working children choose to support their parents by regular financial payments; but the problem lies in non-material necessities. Many old parents are chronically ill, become invalid, cannot receive adequate care from their children who are living away from the family home. In Western countries where social security is well developed, these problems can be more easily solved by parents who do not

---

<sup>21</sup> Osman Tseng (1988), p. 12.

have their children under the same roof. But social change has been so fast in Taiwan that the government has not had time and funds to sponsor sweeping insurance programmes.<sup>22</sup> Therefore the tendency in Taiwan now is that married sons invite their parents to live with them on a rotational basis. But the lack of a bedroom for parents often causes problems and tensions within the family.

Social changes not only affected the fate of old parents. The relationships between young children and parents as well as between husband and wife are also changing. Traditionally, the parents of a family commanded the respect of all its members and enjoyed unchallenged authority. Today, the younger generation tends to have its own ideas. Children may still obey their parents' direction, but they are less likely to succumb blindly to parental authority. The change of relationship between husband and wife is shown in the rise of the divorce rate. According to statistics compiled by the Ministry of the Interior, the frequency of divorces in Taiwan during the years between 1978 and 1987 has more than doubled. In 1987, Taiwan achieved the questionable distinction of possessing the world's highest increase in divorce rate. Though the actual percentage of divorces is still far behind the United States and other developed countries, local authorities and the general public view the trend with alarm.<sup>23</sup>

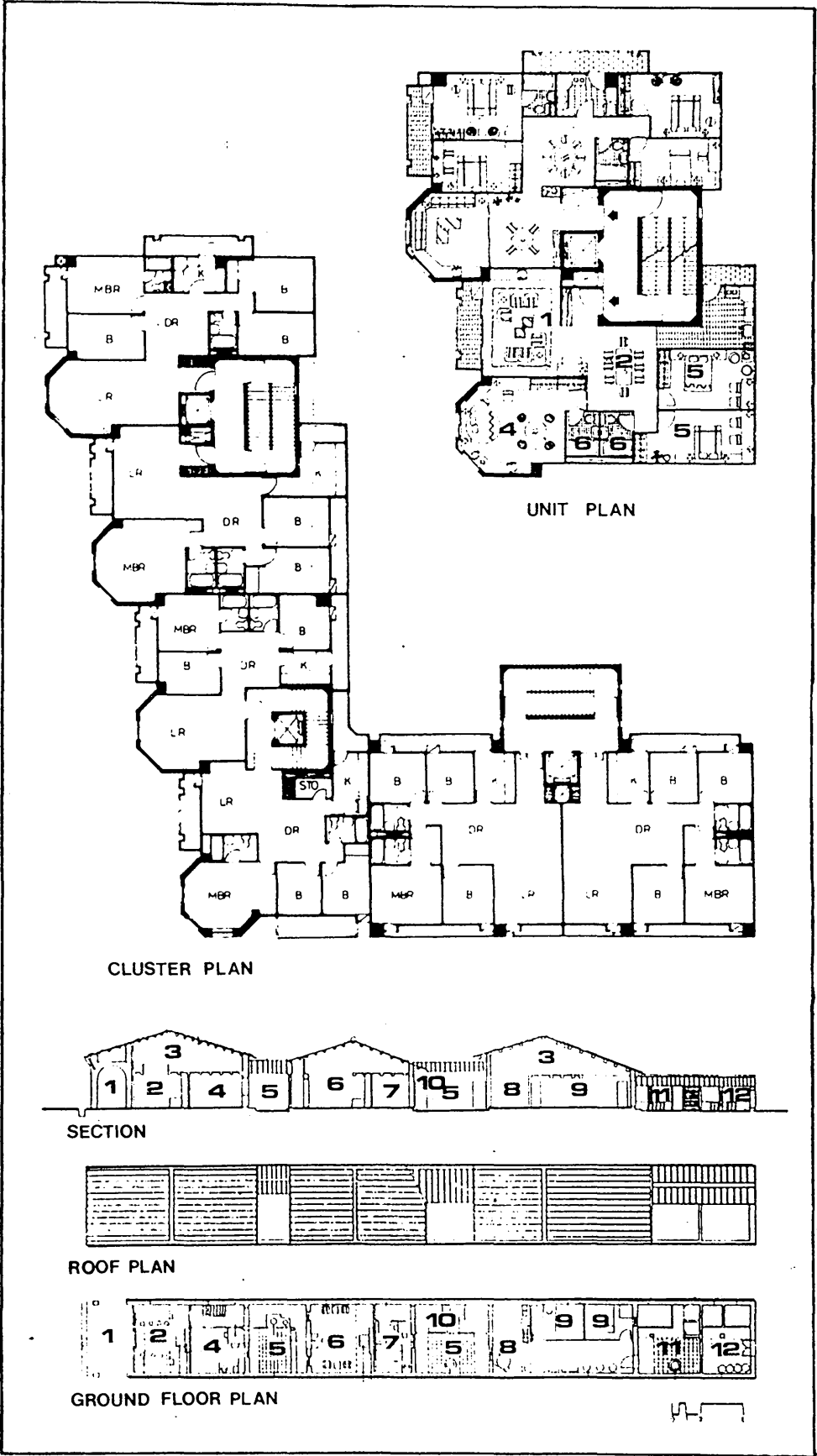
Changes in family structure and human relationships tend to occur when any nation pursues modernisation. The challenge to architects, of course, is not to ignore these changes, but to design the proper type of residential space so that people can best adjust to them and thereby minimise their adverse effects. Architects should pay more attention to the social life of Taiwan to see how the contemporary Taiwanese people really live before they design new houses. The estrangement between the members of a family is suspiciously contributed by the monotony of the flat in modern housing projects. If a comparison is made between the spatial organisation of a traditional street and a modern flat,

---

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>23</sup> Mercifully, society in Taiwan now tolerates divorce, which frees divorced people from the cruel traditional discrimination and humiliation they would once have had to suffer at the hands of family, friends, and society. But the dark side of the new attitude is that with divorce easier than ever before, couples show minimal effort in getting together, and walk out on a marriage at the slightest provocation. How the relationship between male and female, especially husband and wife, is expressed in the house in traditional and modern societies is a complicated and interesting topic which is far more than the scope of this thesis can handle. I shall leave it here for other researches to accomplish.

- fig. 7-43: Comparison of spatial organisation between a traditional street house and modern flats in Taiwan. Above: modern flats. (1. living room, 2. dining room, 3. kitchen, 4. master bedroom, 5. bedrooms, 6. bathroom) Below: street house. (1. arcade, 2. shop or front hall, 3. air-attics and storage rooms, 4. parents' bedroom, 5. courtyards, 6. main hall, 7. grandparents' bedroom, 8. secondary hall, 9. bedrooms, 10. kitchen, 11. bathroom, 12. back yard) [*Chinese Architect* May 1985, p. 36]



one would have no difficulty in finding that the richness and the hierarchy of the former in terms of spatial organisation and the behaviours which can take place in organisation are absent in the latter (fig. 7-43). In response to the family structure of modern Taiwan, there is an increasing demand for so-called 'three-generation flats' in which a flexible space can always be converted into the room for ageing parents should they need to stay with the married son. Of course, how such space should be organised is open to a wide range of interpretation by architects.

As far as the process/production dialectic is concerned, with thousands of flat units to be built each year to meet the growing population, to involve every individual in the design and building process seems to be very difficult. However, both housing authorities and developers in the private sectors should be willing to offer a much more flexible framework so that personal inputs can be expressed after occupation. Certainly in modern Taiwanese society, in which the value of the individual is now often placed above the collectivity of the family or the community, the expression of human relationships in terms of architecture is very difficult to achieve. Yet I believe that if essential adjustments can be made, they will not only help reduce specific adverse effects brought by modernisation and social changes in modern houses, but also foster a generally more harmonious society.

Furthermore, the diversity of the building materials available in Taiwan, the richness of Taiwan's geographical features, and the character of its climatic conditions should help architects to create a new architecture which is strongly responsive to the regional characteristics of Taiwan. Architects can learn from traditional models how materials are used to express the architectonic quality and tactility of the building, how buildings are located harmoniously on the site, and what solutions the traditional builders used to cope with the climatic conditions. I showed some examples of these in the last chapter. Here I shall not repeat them. By adopting the Critical Regionalist approach and by treating traditional Taiwanese architecture as a source of inspiration, architects in Taiwan should be able to develop an architecture which embraces both contemporaneity and regionality.

## **7-5 CONCLUSION**

As society has changed in Taiwan, architecture has deviated from the traditional models of the region. The majority of buildings in modern Taiwan

look 'irregional' and are also 'irregional' in aspects other than the visual ones. The factors prompting this change can be explained not only in terms of modernisation and Westernisation, but also as a result of the general public's and architects' attitudes towards tradition and architecture. Viewing tradition as a burden of modern man encourages people's desire to achieve a state of modernity that is universal in nature. And treating buildings as merely art objects or as solutions to social problems will not produce an architecture which is authentically 'regional' in character. The worldview of the people should always be referred to and reflected. But this can only be realised when both the general public and architects are willing to learn from the traditional models of the region.

In the history of early modern China, and of course that of Taiwan, there was strong anti-traditionalism. In the early twentieth century when China suffered the invasion of foreign powers politically and economically, the intellectuals were eager to take in Western thoughts and develop Western technology as the tool to counter such invasions. The *New Tide* manifesto made very clear that younger intellectuals were more concerned with the consequences of China's ignorance of the West than with the reasons that lay behind their compatriots' prejudice against borrowing from the West.<sup>24</sup>

Attacks on tradition were very common then. And they appeared unavoidable in those days. Poverty in economy and weakness in the political condition forced the Chinese people in the early twentieth century to regard their own tradition as something that constrained their nation's development. The same atmosphere could also be felt in the early development of modern Taiwan. But after almost seven decades of exposure to Western cultural, political and economic influences, people in Taiwan have realised that the future of their culture is rooted in their own regional heritage. In the field of architecture, this has been witnessed in the buildings designed by revivalist,

<sup>24</sup> Vera Schwarcz (1986), p. 119. The *New Tide* society was founded by a group of Peking University students in 1919. Its manifesto states that "The fundamental problem is that our people don't realise the richness of Western culture and the impoverishment of Chinese culture. Ignorance of both makes us ashamed of our own. We believe that our people should first understand these four things: 1) what is the level of world civilisation today? 2) where are modern intellectual trends going? 3) compared with world trends, what are the shortcomings of Chinese thoughts? 4) which trends should we blend with our own? ... To gradually bathe isolated China in the waters of world civilisation is the first responsibility of our organisation."



eclecticist, ornamenatalist, and abstractionist approaches. However, after a review of them, I pointed out their problems and proposed Critical Regionalism as an alternative. However there remains the difficulty, inherent in the Critical Regionalist approach, of the extent to which a new architecture is based upon visual appearances and how much upon supporting local beliefs and ways of life. There exists no definite answer to this problem and the judgement is open to architects.

## CONCLUSION

The thesis began with the discussion of the distinction between traditional architecture and modern architecture and ended with an assessment of the prospects of developing a new architecture for Taiwan using the Critical Regionalist approach. In between, I explored the problems existing in contemporary architectural development in Taiwan, and reviewed the effectiveness of Post-Modernism, Alexander's Pattern Language, and the Phenomenology of Architecture in remedying these problems. Having pointed out their inadequacies, I then turned to Regionalism, especially Critical Regionalism which, as I strongly argued, possesses the potential for developing a new architecture for Taiwan.

My optimistic attitude towards the use of a Critical Regionalist approach in Taiwan is built upon several observations. The first is that there always exist possibilities of taking inspiration from the uniqueness of traditional Taiwanese architecture which I discussed in Chapter Six. It is very difficult, and surely not necessary, for architects to build a new building which entirely matches the characteristics of traditional Taiwanese architecture since the society in Taiwan has changed. But architects should keep in mind that there are lessons to learn from traditional models and should not lose any opportunity to apply them. However, one must recognize that only some traditional models are applicable. Moreover, one must acknowledge that traditional models are not panaceas and they should not be treated as such. Only through a deep understanding of them can a critical re-interpretation become possible.

The second observation is that Taiwan possesses all the catalysts which facilitate the formation of Regionalism and the current context (time and socio-cultural background) is suitable for the Critical Regionalist approach to be developed there. The regional consciousness has been especially strong since a decade ago. Until the late 1970s, both the government and the general public stressed too much the need for the progress of society. They hoped that modernisation could take place within the shortest possible time. The achievement was impressive in terms of economic growth, but the price paid was also high. Traditional cityscape has been destroyed and the rural landscape visually polluted. The continuity of the past and the identity of place were lost.

As far as the cultural policy of the Nationalist government is concerned, the development, as I mentioned in Chapter Two, was too oriented towards northern China models. The aim was to support the development of northern Chinese culture, which the government treated as the orthodoxy of Chinese culture. Many local and regional cultural activities were discouraged, if not banned. Under the censorship of martial law, anyone who strongly advocated Taiwanese regional consciousness in literature, film, and so forth, might be identified as a separatist and prosecuted. In the field of architecture, the northern Chinese style was treated as the only traditional model for a new Chinese architecture to follow.

In the middle of the 1980s, the atmosphere suddenly changed. The lift of martial law in 1987, and the legalisation of the opposition Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), which is more regional oriented in terms of its policy, were two significant developments. The social-cultural realms in Taiwan are now filled with activities and thoughts whose inspiration was drawn from the regional history and culture of Taiwan, a phenomenon which would be unimaginable a decade ago. The astonishing box-office success of the film *Pei-Ching Cheng-Shi* (A City of Sadness), directed by Hou Hsiao-Hsien, highlights this tendency. The film is a vast, complex panorama of Taiwanese life during the turmoils of 1945-49.<sup>1</sup> Since the original motivation of Critical Regionalism is strongly linked to cultural and political resistance, the situation in Taiwan now provides the best moment for it to develop. Certainly, Critical Regionalism should not be confined merely to the potential power to help architects to develop a new architecture which can resist the domination of the International Style and other inappropriate styles in architectural development. It should also aim to reflect the worldview of the people.

The third observation is that the Taiwanese people have been used to a

---

<sup>1</sup> The background of this film is the resistance of the Taiwanese people in 1947 to the Nationalist troops who poured into Taiwan from the mainland after Taiwan was returned to China in 1945. The result was a massacre of hundreds, if not thousands as claimed by some sources, of Taiwanese people, most of them were intellectuals, on the 28th of February. Until the lift of martial law in 1987, this incident had been a taboo of the Nationalist Government; anyone who tried to bring this issue into discussion would be treated as provoking anti-government thoughts. Only until very recently did the officers of the Nationalists Party expressed openly their sorrow about this incident. The film's unprecedented candour in facing up to a shameful and previously taboo period in the island's history earned it extraordinary popularity, no doubt boosted by attacks in the conservative press. The film was also the winner of the Golden Lion, the First prize, in the 1989 Venice Film Festival.

mixture of different cultures because of Taiwan's geographical location and political background. A synthesis of elements from different sources existed not only in the buildings built in the Japanese occupation period but also in traditional buildings built earlier. The dialectics of Critical Regionalism should therefore be readily applicable to new buildings in Taiwan. The notion of Yin-Yang, to achieve a balance between contradictory elements, has for thousands of years been the attitude of the Chinese people towards life. The people of Taiwan are no exception in this respect. The fact that the practicality of the Critical Regionalist approach lies in the synthesis of a set of polarities should be easily acceptable by the Taiwanese people since they themselves live in a society full of conflicting elements.

Critical Regionalism, as I argued in Chapters Four and Five, is an approach as well as a concept. Its potential, on both theoretical and practical levels, should be looked upon in the context of other approaches. It is from the comparison with Post-Modernism, which is too superficial, Alexander's Pattern Language, which is too idealist, and the Phenomenology of Architecture, which is too theoretical and metaphysical, that the higher degree of practicality of the Critical Regionalist appears to emerge. Except for the influence received from Critical Theory and Phenomenology, Critical Regionalism possesses no strong philosophical basis. It is simple and straightforward, easily understandable on the theoretical level and feasible in its practice. Critical Regionalism does not project an ideology of architectural creation, but points out the possibility of architectural formation and transformation.

Critical Regionalism is not merely concerned with materials and climate. Victor Olgyay's subtitle 'Bioclimatic Approach to Architectural Regionalism' for the book *Design with Climate* is incomplete, if not misleading. Critical Regionalism treats the idea of Heaven and the idea of Man as equally important to the idea of the Earth. Since these three ideas constitute the wholeness of the worldview of the people, the omission of the consideration of any one of them will make the building 'irregional'. Critical Regionalism can be a practical approach for architectural development as well as a mental concept and a social movement.

Certainly, Critical Regionalism is not perfect on either the theoretical or the practical level. The approach furnishes possibilities and sets limitations. It is the way of viewing architectural development in terms of a regional worldview, and

is, after all, only one possible perspective on the development of a new architecture. To regard it as the only way leads to a distortion of reality. On the other hand, the promise of Critical Regionalism lies in the fact that it is essentially a synthesis of differentiation and intergration. It deals with homogeneity and diversity and mediates between the particularist trend of multiplying cultures and the universalist trend toward consolidation and integration of them. It is among these possibilities and within these limitations that architects can make their choices.

Although I have attempted to include as thorough a discussion as possible and showed the maximum variety of examples, the thesis is by no means complete in terms of the projection of a new architecture for Taiwan. To develop a new architecture for a region is so complicated an issue that to deal with it in a single volume of a thesis seems impossible. Further research needs to be focused upon how regional consciousness in terms of the worldview of the people can be actually embodied in new buildings in Taiwan. In this thesis I only pointed out the possibilities and limitations. I did not include a discussion of the relationship between the worldview and the new buildings because in the past most buildings built to express regional consciousness were so superficially designed that they did not really reflect the worldview of the people. However, with a new and strong regional consciousness hovering in the air, more and more new buildings will be built by the Critical Regionalist approach. It will be interesting to see how these buildings testify to the validity of the theory in the future. There are many difficulties. But I believe that a new architecture will emerge gradually in Taiwan by using such an approach.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

References are in English unless indicated by  
(C):Chinese, (F):French, (G): German, or (J):Japanese at the end.

- AALTO, Alvar (1970). *Synopsis: Painting, Architecture, Sculpture* Basel: Birkhauser Verlag.
- ABDEL-MALEK, Anisuzzaman and Anouar Abdel-Malek (eds.) (1984). *Culture and Thought in the Transformation of the World* New York: St. Martin Press.
- ABEL, Chris (1986a). 'Regional Transformations', *The Architectural Review*, November 1986, pp. 37-43.
- ABEL, Chris (1986b). 'Work of El-Wakil', *The Architectural Review*, November 1986, pp. 52-60.
- AGNEW, John A. and James S. Duncan (1989). *The Power of Place* Boston: Unwin Hyman.
- AHREN, Emily Martin (1979). 'Domestic Architecture in Taiwan: Continuity and Change' in R.W. Wilson (ed.) *Value Change in Chinese Society*, New York: Praeger Publishers, pp. 155-170.
- AHREN, Emily Martin (1981). *Chinese Ritual and Politics* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- AHREN, Emily Martin and Hill Gates (eds.). (1981). *The Anthropology of Taiwanese Society*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- ALDEN, Jeremy and Morgan Robert (1974). *Regional Planning: A Comprehensive View*. Beds: Leonard Hill Books.
- ALEXANDER, Christopher and Serge Chermayeff (1963). *Community and Privacy*. New York: Doubleday & Co. Inc.
- ALEXANDER, Christopher (1964). *Notes on the Synthesis of Form*. Cambridge, Masschusetts: Harvard University Press.
- ALEXANDER, Christopher (1965). 'A City Is Not a Tree', *Architectural Forum*, April 1965, pp. 58-62 and May 1965, pp. 58-61.
- ALEXANDER, Christopher (1966). 'From a Set of Forces to a Form' in Gyorgy Kepes (ed.) *The Man-Made Object*, pp. 96-107.
- ALEXANDER, Christopher (1967). 'The City as a Mechanism for Sustaining Human Contact' in William R. Ewald (ed.) *Environment for Man*, pp. 60-109.
- ALEXANDER, Christopher (1968). 'Thick Wall Pattern', *Architectural Design*, Vol. 38, No. 7, pp. 324-326.
- ALEXANDER, Christopher (1970). 'The Environment', *The Japan Architect*, July



1970, pp. 52–54.

ALEXANDER, Christopher and Sars Ishikawa, Murry Siliverston, Shlomo Angel, and Denny Abrams (1975). *The Oregon Experiment* New York: Oxford University Press.

ALEXANDER, Christopher and Sars Ishikawa, Murry Siliverston, Shlomo Angel, Jacobson Max, and Ingrid Fiksdahl-King (1977). *A Pattern Language*. New York: Oxford University Press.

ALEXANDER, Christopher (1979). *The Timeless Way of Building* New York: Oxford University Press.

ALEXANDER, Christopher (1981). *The Linz Cafe* New York: Oxford University Press.

ALEXANDER, Christopher (1983). 'Linz Cafe: The Architect's Evaluation', *Lotus International*, Vol. 40, pp. 45–59.

ALEXANDER, Christopher (1984). 'Mexicali Revisited', *Places*, Vol. 1 No. 4, pp. 76–77.

ALEXANDER, Christopher (1985a). *The Production of Houses*. New York: Oxford University Press.

ALEXANDER, Christopher (1985b). 'Battle. The History of a Crucial Clash between World-System A and World-System B. Construction of the New Eishin Campus', *The Japan Architect*, August 1985, pp. 15–35.

ALTMAN, Irwin and Carol M. Werner (eds.) (1985). *Home Environments* New York: Plenum Press.

AMBASZ, Emilio (1976). *The Architecture of Luiz Barragan*. New York: The Museum of Modern Art.

ANDO, Tadao (1977a). 'New Version of the Old House', *The Japan Architect*, June 1977, pp. 57–64.

ANDO, Tadao (1977b). 'Bansho Residence', *The Japan Architect*, June 1977, pp. 65–72.

ANDO, Tadao (1977c). 'A Wedge in Circumstance', *The Japan Architect*, June 1977, pp. 73–76.

ANDO, Tadao (1978a). 'Blank Space on the Site', *The Japan Architect*, May 1978, pp. 42–47.

ANDO, Tadao (1978b). 'House with Territory-Delineating Walls', *The Japan Architect*, June 1978, pp. 9–11.

ANDO, Tadao (1978c). 'The Wall as Territorial Delineation', *The Japan Architect*, June 1978, pp. 12–16.

ANDO, Tadao (1989). 'Church with the Light', *The Japan Architect*, November/December 1989, pp. 25–33.

- APPIGNANESI, Lisa (ed.) (1986). *Postmodernism* London: ICA.
- ARENDT, Hannah (1958). *The Human Condition* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- ARENDT, Hannah (1968). 'Tradition and the Modern Age' in *Between Past and Future*, pp. 25–27.
- ARNHEIM, Rudolf (1977). *The Dynamics of Architectural Form* Berkeley: University of California Press.
- ATTOE, Wayne (1987). 'Regionalism and Identity for Phoenix: The Municipal Government Center Competition', *Center*, Vol. 3, pp. 28–41.
- BAARK, Erik and Andrew Jamison (eds.) (1986). *Technological Development in China, India and Japan* London: MacMillan Press Ltd.
- BACHELARD, Gaston (1969). *The Poetics of Space* Boston: Beacon Press. (First published in 1958 in French; first English translation published in 1964)
- BAITY, Philip Chesley (1975). *Religion in a Chinese Town* Taipei: The Chinese Association for Folklore.
- BAWA, Geoffrey (1988). 'Gracefully Horizontal University Buildings Overlooking the Sea', *Architecture*, September 1988, pp. 58–61.
- BENEDICT, Ruth (1946) *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*. New York: The World Publishing Company.
- BENDIX, Reinhard (1967). 'Tradition and Modernity Reconsidered', *Comparative Studies in History and Society*, Vol. 9, 1967. pp. 292–346.
- BĀNHAM, Reyner (1962). *Guide to Modern Architecture* London: The Architectural Press.
- BENNETT, T. and G. Martin, C. Mercer, and J. Wollacott (eds.) (1981). *Culture, Ideology and Social Process* London: Batsford Academic and Educational Ltd.
- BENTON, Tim and Charlotte Benton, and Dennis Sharp (eds.) (1975). *Architecture and Design: 1890–1939* New York: The Whitney Library of Design.
- BERMAN, Marshall (1982). *All That Is Solid Melts into Air*. London: Verso.
- BERNSTEIN, Richard J. (1985). *Habermas and Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- BLACK, C. (1966). *The Dynamics of Modernisation* New York: Harper and Row.
- BLAKE, Peter (1977). *Form Follows Fiasco* Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
- BLASER, Werner (1979). *Courtyard House in China* Stuttgart: Birkhauser Verlag.
- BLOOMER, Kent C. and Charles Moore (1977). *Body, Memory, and Architecture* New Haven: Yale University Press.
- BOGNAR, Botond (1985). 'A Phenomenological Approach to Architecture and its Teaching in the Studio' in David Seamon and Robert Mugerauer (eds.)

- Dwelling, Place and Environment: Towards a Phenomenology of Person and World*, pp. 183–200.
- BOLLNOW, Otto Frederick (1967). 'Lived-Space', in N. Lawrence and D. O'Conner (eds.) *Readings in Existentialist Phenomenology*.
- BOLON, Carol R. and Robert S. Nelson, and Linda Seidel (eds.) (1988). *The Nature of Frank Lloyd Wright* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- BORSI, Franco (1987). *The Monumental Era: European Architecture and Design 1929 – 1939* London: Lund Humphries.
- BORTOFF, Henri (1985). 'Counterfeit and Authentic Wholes: Finding a Means for Dwelling in Nature', in David Seamon and Robert Mugerauer (eds.) *Dwelling, Place and Environment – Towards a Phenomenology of Person and World* pp. 257–280.
- BOULDING, K. (1966). *The Impact of the Social Science*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- BOURNE, Bill and Udi Eichler, and David Herman (eds.) (1987). *Modernity and Its Discontents* Nottingham: Spokesman.
- BOYD, Andrew (1962). *Chinese Architecture and Town Planning, 1500 B.C. – A.D. 1911*. London: Alec Tiranti.
- BRADSHAW, Michael (1988). *Regions and Regionalism in the United States* London: MacMillan Education.
- BRETON, Raymond (1981). 'Regionalism in Canada' in David M. Cameron (ed.) *Regionalism and Supranationalism*, pp. 56–79.
- BRIGGS, Martin Shaw (1974). *The Architect in History*. New York: Da Capo Press.
- BROADBENT, Geoffrey and Anthony Ward (eds.) (1969). *Design Methods in Architecture* London: Lund Humphries.
- BROLIN, Brent C. (1976). *The Failure of Modern Architecture*. London: Studio Vista.
- BRUNSKILL, R.W. (1981). *Traditional Buildings of Britain: An Introduction to Vernacular Architecture* London: Victor Gollanz.
- BUCHANAN, Peter (1981). 'Patterns and Regeneration', *The Architectural Review*, December 1981, pp. 331–343.
- BUCHANAN, Peter (1983). 'With Due Respect', *The Architectural Review*, May 1983, pp. 15–16.
- BUCHANAN, Peter (1984). 'Only Connect', *The Architectural Review*, October 1984, pp. 23–25.
- BURCKHARDT, Titus (1976). *Sacred Art in East and West: Its Principles and Methods*. Pates Manor, Bedfont, Middlesex: Perennial Books Ltd.
- BUTLER, Edgar W. (1976). *Urban Sociology*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers.

- BUTTIMER, Anne and David Seamon (eds.) (1980a) *The Human Experience of Space and Place*
- BUTTIMER, Anne (1980b). 'Home, Reach and the Sense of Place', in Anne Buttimer and David Seamon (eds.) *The Human Experience of Space and Place*, pp. 166-187.
- BUTTIMER, Anne (1985). 'Nature, Water Symbols and the Human Quest for Wholeness' in David Seamon and Robert Mugerauer (eds.) *Dwelling, Place and Environment: Towards a Phenomenology of Person and World*, pp. 257-280.
- CALDAROLA, Carlo (ed.) (1982) *Religions and Societies: Asia and the Middle East* Berlin: Mouton Publishers.
- CALINESEU, Matei (1987). *Five Faces of Modernity*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- CAMERON, David M. (1981). *Regionalism and Supranationalism*. Montreal, Quebec: The Institute for Research on Public Policy and Policy Studies Institute.
- CAMMANN, Schuyler (1987). 'Symbolic Expressions of Ying-Yang Philosophy' in Charles Le Blanc and Susan Blader (eds.) *Chinese Ideas about Nature and Society*, pp. 101-116.
- CANTER, David (1977). *The Psychology of Place* London: The Architecture Press.
- CAPON, David (1986). 'From Post-Impression to Post-Modernism', *Prospect* No. 28, Autumn 1986, pp. 8-9.
- CAPRA, Fritjof (1982). *The Turning Point* London: Fontana Press.
- CHADIRJI, Rifat (1986). *Concepts and Influences: Towards a Regionalized International Architecture* London: KPI.
- CHAMBERLAIN, Jonathan (1987). *Chinese Gods*. Selangor Darul Ehsan, Malaysia: Pelanduk Publications.
- CHANG, Chao-Kang and Werner Blaser (1987). *China: Tao in Architecture* Basel: Birkhauser Verlag.
- CHANG, Chiao-Hao (1987a). 'In Search of Style', *Free China Review*, June 1987, pp. 2-13.
- CHANG, Chiao-Hao (1987b). 'Experiments in Design Adaptation', *Free China Review*, June 1987, pp. 14-19.
- CHANG, Sen-Dou (1977). 'The Morphology of Walled Capitals' in G. William Skinner (ed.) *The City in Late Imperial China* pp. 75-100.
- CHANG, Simon Shieh-Haw (1986). *The Spatial Organisation and Social-Cultural Basis of Traditional Courtyard Houses*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Ph.D. Thesis.
- CHANG, Yen-Hsien (ed.) (1986) *Li-Shih Wen-Hua Yu Taiwan (History, Culture*

- and Taiwan*). Taipei: Taiwan Folklore. (C)
- CHANG, Ying-Hua (1988). 'Harvesting High-Rises from Rice Paddies', *Free China Review*, Vol. 38, No. 3. pp. 28-31.
- CHAO, Kuo-Wen (1987). 'Chung-Kuo Chin-Dai Chien-Chu Shih-Lun (Theory of Modern Chinese Architectural History)', *Jianzhushi*, Vol. 28, pp. 72-85. (C)
- CHEN, Chi-Nan (1987). *Taiwan Te Ch'uan-Tung Chung-Kuo Se-Huei (Traditional Chinese Societies in Taiwan)*. Taipei: Asia Culture Company. (C)
- CHEN, Chia-Chi (1987). *A Study on the Climate for Architectural Application in Taiwan*. Tainan: Cheng-Kung University Master Thesis. (C)
- CHENG, Chih-Ming (1986). *Chung-Kuo She-Huei Yu Chung-Chiao ( Societies and Religions of China)*. Taipei: Taiwan Students Book Co. (C)
- CHENG, Chung-Ying (1977). 'Toward Constructing a Dialectics of Harmonization: Harmony and Conflict in Chinese Philosophy', *Journal of Chinese Philosophy*, Vol. 4, pp. 209-245.
- CHIANG, Tao-Chang (1980). 'Walled Cities and Towns in Taiwan', in Ronald G. Knapp (ed.) *China's Island Frontier*, pp. 117-141.
- CHIH, Andrew (1981). *Chinese Humanism: A Religion beyond Religion*. Taipei: Fu Jen Catholic University Press.
- CHIN, Yao-Chi (1978). *Ts'ung Ch'uan-Tung Tao Hsien-Dai (From Tradition to Modernity)*. Taipei: Shih Pao Publishing Co.
- CHIOU, Bor-Shuenn (1989). 'Some Problems of Native Chinese Architectural Scholarship', *Edinburgh Architecture Research*, Vol. 16, pp. 21-39.
- CHUNG, Tse-Fan (1988). 'Kuo-Chia Chu-Yuan Ho Kuo-Chia Yi-Yueh-Ting Tan-Ch'i (On National Theatre and National Concert Hall)', *Chinese Architect* February 1988, p. 23.
- COATES, Gary J. and David Seamon (1984). 'Toward a Phenomenology of Place and Place-Making', *Oz* Vol. 6, pp. 6-9.
- COATES, Gary (1987). 'Christopher Alexander and the Nature of Architecture', *Orion Nature Quarterly*, Vol. 6, 1987, pp. 4-20.
- COHEN, Myron L. (1976). *House United, House Divided*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- COHEN, Paul A. (1984). *Discovering History in China*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- COLLI, Luisa Martina (1984). 'Der Verlust des Ortes: Eine Kritische Auseinandersetzung mit Christian Norberg-Schulz', *Archithese*, Vol. 14, Part 5, pp. 55-58. (G)
- COLQUHOUN, Alan (1981). *Essays in Architectural Criticism: Modern Architecture and Historical Change*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.

- COLQUHOUN, Alan (1983). 'Regionalism and Technology', *Casabella*, No. 491, May 1983, pp. 24-25.
- COLQUHOUN, Alan (1989). *Modernity and the Classical Tradition*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.
- CONNOR, Steven (1989). *Postmodernist Culture: An Introduction to Theories of the Contemporary*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- CONRADS, Ulrich (ed.) (1970). *Programme and Manifestoes on 20th-Century Architecture*. London: Lund Humphries Publisher Limited.
- COOLEY, Mike (1987) *Architect or Bee?: The Human Price of Technology*. London: The Hogarth Press.
- COOMARASWAMY, Ananda K. (1934). *The Transformation of Nature in Art*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- CORREA, Charles (1987). 'Transfers and Transformations', in Hasan-Uddin Khan *Charles Correa: Architect in India*, pp. 165-176.
- CRAMER, Richard D. 'Images of Home', *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, Vol. 34, No. 3, pp. 40-49.
- CROOK, J. Mordaunt (1987). *The Dilemma of Style*. London: John Murray.
- CROSBIE, Michael I. (1987). 'Architects as Technological Innovators', *Architecture*, March 1987, pp. 102-105.
- CROSS, Nigel (ed.) (1984). *Developments in Design Methodology*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- CRUICKSHANK, Dan (1987). 'Variations and Traditions', *The Architectural Review*, August 1987, pp. 50-61.
- CURTIS, William J.R. (1983a). *Modern Architecture Since 1900*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc.
- CURTIS, William J.R. (1983b). 'Authenticity, Abstraction and the Ancient Sense: Le Corbusier's and Louis Kahn's Ideas of Parliament', *Perspecta*, Vol. 20, pp. 181-194.
- CURTIS, William J.R. (1986a). *Le Corbusier: Ideas and Forms*. Oxford: Phaidon.
- CURTIS, William J.R. (1986b). 'Towards an Authentic Regionalism', *MIMAR*, No. 19, pp. 24-31.
- CURTIS, William J.R. (1988). *Balkrishna Doshi: An Architecture for India*. Ahmedabad, India: Mapin Publishing Pvt. Ltd.
- CURTIS, William J.R. (1989). 'Contemporary Transformations of Modern Architecture', *Architectural Record*, June 1989, pp. 1108-117.
- DAVEY, Peter (1983). 'Taming the Machine', *The Architectural Review*, January 1983, pp. 49-57.



- DAVEY, Peter (1987). 'Community Squared', *The Architectural Review*, July 1987, pp. 45-47.
- DAVIDSON, James W. (1903). *Island of Formosa* London: MacMillan & Co.
- DAVIS, Howard (1981). 'Beyond Humanism: Christopher Alexander Interviewed by Howard Davis', *Journal of Architectural Education*, Vol. 35, No. 1, pp. 18-24.
- DAWSON, Christopher (1929). *Progress and Religion* London: Sheed and Ward.
- DAWSON, Christopher (1931). *Christian and the New Age* London: Sheed and Ward.
- DE BLIJ, Harm J. and Peter O. Muller (1985). *Geography: Regions and Concepts* New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- DE GROOT, J.J.M. (1897). *The Religious System of China*, Vol. 3. Leiden: E.J. Brill
- DEFFONTAINES, P. (1948). *Geographie et Religions* Paris: Gallimard. (F)
- DEFFONTAINES, P. (1972). *L'Homme et sa Maison* Paris: Gallimard. (F)
- DEGLOPPER, Donald R. (1974). 'Religion and Ritual in Lukang' in Arthur P. Wolf (ed.) *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*, pp. 43-69.
- DELLHEIM, Charles (1982). *The Face of the Past* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- DEVOS, George A. and Takao Sofue (eds.) (1984). *Religion and the Family in East Asia* Berkeley: University of California Press.
- DIAMOND, Norma (1969). *K'un Shen - A Taiwan Village* New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston.
- DICKINSON, Robert E. (1964). *City and Region: A Geographical Interpretation* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.
- DILLIAGHAM, Chang-Lin and Reed Dillingham (1971). *A Survey of Traditional Architecture of Taiwan* Taichung: Centre for Housing and Urban Research, Tunghai University.
- DOCZI, Gyorgy (1981). *The Power of Limits* Boulder, Colorado: Shambhala Publication, Inc.
- DOSHI, Balkrishna (1981). 'Identity in Architecture: Contemporary Pressures and Tradition in India', *Architectural Association Quarterly*, Vol. 13 No. 1, pp. 20-22.
- DOVEY, Kimberly (1985s). 'Home and Homelessness', in Irwin Altman and Carol M. Werner (eds.) *Home Environments*, pp. 33-64.
- DOVEY, Kimberly (1985b). 'The Quest for Authenticity and Replication of Environmental Meaning' in David Seamon and Robert Mugerauer (eds.) *Dwelling, Place and Environment: Towards a Phenomenology of Person and World*, pp. 33-50.

- DREXLER, Arthur (1979). *Transformations in Modern Architecture*. New York: The Museum of Modern Art.
- DULY, Colin (1979). *The House of Mankind*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- DUNCAN, James S. (1985). 'The House as Symbol of Social Structure', in Irwin Altman and Carol M. Werner (eds.) *Home Environments*, pp. 133-151.
- DUNSTER, David (ed.) (1978). *Alvar Aalto*. Architectural Monographs 4. London: Academy Editions.
- DURKHEIM, Emil (1933). *The Division of Labour in Society*. New York: The MacMillan Company.
- EASTMAN, Lloyd E. (1988). *Family, Field, and Ancestors*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- EBERHARD, Wolfram (1986). *A Dictionary of Chinese Symbols*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- EDEN, W.A. (1942). *Architecture and Tradition*. London: MacMillan & Co. Ltd.
- EISENSTADT, S.N. (1973). *Tradition, Change, and Modernity*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- ELIADE, Mircea (1959). *The Sacred and the Profane*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers.
- ELIADE, Mircea (1976). *Occultism, Witchcraft, and Cultural Fashions: Essays in Comparative Religion*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- ELIADE, Mircea (1989). *The Myth of the Eternal Return*. London: Arkana. (First published in 1954)
- ELLIS, Charlotte (1988). 'A Composition of Window Walls above the Seine', *Architecture*, September 1988, pp. 92-93.
- ELLUL, Jacques (1965). *The Technological Society*. London: Cape.
- EL-WAKIL, Abdel Wahed (1986). 'An Island Mosque in Jeddah', *MIMAR*, No. 19, pp. 12-17.
- ENTRIKIN, J. Nicholas (1989). 'Place, Region, and Modernity' in John A. Agnew and James S. Duncan (eds.) *The Power of Place*, pp. 30-43.
- EWALD, William R. (ed.) (1967). *Environment for Man*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- FAIRBANK, John K. and Edwin O. Reischauer (1979). *China, Tradition and Transformation*. Sydney: George Allen & Unwin.
- FATHY, Hassan (1973). *Architecture for the Poor*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- FAWCETT, Chris (1980). *The New Japanese House*. London: Granada.

- FELL, Joseph P. (1979). *Heidegger and Sartre – An Essay on Being and Public*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- FEUCHTWANG, Stephan (1974a). 'Domestic and Communal Worship in Taiwan' in Arthur P. Wolf (ed.) *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*, pp. 105–130.
- FEUCHTWANG, Stephan (1974b). 'City Temples in Taipei Under Three Regimes' in Mark Elvin and G. William Skinner (eds.) *The Chinese City between Two Worlds*, pp. 263–302.
- FEUCHTWANG, Stephan (1978). 'School-Temple and City God' in Arthur P. Wolf (ed.) *Studies in Chinese Society*, pp. 103–130.
- FIGUEROA, Anibal (1987). 'The Context of Louis Barragan's Mexican Architecture', *Center*, Vol. 3, pp. 42–49.
- FITZGERALD, Charles P. (1973). *China: A World So Changed* London: Heinemann Educational Book Ltd.
- FOSTER, George M. (1973). *Traditional Societies and Technological Change*. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers.
- FOSTER, Hal (ed.) (1983). *The Anti-Aesthetic*. Port Townsend, Washington: Bay Press.
- FRACHTENBERG, Stanley (ed.) (1985). *The Postmodern Movement*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press.
- FRAMPTON, Kenneth (1982a). 'The Status of Man and the Status of His Objects', *Architectural Design*, Vol. 52, No. 7/8, pp. 6–19.
- FRAMPTON, Kenneth (1982b). 'The Isms of Contemporary Architecture', *Architectural Design*, Vol. 52, No. 7/8, pp. 60–83.
- FRAMPTON, Kenneth (1982c). 'Place, Production and Architecture: Towards a Critical Theory of Building', *Architectural Design*, Vol. 52, No. 7/8, pp. 28–45.
- FRAMPTON, Kenneth (1982d). 'Production, Place, and Reality', *9H*, No. 3, pp. 13–14.
- FRAMPTON, Kenneth (1982e). 'Jorn Utzon – Bagsvaerd Church', *Architectural Design*, Vol. 52, No. 7/8, pp. 106–113.
- FRAMPTON, Kenneth (1983a). 'Prospects for a Critical Regionalism', *Perspecta*, Vol. 20, pp. 147–162.
- FRAMPTON, Kenneth (1983b). 'Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance' in Hal Foster (ed.) *The Anti-Aesthetic. Essays on Post-Modern Culture*, pp. 16–30.
- FRAMPTON, Kenneth (1983c). 'Modern Architecture and Critical Regionalism', *Transaction*, Vol. 2, No. 3, 1983, pp. 15–25.
- FRAMPTON, Kenneth (1985). *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*. London: Thames and Hudsons.

- FRAMPTON, Kenneth (1986). 'Some Reflections on Postmodernism and Architecture', in Lisa Appignanesi (ed.) *Postmodernism* London: ICA, pp. 26-29.
- FRAMPTON, Kenneth (1987). 'Ten Points on an Architecture of Regionalism: A Provisional Polemic', *Center*, Vol. 3, pp. 20-27.
- FRAMPTON, Kenneth (1988). 'Intimations of Tactility: Excerpts from a Fragmentary Polemic', in Scott Marble, David Smiley, Marwan Al-Sayed, and Sean Flynn (eds.) *Architecture and Body*, no pagination.
- FRAMPTON, Kenneth (1989). 'The Architecture of Alvaro Siza', *A+U*, June 1989, Extra Edition, pp. 177-186.
- FRANCK, Karen A. (1987). 'Phenomenology, Positivism, and Empiricism as Research Strategies in Environment-behavior Research and in Design' in Ervin H. Zube and Gray T. Moore (eds.) *Advances in Environment Behavior and Design* Vol. 1, pp. 59-67.
- FREEDMAN, Maurice (1966). *Chinese Lineage and Society: Fukien and Kwangtung* New York: Humanities Press Inc.
- FREEDMAN, Maurice (ed.) (1970). *Family and Kinship in Chinese Society*. Stanford: Stanford University.
- FREEDMAN, Maurice (1979). 'Ancestor Worship: Two Facets of the Chinese Case' in G. William Skinner (ed.) *The Study of Chinese Society: Essays by Maurice Freedman*, pp. 296-312.
- FRISBY, David (1985). *Fragments of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- FROMM, Dorit (1985). 'Living-Together Housing', *The Architectural Review*, April 1985, pp. 62-71.
- FU, Chao-Ching (1983). *A Historical and Practical Appreciation of Chinese Housing*. Seattle: University of Washington Master Thesis.
- FU, Chao-Ching (ed.) (1985a). *Architecture in Anping*. Tainan: SCALE. (C)
- FU, Chao-Ching (1985b). 'Taiwan Hsien-Dai Chien-Chu Ti-Fang Feng-Ge Chih Tsui-Hsun (In Search of the Regional Style in Modern Taiwanese Architecture)', in Chao-Ching Fu (ed.) *Architecture in Anping*, pp. 1-6. (C)
- FU, Chao-Ching (1988a), 'Pi-Ping-Hsing Ti-Yu Chu-Yi (Critical Regionalism)', *Chinese Architect*, January 1988, pp. 62-70. (C)
- FU, Chao-Ching (1988b). 'Chung-Kuo Hsien-Dai Chien-Chu Chung Te Min-Tzu Ching-Chieh (Nationalism in Modern Chinese Architecture)', *Con-Temporary*, March 1988, pp. 90-111. (C)
- FU, Charles Wei-Hsun (1978). 'The Trans-Onto-Theo-Logical Foundations of Language in Heidegger and Taoism', *Journal of Chinese Philosophy*, Vol. 5, pp. 301-333.
- FUJISHIMA, Gaijiro (1948). *Taiwan no Kenchiku (The Architecture of Taiwan)*. Tokyo: Shokoku-Sha. (J)

- FUTAGAWA, Yukio and Bruce Brooks Pfeiffer (1986). *Frank Lloyd Wright: Monograph 1937-1941*. Tokyo: A.D.A. Edita
- GABLIK, Suzi (1984). *Has Modernism Failed?* London: Thames and Hudson.
- GANIATSAS, Vassilios (1987). *Permanence and Change – A Philosophical Inquiry into the Problem of Relating New Architecture to Existing Settings* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Ph.D. Thesis.
- GARVIN, Harry R. (ed.) (1980). *Romanticism, Modernism, Postmodernism* Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press
- GERNET, Jacques (1982). *A History of Chinese Civilisation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- GEUSS, Raymond (1981). *The Idea of a Critical Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- GIEDION, Sigfried (1958). *Architecture You and Me* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- GLANCEY, Jonathan (1989). *New British Architecture* London: Thames and Hudson.
- GLAZER, Nathan (1984). 'Note on Sociological Image of the City', in Lloyd Rodwin and Robert M. Hollister ed. *Cities of the Mind*, pp. 337-344.
- GLIKSON, Artur (1955). *Regional Planning and Development* Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff's Uitgeversmaatschappij N.V.
- GODDARD, W.G. (1963). *The Maker of Taiwan* Taipei: China Publishing Company.
- GOULD, Julius and William L. Kolb (1964). *A Dictionary of the Social Sciences* London: Tavistock Publications.
- GRABOW, Stephen (1983). *Christopher Alexander – The Search for a New Paradigm in Architecture* Stocksfield: Oriel Press.
- GRANGE, Joseph (1985). 'Place, Body and Situation' in David Seamon and Robert Mugerauer (eds.) *Dwelling, Place and Environment: Towards a Phenomenology of Person and World*, pp. 71-86.
- GREGOTTI, Vittorio (1989). 'Alvaro Siza', *A+U*, June 1989, Extra Edition, pp. 174-176.
- GROAT, Linda (1981). 'Meaning in Architecture: New Directions and Sources', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 73-85.
- GROAT, Linda (1982). 'Meaning in Post-Modern Architecture: An Examination Using the Multiple Sorting Task', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 3-22.
- GROPIUS, Walter (1913). 'The Development of Modern Industrial Architecture', in Tim Benton, Charlotte Benton, and Dennis Sharp (eds.) *Architecture and Design: 1890-1939*, pp. 53-55.

- GROPIUS, Walter (1923). 'The Theory and organisation of the Bauhaus', in Tim Benton, Charlotte Benton, and Dennis Sharp (eds.) *Architecture and Design: 1890-1939*, pp. 119-127.
- GROPIUS, Walter (1934). 'The Formal and Technical Problems of Modern Architecture and Planning', *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, May 19.
- GROPIUS, Walter (1935). *The New Architecture and the Bauhaus* London: Faber and Faber Ltd.
- GROPIUS, Walter (1956). *Scope of Total Architecture* London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.
- GUENON, René (1942). *The Crisis of the Modern World* London. (First published in 1927 in French)
- HABERMAS, Jurgen (1982). 'Modern and Post-Modern Architecture', *JH*, No. 4, pp. 9-14.
- HABERMAS, Jurgen (1983). 'Modernity - An Incomplete Project' in Hal Foster (ed.) *The Anti-Aesthetic. Essays on Post-Modern Culture*, pp. 3-15.
- HABERMAS, Jurgen (1985). 'Neoconservative Culture Criticism in the United States and West Germany: An Intellectual Movement in Two Political Cultures', in Richard J. Bernstein (ed.) *Habermas and Modernity*, pp. 78-94.
- HADDON, Roy (1973). 'A House Is Not a Home', *RIBA Journal*, November 1973, pp. 545-548.
- HAGEN, Everett E. (1962). *On the Theory of Social Change* Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, Inc.
- HALL, Edward T. (1969). *The Hidden Dimension* Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books.
- HALL, Edward T. (1976). *Beyond Culture* Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books.
- HAN, Pao-Teh (1980). *Lukang Lung-Shan-Shih Chih Yen-Chiu (The Study of Lukang Lung-Shan Temple)*. Taipei: Chin Yu Hsiang Publisher. (C)
- HAN-KWANG ARCHITECTS (1984). 'Penghu Ching-Nien Huo-Tung Chung-Hsin (The Penghu Youth Centre and Hostel)', *Chinese Architect*, September 1984, pp. 39-45. (C)
- HARBISON, Robert (1977). *Eccentric Spaces* London: Andre Deutsch Limited.
- HARRELL, C. Stevan (1974). 'When a Ghost Becomes a God' in Arthur P. Wolf (ed.) *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*, pp. 193-206.
- HARRIES, Karsten (1982). 'Building and Terror of Time', *Perspecta*, Vol. 19, pp. 58-69.
- HARRIES, Karsten (1983). 'Thoughts on a Non-Arbitrary Architecture', *Perspecta*, Vol. 20, pp. 8-20.
- Harris, Marvin (1971). *Culture, Man, and Nature: An Introduction to General Anthropology*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company.



- HARVEY, David (1989). *The Condition of Postmodernity*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- HARVIE, Christopher and Graham Martin, and Aaron Scharf (1970). *Industrialisation and Culture 1830-1914*. London: MacMillan and Co Ltd.
- HASSAN, Ihab (1980). 'The Question of Postmodernism', in Harry R. Garvin (ed.) *Romanticism, Modernism, Postmodernism*, pp. 117-141.
- HAUSER, Philip M. (1966). 'The Social, Economic, and Technological Problems of Rapid Urbanisation', in Bert F. Hoselitz and Wilbert E. Moore (eds.) *Industrialisation and Society*, pp. 199-217.
- HAYS, K. Michael (1984) 'Critical Architecture: Between Culture and Form', *Perspecta*, Vol. 21, pp. 15-29.
- HEATH, Tom (1984). *Method in Architecture*, New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- HEIDEGGER, Martin (1962). *Being and Time*. London: Basil Blackwell Publisher Ltd.
- HEIDEGGER, Martin (1971). *Poetry, Language, Thought*. New York: Harper Colophon Book.
- HEIDEGGER, Martin (1977). *The Question Concerning Technology*, New York: Harper & Row Publishers.
- HELANDER, Vilhelm and Simo Rista (1987). *Modern Architecture in Finland*. Tampere: Kirjayhtymä.
- HESSELGREN, Sven (1975). *Man's Perception of Man-Made Environment*. Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania: Dowden, Hutchinson & Ross, Inc.
- HILLER, Bill and Julianne Hanson (1984). *The Social Logic of Space*. Cambridge: The Cambridge University Press.
- HINTZE, Hedwig (1966). 'Regionalism', *Encyclopaedia of the Social Science*, Vol. 13, pp. 208-218.
- HITCHCOCK, Henry-Russell and Philip Johnson (1966). *The International Style*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc.
- HOUGH, Michael (1990). *Out of Place: Restoring Identity to the Regional Landscape*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- HOWARD, Harry Paxton (1938). 'Chinese Cosmopolitanism and Modern Nationalism', *Tien-Hsia Monthly*, May 1938, pp. 425-439.
- HSIA, Chu-Joe (1987). *An Epistemological Critique of Contemporary Aesthetic Theories on Architecture: Towards A Social Theory on the Cultural Form of Space*. Berkeley: University of California Ph.D. Thesis.
- HSIEH, Fu-Ch'uan (1980). *Taiwan Te Fo-Chiao Yu Fo-Szu (Buddhism and Buddhist Monasteries in Taiwan)*. Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Book Company. (C)
- HSIUNG, James (ed.) (1981) *The Taiwan Experiences 1950-1980*. New York: The

American Association for Chinese Studies.

- HSIUNG SHIH EDIT DEPARTMENT (1987). *The Face of Taiwan*. Taipei: Hsiung-Shih Book Company. (C)
- HSU, Cho-Yun (1981). 'Cultural Values and Cultural Continuity' in James Hsiung (ed.) *The Taiwan Experiences*, pp. 21-28.
- HSU, Francis L.K. (1949). *Under the Ancestors' Shadow*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Limited.
- HSU, Min-Fu (1986). *The Original of Chinese Traditional Architecture*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Ph.D. Thesis.
- HSU, Yu-Chien (1980). 'Kwang Hu Taiwan Chuan-Tung Chien-Chu Guo-Chia Ch'ih-Ts'un Te Liang-Ko K'o-Ti Yen-Chiu (A Study of Two Issues in the Dimension of Traditional Taiwanese Architectural Construction)', *Chinese Architect*, October 1980, pp. 45-52.
- HU, Shih (1934). *The Chinese Renaissance*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- HU, To-Chia (ed.) *Chung-Shan-Ling Tang-An Shih-Liao Hsuan-Bien (Treatises on Sun Yat-Sen Mausoleum)*. Nanking: Chiangu Su Antiquarian Books Publisher. (C)
- HUANG, Chang-Mai (1988). 'Feng-Shui, Feng Yu Shui? (Feng-Shui, Wind and Water?)', *Chinese Architect*, July 1988, p. 19. (C)
- HUANG, Han-Min (1984a). 'Fukien Min-Chu Te Ch'uan-Tung Te-Se Yu Ti-Fang Feng-Ge (The Traditional Character and Local Styles of Folk Dwelling of Fukien)' Part 1, *Jianzhushi*, Vol.19, pp.178-203. (C)
- HUANG, Han-Min (1984b). 'Fukien Min-Chu Te Ch'uan-Tung Te-Se Yu Ti-Fang Feng-Ge (The Traditional Character and Local Styles of Folk Dwelling of Fukien)' Part 2, *Jianzhushi*, Vol.21, pp.182-194. (C)
- HUANG, Han-Min (1989a). 'Fukien Yen-Hai Te Shih-Tou Fang-Wu (Stone Houses in the Coastal Area of Fukien)', *Echo* (Chinese Edition), Vol. 19, pp.80-95. (C)
- HUANG, Han-Min (1989b). 'Minnan Chien-Chu - Anshi Ch'uan-Tung Min-Chu (Architecture in Southern Fukien - Houses of Anshi)', *Echo* (Chinese Edition), Vol. 20, pp. 80-95. (C)
- HUANG, Lou-Tsai (1983). *A Study of Traditional Street Houses in Taiwan*. Taipei: Taiwan University Master Thesis. (C)
- HUANG, Nora Chiang and Michael Hsin-Huang Hsiao (1985). 'Taipei: History and Problems of Development', in Victor F.S. Sit (ed.) *Chinese Cities*, pp. 188-209.
- HUYSEN, Andreas (1981). 'The Search for Tradition: Avant-Garde and Postmodernism in the 1970s', *New German Critique*, No. 22, Winter 1981, pp. 23-40.
- JACOBS, Jane (1965). *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. London: Penguin Books.

- JAGER, Bernd (1985). 'Body, House and City: The Intertwinings of Embodiment, Inhabitation and Civilisation' in David Seamon and Robert Mugerauer (eds.) *Dwelling, Place and Environment: Towards a Phenomenology of Person and World*, pp. 215-226.
- JAMESON, Fredric (1983). 'Postmodernism and Consumer Society' in Hal Foster (ed.) *The Anti-Aesthetic*, pp. 111-125.
- JAMESON, Fredric (1984). 'Postmodernism: or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism', *New Left Review*, July-August 1984, pp. 53-92.
- JENCKS, Charles (1977). *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* New York: Rizzoli. (1978 2nd ed. 1981 3rd ed. 1984 4th ed. 1987 5th ed.)
- JENCKS, Charles (1980a). 'Towards Radical Eclecticism', in Paolo Portoghesi et al. *The Presence of the Past*, pp. 30-37.
- JENCKS, Charles (1980b). *Late-Modern Architecture* New York: Rizzoli.
- JENCKS, Charles and William Chaitkin (1982). *Current Architecture* London: Academy Editions.
- JENCKS, Charles (1983). 'Post-Modern Architecture: The True Inheritors of Modernism', *Transaction*, Vol.2, No. 1, 1983, pp. 27-41.
- JENCKS, Charles (1986) *What Is Post-Modernism?* London: Academy Editions. (1987 rev. ed.)
- JENCKS, Charles (1987). *Post-Modernism: The New Classicism in Art and Architecture* London: Academy Editions.
- JENCKS, Charles (1988b). 'Deconstruction: The Pleasure of Absence', *Architectural Design*, Vol. 58, No. 3/4, 1988, pp. 16-31.
- JENSEN, Merrill (ed.) (1952). *Regionalism in American* Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- JOHNSON, Philip (1947). *Mies Van der Rohe* New York: The Museum of Modern Art.
- JONES, Peter Bludell (1987). 'Where Do We Stand?: A Lecture about Modernism, Post-Modernism and the Neglected Possibility of a Responsive Architecture', *A+U*, March 1987, pp. 14-30.
- JORDON, David K. (1985). *Gods, Ghosts, and Ancestors*. Taipei: Caves Book Ltd.
- JUHASZ, Joseph B. (1981). 'Christopher Alexander and the Language of Architecture', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1981, pp. 241-246.
- KATEB, George (1983). *Hannah Arendt* Oxford: Martin Robertson.
- KAUFMANN, Edgar (1955). *Frank Lloyd Wright: An American Architecture* New York: Horizon Press.
- KEPES, Gyorgy (ed.) (1966). *The Man-Made Object*, London: Studio Vista.

- KHAN, Hasan-Uddin (1987). *Charles Correa: Architect in India* Singapore: Concept Media Ltd.
- KIM, Young-Chul (1984). 'Anchorage and Concentration of Being in Space', *Edinburgh Architecture Research*, Volume 11, pp.7-20.
- KING, Anthony D. (ed.) (1980). *Building and Society*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- KLOTZ, Heinrich (1985). *Postmodern Visions: Drawings, Paintings and Models by Contemporary Architects*. New York: Abbeville Press.
- KLOTZ, Heinrich (1988). *The History of Postmodern Architecture* Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.
- KNAPP, Ronald G. (ed.) (1980) *China's Island Frontier*. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii.
- KNAPP, Ronald G. (1986). *China's Traditional Rural Architecture* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- KNAPP, Ronald G. (1989). *China's Vernacular Architecture - House Form and Culture* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- KNEVITT, Charles (1985). *Space on Earth* London: Thames Methuen.
- KOROSEC-SERFATY, Perla (1984). 'The Home from Attic to Cellar', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, Vol. 4, No. 4, pp. 303-321.
- KOSTOF, Spiro (ed.) (1977). *The Architect* New York: Oxford University Press.
- KOSTOF, Spiro (1985). *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals* New York: Oxford University Press.
- KRUPAT, Edward (1983). 'A Place for Place-Identity', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, Vol. 3, No. 4, pp. 343-344.
- KUO, Chen-Min and Nai-Hsiang Wang and Yu Chen (1987). *Fukien Min-Chu (Houses of Fukien)*. Peking: China Architectural Industry Publisher. (C)
- KUO, Hsien-Chih (1979). *Taiwan San-Pai-Nien Shih (Three-Century History of Taiwan)*. Taipei: Chung-Wen Book Co. (C)
- KUROKAWA, Kisho (1989). 'Toward the Evocation of Meaning', *The Japan Architect*, August 1989, pp. 6-13.
- KWAN, Hua-Shan (1979). 'Tan Taiwan Ch'uan-Tung Chieh-Wu Erh-Ti (Two Issues on Traditional Street Houses in Taiwan)', *Chinese Architect*, December 1979, pp. 17-26. (C)
- KWAN, San-Ching (1981). *Taiwan San-Pai-Nien (Three Hundred Years of Taiwan)*. Taipei: Hu-Wai Shen-Hou. (C)
- LACQUE-LABARTHE, Philippe (1986). 'On the Sublime', in Lisa Appignanesi (ed.) *Postmodernism*, pp. 7-8.

- LAMLEY, Harry J. (1977). 'The Formation of Cities: Initiative and Motivation in Building Three Walled Cities in Taiwan' in G. William Skinner (ed.) *The City in Late Imperial China*, pp. 155-209.
- LAMLEY, Harry J. (1981). 'Subethnic Rivalry in the Ching Period' in Emily Martin Ahren and Hill Gates (eds.) *The Anthropology of Taiwanese Society*, pp. 282-318.
- LANG, Olga (1946). *Chinese Family and Society*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- LANGER, Susanne K. (1953). *Feeling and Form - A Theory of Art Developed from Philosophy in A New Key*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.
- LAWRENCE, Roderick J. (1987). *Housing, Dwellings, and Homes*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- LE BLANC, Charles and Susan Blader (eds.) (1987). *Chinese Ideas about Nature and Society*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- LE CORBUSIER (1924). 'The Spirit of New Architecture', in Tim Benton, Charlotte Benton, and Dennis Sharp (eds.) *Architecture and Design: 1890-1939*, pp. 132-133.
- LEE, Chien-Lang (1978). *A Survey of Kinmen Traditional Architecture*. Taipei: Hsiung-Shih Book Company. (C)
- LEE, Chien-Lang (1979). *Taiwan Chien-Chu Shih (A History of Taiwanese Architecture)*. Taipei: Pei-Wu Publisher. (C)
- LEE, Chien-Lang (1980). *Taiwan Chin-Tai Chien-Chu Shih (The Modern Architecture of Taiwan - Its Roots and Developments)*. Taipei: Hsiung-Shih Book Company. (C)
- LEE, Chien-Lang (1983). *Ch'uan-Tung Chien-Chu (Traditional Architecture)*. Taipei: Pei-Wu Publisher. (C)
- LEE, Chien-Lang (1984). *Kaohsiung Tsoying Chiu-Cheng Cheng-Men Chi Hsiung-Cheng Pei-Men Pao-Tai Tiao-Cha Yen-Chiu Yu Hsiu-Hu Chi-Hwa (The Survey and Proposal for Restoration of Old City Wall in Tsoying and Pei-Men Fortification in Kaohsiung)*. Kaohsiung: Department of City Affairs, The Municipal Government of Kaohsiung. (C)
- LEE, Chien-Lang (1985). 'Ping Kenting Ching-Nien Huo-Tung Chung-Hsin (On Kenting Youth Centre and Hostel)', *Chinese Architect*, June 1985, p. 66. (C)
- LEE, C.Y. and Associates (1985). 'Ta-An Kuo-Chai (Ta-an Public Housing)', *Chinese Architect*, June 1985, pp. 67-74. (C)
- LEE, Du (1978). *Chung-Si Che-Hsueh Ssu-Hsing Chung Te Tien-Tao Yu Shnag-Ti (The Way of Heaven and God in Chinese and Western Philosophical Thoughts)*. Taipei: Lien-Ching Publisher. (C)
- LEE, Jeong-Keun (1982). 'Structure and Process in Socio-Spatial Dialectic', *Edinburgh Architecture Research*, Volume 9, pp. 62-82.

- LEE, Tien-To (1985). 'Anping Chang-Chien Te Ch'uan-Tung Sao-Hsin Yu-Huei (Common Architectural Languages in Anping)', in Chao-Ching Fu (ed.) *Architecture in Anping*, pp.21-26. (C)
- LEE, Wan-Chiou (1985). 'Jen-Hsin Chu-Du (Human Scale - On spaces of the Street and Lane in Anping)', in Chao-Ching Fu (ed.) *Architecture in Anping*, pp. 45-52. (C)
- LEE, Yun-Ho (1980). *Hua-Hsia Yi-Chiang (Cathay's Idea: Design Theory of Chinese Classical Architecture)*. Taipei: Lung-Tien Publisher. (C)
- LEGER, Jean-Michel (1985). 'The Prefabricated House: Is It Really a Home?', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 345-354.
- LERNER, Daniel and Lucille W. Pevsner (1958). *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East* Glencoe, New York: Free Press.
- LETHABY, W.R. (1955). *Architecture* London: Oxford University Press.
- LEVI-STRAUSS, Claude (1963). *Structural Anthropology*. New York: Basic Books.
- LEVY, M. (1966). *Modernisation and the Structures of Society*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- LEWIS, Peirce (1979). 'Defining a Sense of Place', *The Southern Quarterly*, Vol. 17, pp. 24-46.
- LI, Jo-Pai and Fei-Fei Peng, and Hsueh-Cheng Ni (1983). 'Kwangtung Nung-T'sun Chu-Chai Tiao-Cha (A Study of Rural Houses in Kwangtung)' in *Chung-Kuo Chien-Chu-Shih Lun-Wen-Chi (Collected Essays on the History of Chinese Architecture)*, Vol. 2, pp. 70-75. (C)
- LI, Yih-Yuan (1976). 'Chinese Geomancy and Ancestor Worship: A Further Discussion' in William H. Newell (ed.) *Ancestors*, pp. 329-338.
- LI, Yih-Yuan (1977). *Hsin-Yang Yu Wen-Hua (Beliefs and Culture)*. Taipei: Chu-Liu Book Company. (C)
- LI, Yih-Yuan (1985). 'On Conflicting Interpretations of Chinese Family Rituals' in Jih-Chang Hsieh and Ying-Chang Chuang (eds.) *The Chinese Family and Ritual Behavior*.
- LIANG, Ssu-Cheng (1984). *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture* Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.
- LIANG, Yu-Yuan (1988). *Ching-Mo Peipu Chu-Lo Kuo-Cheng Chih Yen-Chiu (The Formation of the Settlement in Peipu during the late Ching Dynasty)* Tainan: Cheng-Kung University Master Thesis. (C)
- LIN, Ching-Hsuan (1983). 'The Wood Stirs Sculptor Ju Ming's: A Searing Re-creation from History and Myth', *Free China Review*, February 1983, pp. 40-44.
- LIN, Huei-Chen (1979). *Ching-Mo Lukang Chieh-Cheng Chieh-Guo (The Structure of Streets and Settlements in Lukang)*. Taipei: Chin Yu Hsiang Publisher. (C)



- LIN, Huei-Chen (1989a). *Taiwan Ch'uan-Tung Chien-Chu Shou-T'se (The Handbook of Traditional Architecture of Taiwan)*. Second Edition. Taipei: Artists Book Company. (C)
- LIN, Huei-Chen (1989b). *Tach'i Lao-Chieh, Sanhsia Lao-Chieh, Lao Huk'ou Lao-Chieh Chieh-Wu Li-Men T'iao-Cha Yen-Chiu (A Survey and Study of the Facade of the Street House in Tach'i, Sanhsia, and Old Huk'ou)*. Taipei: Council for Cultural Planning and Development, Executive Yuan of ROC. (C)
- LIN, Huei-Chen (1990). 'The Ritual Behaviours in Traditional Taiwanese Houses and the Underlying Spatial Concepts', in *Essays in Commemoration of Professor He Chen-T'zu's 70th Birthday*, pp. 101-137. (C)
- LIN, Min-Yu (1987). *Matzu Ch'uan-Shou (The Legends of Matzu)*. Taipei: Tung-Men Publisher. (C)
- LIN, Tsai-Fu (1987). *Minnan Jen (The Minnan People)*. Taipei: San-Min Book Company. (C)
- LIN, Yu-Sheng (1979). *The Crisis of Chinese Consciousness*. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- LIOU, Lih-Jen (1989). 'Group Rates for Earth Gods?', *Sinorama* (Chinese-English edition), Vol.14, No.7, pp.101-105.
- LIU, Chih-Ping (1957). *Chung-Kuo Chien-Chu Te Lei-Hsing Yu Chieh-Kou (Chinese Building Types and Structural Systems)*. Peking: Architectural Engineering Publishing Co. (C)
- LIU, Laurence G. (1989). *Chinese Architecture*. London: Academy Editions.
- LIVINGSTONE, David N. and Richard T. Harrison (1983). 'Reflections on a Phenomenological Approach', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, Vol. 3, No. 3, pp. 295-296.
- LOBELL, John (1985). *Between Silence and Light: Spirit in the Architecture of Louis I. Kahn*. Boston: Shambhala.
- LORAIN, John (1972). *The Death of Tomorrow*. London: Heinemann.
- LU, Weiming (1988). 'A Firm's Modernist Works Enriched by Traditional Touches', *Architecture*, September 1988, p. 94.
- LU, Yuan-Ting (1983a). 'Kwangtung Min-Chu (The House of Kwangtung)' in *Chung-Kuo Chien-Chu Shih Lun-Wen Chi (Collected Essays on the History of Chinese Architecture)*. Vol. 2, pp. 58-69. (C)
- LU, Yuan-Ting (1983b). 'Nan-Fang Ti-Chi Chuan-Tung Chien-Chu Te Tung-Feng Yu Fan-Je (Thermal Insulation and Ventilation in Traditional Houses of Southern China)', in *Chung-Kuo Chien-Chu Shih Lun-Wen Chi (Collected Essays on the History of Chinese Architecture)*. Vol. 2, pp. 47-57. (C)
- LUMLEY, F.A. (1976). *Taiwan Today*. London: Barrie & Jenkins.
- LUNDAHL, Gunilla (1988). 'Erskine Experience', *The Architectural Review*, March 1988, pp. 52-65.

- LYNCH, Kevin (1972). *What Time is This Place?* Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.
- LYNDON, Donlyn (1986a). 'Caring About Places: Lasting', *Places* Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 2.
- LYNDON, Donlyn (1986b). 'Caring About Places; Shifting Focus', *Places* Vol. 3, No. 2, p. 2.
- LYNDON, Donlyn (1987a). 'Caring About Places: Recognition', *Places* Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 2.
- LYNDON, Donlyn (1987b). 'On Places', *Places* Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 9-10.
- LYOTARD, Jean-Francois (1984). *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. (First published in 1979 in French)
- MACKAY, George L. (1896). *From far Formosa* Edinburgh: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier.
- MARBLE, Scott and David Smiley, Marwan Al-Sayed, and Sean Flynn (eds.) *Architecture and Body*. New York: Rozzoli.
- MARKOVICH, Nicholas C. and Wolfgang F.E. Preiser, and Fred G. Sturm (eds.) (1990). *Pueblo Style and Regional Architecture*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.
- MARTIN, David. (1969). *The Religious and the Secular*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.
- MARTIN, David. (1978). *A General Theory of Secularisation*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- McLEOD, Mary (1985). 'Architecture' in Stanley Frachtenberg (ed.) *The Postmodern Moment* pp. 19-52.
- McLEOD, Mary (1987). 'On Criticism', *Places* Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 4-6.
- McQUADE, Walter (1957). 'Achitect Louis Kahn and His Strong-Boned Structure', *Architectural Forum*, October 1957, pp. 100-112.
- MEAD, Christopher (1986). 'A Sense of Place', *Places* Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 27.
- MEEHAN, Patrick J. (1987). *Truth Against the World*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- MEYER, Jeffrey F. (1976). *Peking As a Sacred Centre* Taipei: Orient Cultural Service.
- MEYER, Jeffrey F. (1987). 'Traditional Peking: The Architecture of Conditional Power' in Bardwell Smith and Holly Baker Reynolds (eds.) *The City as a Sacred Centre*, pp. 114-133.
- MICHIO, Suenari (1984). 'The "Religious Family" among the Chinese of Central Taiwan', in George A. DeVos and Takao Sofue (eds.) *Religion and the Family*

- in East Asia*, pp. 169–184.
- MIES VAN DER ROHE, Ludwig (1924). 'Working Theses', in Ulrich Conrades (ed.) *Programme and Manifestoes on 20th-Century Architecture*, pp. 74–75.
- MUMFORD, Lewis (1922). 'Relation of Nationalism and Culture', *Sociological Review*, Vol. 14, October 1922, pp. 315–319.
- MUMFORD, Lewis (1924). *Sticks and Stones* New York: Boni and Liveright.
- MUMFORD, Lewis (1927). 'Regionalism and Irregionalism', *Sociological Review*, Vol. 19, October 1927, pp. 277–288.
- MUMFORD, Lewis (1928). 'Regionalism and Irregionalism', *Sociological Review*, Vol. 20, April 1928, pp. 131–141.
- MUMFORD, Lewis (1928). 'The Theory and Practice of Regionalism', *Sociological Review*, Vol. 20, April 1928, pp. 18–33.
- MUMFORD, Lewis (1934). *Technics and Civilisation* London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd.
- MUMFORD, Lewis (1938). *The Culture of Cities* London: Secker & Warburg.
- MUMFORD, Lewis (1941). *The South in Architecture* New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.
- MUMFORD, Lewis (1961). *The City in History* London: Secker & Warburg.
- MUMFORD, Lewis (1967). *The Myth of the Machine* London: Secker & Warburg.
- MURRAY, Peter (1984). 'Style and Regionalism in Malaysia', *RIBA Journal*, November 1984, pp. 40–45.
- NASH, Manning (1965). *The Golden Road to Modernity: Village Life in Contemporary Burma* New York: Wiley.
- NASR, Seyyed Hossein (1976). *Man and Nature – The Spiritual Crisis of Modern Man* London: Unwin Paperbacks.
- NASR, Seyyed Hossein (1981). *Knowledge and the Sacred* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- NEEDLEMAN, Jacob (1974). *The Sword of Gnosis: Metaphysics, Cosmology, Tradition, Symbolism* New York: penguin Books.
- NEEDLEMAN, Jacob (1975a). *A Sense of the Cosmos: the Encounter of Modern Science and Ancient Truth* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday.
- NEEDLEMAN, Jacob and Dennis Lewis (1975b). *Sacred Tradition and Present Need* New York: Viking Press.
- NEWCOMB, Rexford (1952). 'Regionalism in American Architecture', in Merrill Jensen (ed.) *Regionalism in America*, pp. 273–295.
- NEWELL, William H. (ed.) (1976). *Ancestors* The Hague: Mouton Publishers.

- NORBERG-SCHULZ, Christian (1968). *Intentions in Architecture*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.
- NORBERG-SCHULZ, Christian (1971). *Existence, Space & Architecture*, London: Studio Vista.
- NORBERG-SCHULZ, Christian (1975). *Meaning in Western Architecture*, London: Praeger Publishers, Inc.
- NORBERG-SCHULZ, Christian (1979). 'Kahn, Heidegger and the Language of Architecture', *Oppositions*, Vol. 18, pp. 29-47.
- NORBERG-SCHULZ, Christian (1980a). *Genius Loci - Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture*, New York: Rizzoli.
- NORBERG-SCHULZ, Christian (1980b). 'Towards an Authentic Architecture' in Paolo Portoghesi et al. *The Presence of the Past*, London: Academy Editions, pp. 21-29.
- NORBERG-SCHULZ, Christian (1983). 'Heidegger's Thinking on Architecture', *Perspecta*, Vol. 20, pp. 61-68.
- NORBERG-SCHULZ, Christian (1985). *The Concept of Dwelling*. New York: Rizzoli.
- NORBERG-SCHULZ, Christian (1987). 'On the Way to Figurative Architecture', *Places*, Vol.4, No. 1, pp. 18-23.
- NORBERG-SCHULZ, Christian (1988). *Architecture: Meaning and Place*. New York: Rizzoli.
- NYBERG, Folke and Farouk Seif (1990). 'Ritual and Regional Genesis of Architecture', in Nicholas C. Markovich, Wolfgang F.E. Preisner, and Fred G. Sturm (eds.) *Pueblo Style and Regional Architecture*, pp. 260-271.
- NYE, Joseph S. (1968a). *International Regionalism*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
- NYE, Joseph S. (1968b). 'Patterns and Catalysts in Regional Integration' in Joseph S. Nye (ed.) *International Regionalism*, pp. 333-349.
- OAKLEY, David (1970). *The Phenomenon of Architecture in Cultures in Change*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- O'CONNOR, Daniel A. (1952). *The Relation between Religion and Culture according to Christopher Dawson*. Montreal: Librairie Saint-Viateur.
- ODUM, Howard W. and Harry Estill Moore (1938). *American Regionalism*. New York: Henry Holt and Company.
- ODUM, Howard W. (1952). 'The Promise of Regionalism' in Merrill Jensen (ed.) *Regionalism in America*, pp. 395-425.
- OLGYAY, Victor (1963). *Design with Climate: Bioclimatic Approach to Architectural Regionalism*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- OLIVER, Paul (ed.) (1969). *Shelter and Society*. London: Barrie and Jenkins.

- OLIVER, Paul (ed.) (1975). *Shelter, Sign and Symbol* London: Barrie and Jenkins.
- OLIVER, Paul (1987). *Dwellings* Oxford: Phaidon.
- OZKAN, Suha (1989). 'Regionalism within Modernism' in Ismail Serageldin *Space for Freedom*, pp. 279-282.
- PALLASMAA, Juhani (1988). 'Tradition and Modernity', *The Architectural Review*, May 1988, pp. 27-34.
- PEATE, I.C. (ed.) (1930). *Studies in Regional Conscious and Environment* London: Oxford University Press.
- PENNARTZ, Paul J.J. (1986). 'Atmosphere at Home: A Qualitative Approach', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 135-153.
- PEREZ-GOMEZ, Albert (1983). *Architecture and the Crisis of Modern Science* Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.
- PEVSNER, Nikolaus (1960). *An Outline of European Architecture* Baltimore: Penguin Books.
- PEVSNER, Nikolaus (1966). 'Architecture in Our Time', *The Listener*, December 29, 1966, pp. 953-955.
- PICKENS, Buford L. (1990). 'Regionalism in American Architecture: A Comparative Review of Roots', in Nicholas C. Markovich, Wolfgang F.E. Preiser and Fred G. Sturm (eds.) *Pueblo Style and Regional Architecture*, pp. 239-259.
- PIRCEVIC, Edo (ed.) (1975). *Phenomenology and Philosophical Understanding* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- PORTOGHESI, Paolo et al. (1980). *The Presence of the Past: The First International Exhibition of Architecture - Venice Biennale* London: Academy Editions.
- PORTOGHESI, Paolo (1982). *After Modern Architecture* New York: Rizzoli
- PORTOGHESI, Paolo (1983). *Postmodern: The Architect of the Postindustrial Society* New York: Rizzoli.
- PROSHANSKY, Harold M. and William H. Ittelson and Leanne G. Rivlin (eds.) (1970) *Environmental Psychology: Man and His Physical Setting* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.
- PROSHANSKY, Harold M. and Abbe K. Fabian, Robert Kaminoff (1983). 'Place-Identity: Physical World Socialization of the Self', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 57-83.
- QUANTRILL, Malcolm (1983). *Alvar Aalto: A Critical Study* London: Secker & Warburg.
- RADER, Melvin and Bertram Jessup (1976). *Art and Human Values* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc.
- RAGLAN, Lord (1964). *The Temple and the House* London: Routledge and Kegan

Paul.

- RAPOPORT, Amos (1969). *House, Form, and Culture*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall Inc.
- RAPOPORT, Amos (1980). 'Culture, Site-layout and Housing', *Architectural Association Quarterly*, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 4-7.
- RAPOPORT, Amos (1985). 'Thinking about Home Environments: A Conceptual Framework' in Irwin Altman and Carol M. Werner (eds.) *Home Environments*, pp. 255-286.
- RAPOPORT, Amos (1990). 'On Regions and Regionalism', in Nicholas C. Markovich, Wolfgang F.E. Preiser and Fred G. Sturm (eds.) *Pueblo Style and Regional Architecture*, pp. 272-288.
- RAWLYK, George A. and Bruce W. Hodgins and Richard P. Bowles (1979). *Regionalism in Canada: Flexible Federalism or Fractured Nation?* Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada, LTD.
- REID, Daniel P. (1984). *Taiwan Hong Kong*: APA Production Ltd.
- RELPH, E. (1976). *Place and Placelessness*. London: Pion Limited.
- RELPH, E. (1985). 'Geographical Experiences and Being-in-the-world: The Phenomenological Origins of Geography' in David Seamon and Robert Mugerauer (eds.) *Dwelling, Place and Environment: Towards a Phenomenology of Person*, pp. 15-32.
- RICHARDS, J.M. and Ismail Serageldin, Darl Rastorfer (1985). *Hassan Fathy*. Singapore: Concept Media Pte. Ltd.
- RICHARDSON, Miles (1989). 'Place and Culture: Two Disciplines, Two Concepts, Two Images of Christ, and a Single Goal', in John A. Agnew and James S. Duncan (eds.) *The Power of Place*, pp. 140-156.
- RICOEUR, Paul (1965). *History and Truth*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- ROCHE, Maurice (1973). *Phenomenology, Language and the Social Sciences*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- RODAWAY, Paul (1988). 'Review of Community Architecture: How People Are Creating Their Own Environment by Nick Wates and Charles Knevitt', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, Vol. 8, No.4, pp. 343-346.
- RODERICK, Rick (1986). *Habermas and the Foundations of Critical Theory*. London: MacMillan.
- RODWIN, Lloyd and Robert Hollister (eds.) (1984). *Cities of the Mind*. New York: Plenum Press.
- ROSTOW, W. (1971). *Politics and the Stage of Growth*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- ROWE, Peter G. (1987). *Design Thinking*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT



Press.

- RUDOLFSKY, Bernard (1965). *Architecture without Architects: A Short Introduction to Non-Pedigreed Architecture* New York: The Museum of Modern Art.
- RUDOLPH, Lloyd I and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph (1967). *The Modernity of Tradition* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- RUSKIN, John (1984). *The Stones of Venice* New York: Da Capo Press. (Reprint of a 1960 edition).
- RUSSELL, Bertrand (1922). *The Problems of China* London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.
- RYKWERT, Joseph (1972). *On Adam's House in Paradise* New York: The Museum of Modern Art.
- SAARINEN, Eliel (1948). *Search for Form*, New York: Reinhold Publishing Corporation.
- SAEGERT, Susan (1985). 'The Role of Housing in the Experience of Dwelling', in Irwin Altman and Carol M. Werner (eds.) *Home Environments*, pp. 287-309.
- SAILE, David G. (1977). 'Making a House: Building Rituals and Spatial Concepts in the Pueblo Indian World', *Architectural Association Quarterly*, Vol. 9, Nos. 2 and 3, 1977, pp. 72-81.
- SAILE, David G. (1985a). 'The Ritual Establishment of Home' in Irwin Altman and Carol M. Werner (eds.) *Home Environments*, pp. 87-111.
- SAILE, David G. (1985b). 'Many Dwellings: Views of a Pueblo World' in David Seamon and Robert Mugerauer (eds.) *Dwelling, Place and Environment: Towards a Phenomenology of Person and World*, pp. 159-182.
- SAILE, David G. (ed.) *Architecture in Cultural Change* Lawrence, Kansas: School of Architecture, University of Kansas.
- SANGEREN, P. Steven (1987). *History and Magical Power in a Chinese Community*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- SANT'ELIA, Antonio (1914). 'Futurist Manifesto', in Ulrich Conrads (ed.) *Programme and Manifestoes on 20th-Century Architecture*, pp. 34-38.
- SASO, Michael (1982). 'Taiwan: Old Gods and Modern Society', in Carlo Caldarola (ed.) *Religions and Societies: Asia and the Middle East*, pp. 579-605.
- SCHILDT, Goran (1986). *Alvar Aalto: the Decisive Years*. New York: Rizzoli.
- SCHINZ, Alfred (1975). *Chinesischer Stadtebau in der Mandschu-Dynastie* Munchen: Technischen Universitat Munchen Diploma-Ingenieur Dissertation. (G)
- SCHINZ, Alfred (1989). *Cities in China* Berlin: Gebruder Borntraeger.

- SCHUMACHER, Thomas (1987). 'Regional Intentions and Contemporary Architecture: A Critique', *Center*, Vol. 3, pp. 50-57.
- SCHUON, Frithjof (1965). *Light on the Ancient Worlds*, Bloomington, Indiana: World Widsom Books.
- SCHWARCZ, Vera (1986). *The Chinese Enlightenment* Berkeley: University of California Press.
- SCOTT, A.C. (1965). *Literature and the Arts in Twentieth Century China* London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.
- SCULLY, Vincent (1989). *Pueblo: Mountain, Village, Dance* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. (First published in 1975).
- SEAMON, David (1979). *A Geography of the World: Movement, Rest and Encounter*. London: Croom Helm.
- SEAMON, David (1980). 'Afterword: Community, Place and Environment', in Anne Buttimer and David Seamon (eds.) *The Human Experience of Space and place* pp. 188-196.
- SEAMON, David (1982). 'The Phenomenological Contribution to Environmental Psychology', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 119-140.
- SEAMON, David and Robert Mugerauer (1985). *Dwelling, Place and Environment - Towards a Phenomenology of Person and World*. Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.
- SEAMON, David (1987a). 'Phenomenology and Environment-Behaviour Research', in Ervin H. Zube and Gary T. Moore (eds.) *Advances in Environment, Behavior, and Design*, Vol. 1, pp. 3-27.
- SEAMON, David (1987b). 'Phenomenology and Vernacular Lifeworlds' in David G. Saile (ed.) *Architecture in Cultural Change* pp. 17-24.
- SEIWERT, Hubert (1981). 'Religious Response to Modernisation in Taiwan: the Case of I-Kuan Tao', *Journal Of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 21, pp. 43-70.
- SERAGELDIN, Ismail (1989). *Space for Freedom*. London: Butterworth Architecture.
- SERFATY-KOROSEC, Perla (1985). 'Experience and Use of the Dwelling' in Irwin Altman and Carol M. Werner (eds.) *Home Environments*, pp. 65-86.
- SHANE, Grahame (1976). 'Contextualism', *Architectural Design*, No. 11, 1976, pp. 676-679.
- SHAW, Hsiu-Chen (1986). 'Yu Huang Shang Ti Shen Chuan (The Legend of the Jade Emperor)', *Min-Su Yu Sin-Yang (Folkore and Beliefs)*, Vol. 1, pp. 7-16. (C)
- SHAW, Lin-Wei (1985). 'Miao-Shou Temple', in Chao-Ching Fu (ed.) *Architecture in Anping* pp. 71-82. (C)

- SHEN, Vincent (1988). 'Ethics Shaping Architecture', *Free China Review*, December 1988, pp. 32-35.
- SHILS, Edward (1981). *Tradition*. London: Faber and Faber.
- SIMMONS, Gordon (1982). 'Workmanship: Key to Good Building', *AIA Journal*, November 1982, pp. 52-55.
- SHINER, Larry E. (1966). *The Secularisation of History: An Introduction to the Theology of Friedrich Gogarten*. Nashville: Abingdon Press.
- SHIPSKY, James (1984). 'Christopher Alexander: Theory and practice', *Architecture*, July 1984, pp. 54-103.
- SIME, Jonathan D. (1986). 'Creating Places or Designing Spaces?', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, Vol. 6, NO. 1, pp. 49-63.
- SINGER, Milton (1972). *When a Great Tradition Modernises: An Anthropological Approach to Indian Civilisation*. London: Pall Mall Press.
- SIXSMITH, Judith (1986). 'The Meaning of Home: An Exploratory Study of Environmental Experience', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, Vol. 6, No. 4, pp. 281-298.
- SKINNER, G. William and Mark Elvin (eds.) (1974). *The Chinese City between Two Worlds*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- SKINNER, G. William (ed.) (1977). *The City in Late Imperial China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- SKINNER, G. William (ed.) (1979). *The Study of Chinese Society. Essays by Maurice Freedman*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- SKINNER, L. (1967). 'The Concept of Secularisation in Empirical Research', *Scientific Study of Religion*, Vol. 6, pp. 207-220.
- SKINNER, Stephen (1989). *The Living Earth Manual of Feng-Shui*. London: Arkana. (First published in 1982)
- SMITH, Bardwell and Holly Baker Reynolds (eds.) *The City as a Sacred Centre: Essays on Six Asian Contexts*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- SMITH, Clive Bamford (1967). *Buildings in the Sun: Five Mexican Architects*. New York: Architectural Book Publishing Co., Inc.
- SMITH, Huston (1982). *Beyond the Post-Modern Mind*. Whetstone, Illinois: The Theosophical Publishing House.
- SMITH, Peter F. (1987). *Architecture and the Principle of Harmony*. London: RIBA Publication Limited.
- SMITH, Richard J. (1983). *China's Cultural Heritage*. London: Francis Pinter.
- SPECK, Lawrence W. and Wayne Attie (1987a). 'Comment on New Regionalism', *Center*, Vol. 3, p. 5.

- SPECK, Lawrence W. and Wayne Attoe (1987b). 'Introduction to New Regionalism', *Center*, Vol. 3, pp. 6-7.
- SPECK, Lawrence W. (1987c). 'Regionalism and Invention', *Center*, Vol. 3, pp. 8-19.
- SPENCE, Rory (1987). 'Grass-Roots Tech', *The Architectural Review*, July 1987, pp. 58-62.
- SPIEGELBERG, Herbert (1960). *The Phenomenological Movement: A Historical Introduction*. (Volume One) Hague: Martinus.
- STERN, Robert (1980). 'The Doubles of Post-Modern', *The Harvard Architecture Review*, Vol. 2, Spring 1980, pp. 75-87.
- STERN, Robert (1987). 'Regionalism and the Continuity of Tradition', *Center*, Vol. 3, pp. 58-63.
- SULLIVAN, Linda F. (1972). 'Traditional Chinese Regional Architecture: Chinese Houses', *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 12, pp. 130-149.
- SULLIVAN, Louis (1947). *Kindergarten Chats*. New York: George Wittenbom Inc.
- SUNG, Dixon D.S. and Lawrence C. Ho (1986). *Republic of China: A Reference Book* Taipei: Hilit Publishing Company, Ltd.
- SUNG, Kwang-Yu (1986). 'Taiwan Min-Chien Hsin-Yang Te Fa-Chan Ch'u-Shih (The Trend of the Development of Folk-religion in Taiwan)', in Yen-Hsien Chang (ed.) *Li-Shih Wen-Hua Yu Taiwan (History, Culture, and Taiwan)*, pp. 367-397. (C)
- SUNG, Lung-Sheng (1981). 'Property and Family Division' in Emily Martin Ahern and Hill Gates (eds.) *The Anthropology of Taiwanese Society*, pp. 361-378.
- SUZUKI, Hiroyuki and Reyner Banham, Katsuhiko Kobayashi (1985). *Contemporary Architecture of Japan 1958-1984* London: The Architectural Press.
- TAIPEI FINE ARTS MUSEUM (ed.)(1984). *Collection of the Traditional Architecture Symposium* Taipei: Taipei Fine Art Museum. (C)
- TAKEYAMA, Kiyoshi (1983). 'Tadao Ando: Heir to a Tradition', *Perspecta*, Vol. 20, 1983, pp. 163-180.
- TAYLOR, Brian Brace (1986a). *Geoffrey Bawa: Architect in Sri Lanka* Singapore: Concept Media Ltd.
- TAYLOR, Brian Brace (1986b). 'Perspectives and Limits on Regionalism and Architectural Identity', *MIMAR* No. 19, pp. 18-21.
- TAYLOR, Brian Brace (ed.) (1987). *Mimar Houses* Singapore: Concept Media Ltd.
- TEICHER, Jonathan and Wayne Attoe (1987). 'Frank Lloyd Wright as a Regional Force', *Center*, Vol. 3, pp. 96-99.

- TEYSSOT, Georges (1983). 'Marginal Comments on the Debate between Alexander and Eisenman', *Lotus International*, Vol. 40, pp. 69-73.
- THOMPSON, Laurence G. (1979). *Chinese Religion*. Belmont, California: Wadsworth, Inc.
- TONG, Fung-Wan (1979). 'Tz'u-Hsien Ch'ung-Pai Wen-Ti (On Ancestor Worship)', *Taiwan Theological Studies*, No. 1, pp. 88-108. (C)
- TONG, Fung-Wan (1982). 'Taiwan Min-Chien Hsin-Yang Chih Jen-Shih (Understanding Taiwanese Folk-Religion)', *Taiwan Wen-Hsien*, Vol. 33, No. 4, pp. 93-103. (C)
- TONG, Fung-Wan (1986). 'Taiwan Min-Chien Te Kwei-Hun Hsin-Yang (Animism in Taiwanese Folk-Religion)', in Ying-Hsien Chang (ed.) *Li-Shih Wen-Hua Yu Taiwan (History, Culture, and Taiwan)*, pp. 557-584. (C)
- TONG, Fung-Wan (1988a). *Taiwan Min-Chai Men-Mai Pa-Kua-Pai Shou-Fu Kung-Yung Te Yen-Chiu (A Study on the Protective Function of 'Pa-Kuo-Pai' on the Door's Lintel of the Taiwanese House)*. Taipei: Tao-Hsing Publisher. (C)
- TONG, Fung-Wan (1988b). 'Vibrant, Popular Pantheon', *Free China Review*, January 1988, pp. 9-16.
- TONNIES, Ferdinand (1955). *Community and Association*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- TSENG, Osman (1988). 'Industrialisation Jolts the Family', *Free China Review*, December 1988, pp. 12-15.
- TSENG, Yung-Li (1986). 'The Southern Land', *Free China Review*, August-September 1986, pp. 2-11.
- TSENG, Li-Ling (1988). 'Cultural Values in Wood and Stone', *Free China Review*, December 1988, pp. 36-47.
- TUAN, Yi-Fu (1977). *Space and Place: the Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- TUAN, Yi-Fu (1980). 'Rootedness versus Sense of Place', *Landscape*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 1980, pp. 3-8.
- TWOMBLY, Robert (1979). *Frank Lloyd Wright: His Life and His Architecture*. New York: John Wiley.
- TYAU, Min-Chien T.Z. (1930). *Two Years of Nationalist China*. Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh Limited.
- TYNG, Alexander (1984). *Beginnings: Louis I. Kahn's Philosophy of Architecture*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- TZONIS, Alexander and Liane Lefaivre (1981). 'The Grid and the Pathway', *Architecture in Greece*, Vol. 15, 1981, pp. 164-178.
- UTZON, Jorn (1962). 'Platforms and Plateaus: Ideas of a Danish Architect',

- VANDAMME, Jacques (1981). 'Regionalism in Europe', in David. M. Cameron (ed.) *Regionalism and Supranationalism*, pp. 39–55.
- VAN DE VEN, Cornelis (1980). *Space in Architecture*. Assen, The Netherland: Van Gorcum Assen.
- VAN DER LAAN, H. (1983). *Architectonic Space*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- VENTURI, Robert (1977). *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*. New York: The Museum of Modern Art.
- VON DER MEHDEN, Fred R. (1986). *Religion and Modernisation in Southeast Asia*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press.
- VUYLSTEKE, Richard R. (1987). 'Tradition through Windows', *Free China Review*, July 1987, pp. 28–41.
- WAGNER, Philip L. and Marvin W. Mikesell (1962). *Readings in Cultural Geography*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- WALTERS, Derek (1989). *Chinese Geomancy*. Longmead: Element Books Ltd.
- WANG, Cheng-Hua (1984). *Chung-Kuo Chien-Chu Pei-Wang-Lu (The Memorandum of Chinese Architecture)*. Taipei: Shih-Pao Publishers. (C)
- WANG, Georgette and Wimal Dissanayake (eds.) (1984). *Continuity and Change in Communication System: An Asian Perspective*. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation.
- WANG, Jseng-Lung (1983). *Kuang-Fu Hou Taiwan Chien-Chu Fa-Chan Chih Yen-Chiu (A Study of the Development of Modern Architecture since 1945)*. Tainan: Cheng-Kung University Master Thesis. (C)
- WANG, Jseng-Lung (1984a). 'Kuang-Fu Chu-Chi Taiwan Hsien-Dai Chien-Chu Te Fa-Chan (Early Development of Modern Architecture in Taiwan since 1945)', *Chinese Architect*, July 1984, pp. 46–54. (C)
- WANG, Jseng-Lung (1984b). 'Pi-Yeh Shiu-Yuan Chiao-Tang (Pi-Yeh Catholic Seminary)', *Chinese Architect*, July 1984, pp. 64–65. (C)
- WANG, Li-Fu and Chien-Lang Lee, and Chao-Lee Kuo (1985). *Taipei Architecture*. Taipei: Taipei Architects' Association.
- WANG, Shih-Ch'ing (1974). 'Religious Organisation in the History of a Taiwanese Town' in Arthur P. Wolf (ed.) *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*.
- WANG, Sung-Hsing (1974). 'Taiwanese Architecture and the Supernatural' in Arthur P. Wolf (ed.) *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*, pp. 183–192.
- WANG, Sung-Hsing (1976). 'Ancestors Proper and Peripheral' in William H. Newell (ed.) *Ancestor*, pp. 365–372.
- WANG, Wilfried (1989). 'Notes on the Architecture of Alvaro Siza', *A+U*, June 1989, Extra Edition, pp. 187–196.



- WARD, Tony (1979). 'Review of A Pattern Language by Christopher Alexander and Others', *Architectural Design*, No. 1, 1979, pp. 15-17.
- WATTS, Ronald L. (1981). 'Federalism, Regionalism, and Political Integration', in David M. Cameron (ed.) *Regionalism and Supranationalism*, pp. 3-19.
- WEAVER, Clyde (1984). *Regional Development and the Local Community: Planning, Politics and Social Context* Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.
- WEBBER, Melvin M. et al. (1964a). *Explorations into Urban Structure* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- WEBBER, Melvin M. (1964b). 'The Urban Place and the Nonplace Urban Realm' in Melvin M. Webber et al. *Explorations into Urban Structure*, pp. 79-153.
- WEBBER, Melvin M. (1970). 'Order in Diversity: Community without Propinquity', in Harold M. Proshansky, William H. Ittelson, and Leanne G. Rivlin (eds.) *Environmental Psychology: Man and His Physical Setting*, pp. 533-549.
- WEN, Yu-I (1985). *Taiwan Ch'uan-Tung Shih Miao-Yu Te Kong-Chien Si-Tung Gi Chi Chuan-Bien Chih Yen-Chiu (A Study of Spatial Organisation and Its Transformation in Traditional Taiwanese Temples)*. Taichung: Tunghai University Master Thesis. (C)
- WERNER, Carol M. and Irwin Altman, and Diana Oxley (1985). 'Temporal Aspects of Homes' in Irwin Altman and Carol M. Werner (eds.) *Home Environments*, pp. 1-32.
- WERNER, Heinz (1948). *Comparative Psychology of Mental Development*, New York: Follette Publishing Co.
- WESTON, Roger (1987). 'Poetic Patterns', *The Architect's Journal*, November 4, 1987, pp. 32-39.
- WHEATLEY, Paul (1971). *The Pivot of the Four Quarters*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- WHEATLEY, Paul (1975). 'The Ancient Chinese City as a Cosmological Symbol', *Ekistics*, March 1975, pp. 147-158.
- WILLETTS, William (1965). *Foundations of Chinese Art* London: Thames and Hudson.
- WILSON, C.B. (1984). 'The Centre of the World and the Interpretation of Architecture', *Edinburgh Architecture Research*, Vol. 11, pp. 51-59.
- WILSON, C.B. (1986a). 'Buidling a Mircocosm', *Shadow*, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 9-19.
- WILSON, C.B. (1986b). 'Theorising in Practice', *Edinburgh Architecture Review*, Vol. 13, pp. 11-29.
- WILSON, C.B. (1988a). '"Not Exactly Cold - More Architectural": on Architecture, Technology, and Rhetoric', *Edinburgh Architecture Research*, Vol. 15, pp. 36-53.
- WILSON, C.B. (1988b). 'Architect and Community: Traditional Process and

- Modern Products'. A paper read in the third Asian Congress of Architects. (Seoul)
- WILSON, R.W. (ed.) (1979). *Value Change in Chinese Society*. New York: Praeger Publishers.
- WIRTH, Louis (1937). 'Localism, Regionalism and Centralisation', *American Journal of Sociology*, January 1937, pp. 493-509.
- WIRTH, Louis (1938). 'Urbanism as a Way of Life', *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 44, July 1938, pp. 1-24.
- WIRTH, Louis (1952). 'The Limitations of Regionalism', in Merrill Jensen (ed.) *Regionalism in America*, pp. 381-393.
- WOLF, Arthur P. (ed.) (1974). *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- WOLF, Arthur P. (1976). 'Aspects of Ancestor Worship in Northern Taiwan' in William H. Newell (ed.) *Ancestor*, pp. 339-364.
- WOLF, Arthur P. (ed.) (1978a). *Studies in Chinese Society*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- WOLF, Arthur P. (1978b). 'Gods, Ghosts, and Ancestors' in Arthur P. Wolf (ed.) *Studies in Chinese Society*, pp. 131-182.
- WOLF, Margery (1968). *The House of Lim*. New York: Appleton Century Crofts.
- WÖLFFIN, Heinrich (1950). *Principles of Art History*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc.
- WRIGHT, Frank Lloyd (1931). 'The Cardboard House' in Tim Benton, Charlotte Benton and Dennis Sharp (eds.) *Architecture and Design: 1890-1939*, pp. 60-65.
- WRIGHT, Frank Lloyd (1955). *The Future of Architecture*. London: The Architectural Press.
- WRIGHT, Frank Lloyd (1971). *The Natural House*. London: Pitman Publishing.
- WU, Nelson (1963). *Chinese and Indian Architecture*. London: Studio Vista.
- YANG, Sung-Lin (1987). 'Ch'ien-Yi Chung-Kuo Chin-Dai Chien-Chu Ch'ung-Tso (On Creativity in Modern Chinese Architecture)', *Jianzhushi*, Vol. 28, pp. 98-101. (C)
- YEANG, Ken (1984). 'Roof-Roof House', *International Architect*, No. 6, pp. 30-31.
- YEANG, Ken (1987). *Tropical Urban Regionalism*. Singapore: Concept Media Pte. Ltd.
- YOUNG-BRUEHL, Elisabeth (1982). *Hannah Arendt, for Love of the World*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- ZIMMERMAN, Michael (1985). 'The Role of Spiritual Discipline in Learning to

Dwell on Earth' in David Seamon and Robert Mugerauer (eds.) *Dwelling, Place and Environment - Towards a Phenomenology of Person and World*, pp. 247-256.

ZEVI, Bruno (1957). *Architecture as Space*, New York: Horizon Press.

ZUBE, Ervin and Gary T. Moore (eds.) (1987). *Advances in Environment Behavior, and Design* Vol. 1. New York: Plenum Press.